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BY THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ. M.A. F.R.S.

Author of the History of the English Language, &c.

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Corresponding Member of the Imperial Institute of France.

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The Infant Napoleon II.

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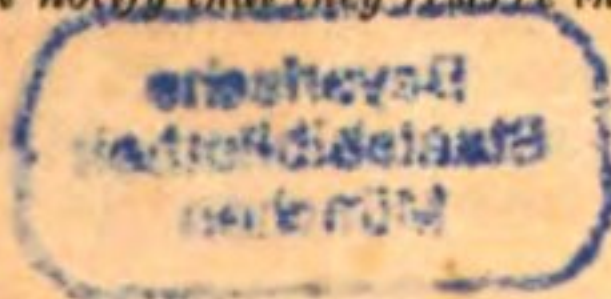
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Arc de Triomphe, Marseille.

Erected to celebrate the Victories of the Empire.

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BOOK VII.

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY CAREER OF BONAPARTE; NEW MINISTRY OF FRANCE; MILITARY APPOINTMENTS; FINANCIAL AND OTHER MEASURES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT; THE NEW CONSTITUTION; ORGANISATION OF THE CONSULAR GOVERNMENT; DEFEAT AND SUBMISSION OF THE ROYALISTS IN BRITANY AND NORMANDY; INSTALLATION OF THE CONSULS IN THE TUILERIES; LOUIS XVIII. AND THE FIRST CONSUL.

THE revolution of the 18th and 19th of Brumaire, was the prelude to the establishment of an entirely new order of things in France; and Napoleon Bonaparte, who, only three months before, completed his thirtieth year, soon became the first man in the country, with a power far surpassing that of the Bourbons previous to 1789. Though this extraordinary man first appeared before the public as a young officer with no property except his pay, and without any pretensions to rank, he was of no mean origin.* His family, a noble Italian one, was connected, by intermarriages, with the Medici, the Orsini, and the Lomellini. When the intestine strife that desolated Italy had wasted the property of the Bonapartes, and obliged some of the members to seek their fortunes in a foreign land, a younger branch settled in Corsica, and became the ancestor of the Bonaparte family in that island. Napoleon's father, Carlo, studied law at Pisa; and when he returned to Corsica, he became an advocate in the royal court of assize. He married Letizia Ramolino at Ajaccio, in 1767. Both were born in that town; and the lady, who was of Neapolitan extraction, is said to have been "well descended, remarkable for beauty, strong-minded, and accomplished." Carlo was an advocate of considerable reputation; but, in the last struggles

of the Genoese to retain possession of Corsica, he joined the army, and served under Paoli, in his defence of the island, A.D. 1768 and 1769, after the Genoese had sold their claim to France. The French were successful. The submission of the Corsicans took place in June, 1769. Napoleon was born on the 15th of August. By birth, therefore, he was a subject of the Bourbons. His mother "was seized with the pains of labour while attending mass, at the solemnization of some holiday. She speedily gained her home, and, upon reaching her chamber, was delivered of a male child upon an old piece of tapestry, upon which were embroidered the heroes of Homer, and figures of the fabled warriors of antiquity."† The superstitious would say, that this was indicative of that child's future career. The month after his birth, count Marbœuf, the French commissioner at Corsica, convoked the states of the island, comprised of the three orders—clergy, nobles, and commons. The Bonapartes proved their title to be enrolled amongst the second, and were so enrolled accordingly.

Peace re-established, Carlo Bonaparte returned to his profession as an advocate; and soon after he went to Paris, at the head of a deputation of his order, to obtain an audience of Louis XVI., relative to differences which had arisen between

* Bonaparte's family was, there is little doubt, originally Florentine. Existing genealogical documents trace the ancestors of the French emperor back as far as A.D. 1120, when we find them taking a very decided part with the Ghibelins, for which they were exiled from Florence. In 1332, John Bonaparte was *podesta* (chief magistrate) of that city. In 1404, a descendant and namesake of the *podesta* was plenipotentiary from Florence, at the court of

Gabriel Visconti, duke of Milan; and he married a niece of pope Nicholas VII. His son was ambassador from that pontiff to several foreign courts. Gabriel Bonaparte established himself at Ajaccio, in 1567; and "for several generations, his descendants were successively head of the elders of that city." The name was originally spelled Buonaparte; but Napoleon omitted the *u* after his first Italian campaign.

† Las Casas.

the count de Marbœuf (the French commissioner) and count de Narbonne Pelez, who had commanded in Corsica. Carlo Bonaparte's fearless and able advocacy of the cause of the former, made him his friend; and a few years after, when events with which we are imperfectly acquainted had straitened Carlo's circumstances, and caused him to accept the post of assessor to the judicial court of Ajaccio, the count obtained for Napoleon, in 1777, admission to the military school of Brienne, as a king's pensioner. At that time he had an Italian caste of features, of a remarkably dark hue; bright, piercing eyes, and a large head, quite disproportioned to the size of his body. He had been, from a child, rather fond of retirement than sport. This disposition adhered to him; and he applied himself, with great earnestness, to the study of the French language, history, geography, and mathematics; in all of which, especially the latter, he made a great proficiency. In his hours of leisure he occupied himself in cultivating a plot of ground; each scholar at Brienne having, at that period, some land assigned him, to keep as a garden, for his own use.

There is no doubt that there was something remarkable in Napoleon Bonaparte, and that he displayed a genius for command at a very early period. He was the second son of Carlo, Joseph being the eldest; but his uncle Lucien, who was archdeacon of Ajaccio, when on his death-bed, designated him, in the presence of his brothers, as "the chief of the family." At Brienne, in the winter of 1783-'4, long remembered for its severity, when the school-grounds were covered to a great depth with snow, young Napoleon proposed to his schoolfellows to dig trenches, and throw up fortifications with the snow, and laid down a regular plan of attack and defence; being, on his own offer, acknowledged and obeyed as the leader of the attacking party.

His proficiency in mathematics led to his being selected, in 1784, for the military school at Paris, although he had not attained the age at which scholars are usually admitted to that establishment. The next year he passed his examination successfully, and obtained his first commission as second lieutenant to the artillery regiment of La Fère, then forming part of the garrison at Grenoble. He was soon after promoted to the rank of first lieutenant in the artillery regiment of Grenoble, stationed at Valence. There he made the acquaintance of M. de Montalivet, who, years after, became his minister of the interior; and there he appears first to have felt the tender passion. He visited at the house of madame Colombier, who had a beautiful daughter. A

mutual passion sprung up between the young couple; but the mother of the lady would not sanction the marriage of her daughter with a poor lieutenant of artillery. They parted; and when they met again, mademoiselle Colombier had become the wife of a private gentleman, M. de Bressieux; and her first lover was emperor of France! Napoleon did not forget "auld lang syne:" he gave distinguished employment to the husband; and made the wife lady of honour to one of his sisters. While at Valence, Napoleon showed that he had talents for other pursuits besides military ones; and that politics and social economy had formed the subject of his study in his leisure hours. The abbé Raynal proposed a question for discussion—"What are the principles and institutions by which mankind can obtain the greatest possible happiness?" Napoleon wrote a paper in answer to this question, and gained the prize,* which the academy of France had offered for the best essay on the subject.

When the French revolution broke out, Napoleon was at Valence with his regiment. He took the popular side; and yet he did not approve of the popular excesses. He was at Paris in 1792, and witnessed the attack on the Tuileries in that year. On that occasion, he exclaimed, "How could they allow those despicable wretches to enter the palace! Why, a few discharges of grapeshot amongst them would have made them all take to their heels; they would be running yet, at this moment." He was also a witness of the scenes of August 10th, after which he went with his family to Corsica. Paoli, who had been appointed to the chief command of the island by the king and the national assembly, gave him the command of a battalion of guards. When, disgusted with the excesses of the convention, Paoli renounced his obedience to that body, called upon his countrymen to throw off the yoke of France, and gave his adhesion to the English, Napoleon adhered to his former faith, and joined the French troops under La Combe St. Michel and Saliceti.† The English were successful; and, in May, 1793, Napoleon left the island, taking his mother and sisters with him, his father being dead. Soon after his arrival at Paris, he was, on the recommendation of Saliceti, appointed to command the artillery at Toulon; and to his strategic skill it was owing, that that important port was recovered from the allies.

After the events of the 9th and 10th of November (18th and 19th Brumaire), although there were three consuls, appointed provisionally, assisted by the "legislative commission," consisting

* Las Casas. When emperor, Napoleon happened to mention this circumstance to Talleyrand, who searched in the archives of the academy, and found the MS. He presented it to the emperor, who read a few pages, and then threw it into the fire. No copy of it remains.

† In a modern publication, it is said, that in the early part of his career, Bonaparte endeavoured to obtain a commission in the English service. But this step is so at variance with his conduct and opinions, that we must be excused for not crediting the statement.

of fifty members, twenty-five being chosen from each of the two councils—the council of ancients, and the council of five hundred—Bonaparte really became the ruler of France. Sièyes and Roger-Ducos were already settled in the palace of the Luxembourg. Bonaparte was living with Josephine, in a small house in the Rue de la Victoire. He left that residence, and took up his abode in the apartments of the Petit-Luxembourg. “There,” as we are informed by M. Thiers, “in proximity to his two colleagues, surrounded by the fragments of the late government, and the elements of the new one, he fell to work, with that unerring and rapid intelligence, and with that extraordinary activity, which had always marked his operations in the field.” The three consuls met on the 11th of November, to consider the steps most necessary to be taken to consolidate the new system. “Who is to preside?” asked Sièyes; his own age pointing him out as the proper president. “The general will take the chair, as a matter of course,” said Ducos. From that moment Bonaparte’s authority was confirmed. “We have a master,” said Sièyes, the same evening, to some friends, “who knows how to do everything, who can do everything, and who will do everything.”

The first consideration of the consuls was to form a ministry. After some discussion, it was determined to continue Cambacérès as minister of justice, Fouché as minister of police; and M. de Reinhart minister of foreign affairs, till Talleyrand could be safely appointed to that post, which it was deemed he could not be at the time; “the revolutionary party,” as the friends of the late directory were termed, entertaining great animosity against him. His appointment, however, was not long withheld; for he succeeded to the office in a fortnight. General Berthier was appointed minister of war; M. Forfait minister of marine; the portfolio of the ministry of the interior was entrusted to M. de la Place; and that of the financial department to M. Guadin. M. Maret was appointed secretary to the consuls, with the title of secretary of state. Some alterations were made in the military commands. General Lefebvre, who had heartily supported Bonaparte on the 10th of November, was retained at the head of the 17th military division, and in command of Paris. The armies of the Rhine and Helvetia were ordered to be united, and the command given to general Moreau. Massena was sent to Italy, and general Lannes, one of Bonaparte’s most devoted adherents, to Toulouse.

No sooner were these appointments made, than the state of the finances came under consideration. The forced loan set on foot by the directory, was suppressed, greatly to the satisfaction of the people; in place of it, as a war-supply, an addition of twenty-five per cent. was made to the principal of the land-tax, the tax

on movable property, and the personal tax. Some other financial measures were adopted; and Bonaparte, at the instance of M. Guadin, entered into direct communication with the bankers of Paris, who made an immediate advance of 12,000,000 francs to the new government, to be repaid out of the first receipts of the war-supply. This step greatly strengthened the hands of the consuls.

Those officials seemed disposed to exercise their authority with great clemency. They proposed to the legislative commission, the repeal of the “law of hostages,” as it was called, which made the relatives of the Vendéans and Chouans responsible for acts committed by those adherents of the Bourbons in the revolted provinces. Under this law many persons had been imprisoned. No opposition was made to its repeal; and Bonaparte went himself, and liberated the prisoners in the Temple. The priests and other persons, who had been imprisoned for not taking the oaths to the former constitution, and many emigrants, who had been shipwrecked and thrown into prison, with other political prisoners, were liberated by Bonaparte; as were some representatives and journalists, who had been condemned to deportation. Not fewer than 9,000 persons, whom the directory had incarcerated, were thus set free, to the great joy of themselves and their friends. Showing the most generous leniency to the foes of the directory, Bonaparte was at first inclined to be severe with their friends. To this he was prompted, it is believed, more by the representations of Sièyes and Roger-Ducos, who were joined by several of the ministers, than by his own inclination; and those representations were strengthened by some attempts at resistance to the provisional government. Thirty-eight members of “the revolutionary party” were doomed to transportation, and eighteen to imprisonment at La Rochelle. Talleyrand and others, however, interposed against this measure of severity; and Cambacérès shortly after reporting that order was re-established in all the departments, and the laws everywhere executed and obeyed, the decrees of transportation and imprisonment were recalled, and the parties were placed for a short time under *surveillance*; but even that was soon discontinued. A negotiation was then opened with the chiefs of the royalist party, and a suspension of arms was concluded with messieurs de Bourmont, D’Autichamp, and De Chatillon, for the Vendée and a part of Britany. On the subject of religion, the consuls evinced a very different feeling from that which had influenced the ruling powers of the republic before their time. They ordered the churches to be reopened for public worship, and gradually undid all that the Hébertists had been doing. Still further to win the support of the Roman catholics, forming the bulk of the

nation, they ordered solemn funereal honours to be performed for pope Pius VI., who had died at Valence six months previously, and been privately interred. They also ordered a monument to be erected to his memory. Besides attending, with his colleagues, to these matters of domestic administration, Bonaparte applied himself to foreign affairs. Of all the powers of Europe, Prussia and Spain only were at peace with France; but the czar of Russia seemed very much disposed to give up the friendship of England for that of her enemy; at the same time that he felt disgusted with Austria, as he attributed to the untimely withdrawal of her troops, the defeat of Suwarrow at Zurich. Bonaparte took steps to strengthen his alliance with Prussia, from which he expected one with Russia might arise. He dispatched his aide-de-camp, Duroc, to Berlin, on a complimentary mission; and there being only a *chargé d'affaires*, M. Otto, at the Prussian capital, he assigned that official another post, and replaced him by general Beurnonville, as ambassador. He sent a fresh ambassador, M. Alquier, to Spain; at the same time replacing M. Grouvelle, at Copenhagen, who was a supporter of the directory, by M. Bourgoing, a friend of his own. He further conciliated Denmark, by liberating a number of Danish vessels, detained by order of the directory in French ports, because, in the opinion of M. Barras and his colleagues, they had yielded to the English the rights of maritime neutrality.

Whilst general Bonaparte was taking an active part—in fact, *the* active part—in the government of the country, his colleague, Sièyes, was busily engaged in drawing up a constitution. He completed the document, which ultimately formed the basis of the new government. But it had one provision, which met with general disapprobation. With a senate, tribunate, and council for legislative purposes, the abbé proposed, that the executive power should be nominally vested in an officer, whom he termed the “grand elector,” with an appointment for life. He was to reside in the palace of Versailles, have a guard of 3,000 men, and a salary of 6,000,000 francs per annum. Various honours were proposed to be conferred on this official: but he was to have no power; that was to be lodged in two consuls, one for peace and one for war; the former to have under him the ministers of justice, of the interior, and of finances; the latter those of war and marine. It is said, that Sièyes destined the sinecure of grand elector for himself; and Bonaparte, and perhaps Cambacérès, for the consulships of war and peace. But Bonaparte disapproved of his constitution.* He summoned the legislative commissions to the Luxembourg; and, with their assistance, remodelled

the laboured production of his colleague; so that, retaining the public bodies proposed by M. Sièyes, it still carried out his own views, which were much more despotic than those of the abbé. The latter would have made the senate, tribunate, and council really representative bodies, with complete legislative power. This did not suit Bonaparte, who aimed at the highest place, and wanted to centre all power, legislative and executive, as much as possible, in himself. The constitution he ultimately caused to be adopted, was in form complex, in operation simple. It consisted of executive and legislative authorities; the former vested in three consuls, the latter in a council of state, a senate, a tribunate, and a legislative body. The number of the council of state was not fixed; the members were to be nominated by the first consul. The senate was to consist, at first, of sixty members, appointed by the consuls for life; and those members were, every year, to appoint two more, till the number reached eighty. The tribunate was to consist of a hundred members, not less than twenty-five years of age, and one-fifth to be changed annually. The legislative body was to have 300 members, of thirty years of age, or upwards, and one-fifth was also to be renewed every year. The two latter bodies were to be elected by the senate, out of the lists of the communal, departmental, and national “notabilities:” *i. e.*, citizens who were possessed of certain qualifications, pecuniary or otherwise. The right of citizenship was extended to “every man born and resident in France, who was twenty-one years of age, and had his name entered on the civic register of his commune arrondissement, and who had remained one year in the territory of the republic,” which was declared to be “one and indivisible” in the first clause of the constitution. The members of the council of state were to receive salaries of 25,000 francs, and the presidents of its different sections, 35,000 francs; those of the senate were to have 25,000 francs per annum; those of the tribunate, 15,000 francs; and those of the legislative body, 10,000 francs. Bonaparte was declared first consul; his power to continue for ten years, and he was eligible for re-election. Sièyes and Roger-Ducos declined the office of consul; and they were appointed senators. M. Cambacérès and M. Lebrun became the second and third consuls. The salaries of these officers were fixed at 500,000 francs (£20,000) for the first; and 150,000 francs (£6,000) for the second and third. The two latter were to retain their office only five years, but might be re-chosen. The mode in which the affairs of government were to be conducted was, that the executive power was vested in the consuls, who were also

* Some authorities say, that Sièyes wished Bonaparte to be the grand elector. But the conqueror of Italy rejected the idea with scorn. “How could you imagine,”

said he, “that a man of any talent, and even of slight honour, would be content to play the part of a fattening hog, with some millions a-year?”

to determine what laws should be proposed. Those laws were to be communicated, through the council of state, to the tribunate, where they were to be discussed, and, if adopted, transmitted to the legislative body, three of the tribunes attending, to explain their provisions and recommend their adoption. No discussion was to be allowed amongst the legislators, who were to vote upon the law in secret. If they confirmed it, it was then to be promulgated to the people. The senate was to exercise a controlling power over both the tribunate and the legislative body, and prevent them from violating the constitution. Besides these provisions, which, however objectionable, were of a constitutional character, the 93rd article prohibited the return to France of those Frenchmen who had abandoned their country since July 14th, 1789, and declared, that the property of the emigrants should be irrevocably forfeited, for the advantage of the republic. The last article (the 94th) provided, that the constitution should be immediately presented to the people for their acceptance.

The legislative commissioners did not accept this constitution very willingly; indeed, had they, at last, been convened in a body, it is probable they would have refused it. But Bonaparte, who knew that the commissioners intended to attack it in various parts, summoned them to give their signatures to it individually; and, thus left to act for and by himself, each was induced, by fear or persuasion, to affix his name to the document. To test the opinions of the people, registers were opened at the secretariat of each administration, and at other places, and the *juges de paix* and notaries were also authorised to receive the signatures to the *placet* or *non-placet*. The consuls collected the votes, and proclaimed the number. The result was, that, out of 3,012,569 votes registered, there were 3,011,007 for accepting the constitution, and only 1,562 for rejecting it. On the 24th of December, 1799, the constitution was solemnly proclaimed. The palace of the Tuileries was then assigned to the consuls; the Luxembourg to the senate; the Palais-Royal to the tribunate; and the palace of the five hundred to the legislative body. At the same time all the festivals of the republic were abolished, except that of the 14th of July, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille; and of the 10th of August, the day of the foundation of the republic. The constitution was issued to the people by the following decree:—

“CITIZENS!—The constitution, now promulgated, puts an end to the uncertainty caused by the provisional government in the external relations, and in the internal and military situation of the republic. It places in the institutions which it establishes the first magistrates, whose devotedness has appeared necessary to its activity. The constitution is founded on the true

principles of representative government, on the sacred rights of property, of equality, and of liberty. The powers which it institutes will be strong and stable, as they must be, in order to guarantee the rights of the citizens and the interests of the state. Citizens! The revolution is confined to the principles which commenced it. IT IS FINISHED!”

The constitution—distinguished as that of the year VIII.—was ordered to be put in force in the first days of January, 1800; and, as a tribute of gratitude to M. Sièyes, to whom France owed the framework of her new government, the first consul caused it to be proposed to the legislative commission, that the estate of Crosne, in the department of Seine-et-Oise, should be bestowed upon him. “This gift was decreed and announced to M. Sièyes with the noblest expressions of public gratitude. M. Sièyes was highly gratified; for, notwithstanding an incontestable probity, he had a relish for the indulgences of fortune, and he could not but be touched, also, by the dignified and delicate manner in which this national recompense was bestowed on him.”* From this time “this celebrated metaphysician disappeared as a political person, and became, to use his own expression, *absorbed* in the pursuits of epicurean indulgences, which he covered with a veil of mystery.”†

No time was lost in organising the new government, so that it might come into operation at the time appointed. The council of state was nominated on the 24th of December. It was divided into five sections:—1st. Finance. 2nd. Civil and criminal legislation. 3rd. War. 4th. Marine. 5th. Interior. And it became, in a short time, not a merely administrative, but a governing body. Amongst the members were—in the 1st section, MM. Defernon (*president*), Duchâtel, Devaisnes, and Dufresne. 2nd. MM. Boulay de la Meurthe (*president*), Berlier, and Real. 3rd. MM. Brune (*president*), Lacuée, and Marmont. 4th. MM. Ganteaume (*president*), De Champigny, and Fleurien. 5th. MM. Rœderer (*president*), Cretet, Chaptol, Regnault St. Jean-d’Angely, and Fourcroy. The same day the consuls nominated twenty-nine senators—Sièyes and Roger-Ducos, the two ex-consuls, making thirty-one. The list had been previously prepared, and included the names of MM. Berthollet, Laplace (late minister of the interior), Monge, Tracy, Volney, Cabanis, Kellermann, Garat, and Lacipède. The next day these bodies met for the first time, and the twenty-nine additional members of the senate were appointed; making up the number of sixty. The additional list contained the following distinguished names:—MM. Lagrange, Darcet, François de Neufchâteau, Daubenton, Bougainville, Perregaux (the banker), and De Choiseul Praslin. The following days were occupied in selecting

* Thiers.

† Scott.

the members of the tribunate and the legislative body. There were numerous applications—the Luxembourg being besieged with the aspirants for the not ill-paid offices. The *Moniteur*, of the 27th of December, thus alluded to them:—"Since the constitution has created a number of well-paid posts, how many people are in a stir! How many faces, little known, are anxious to show themselves! How many forgotten names are again wriggling under the dust of the revolution! How many haughty republicans of the year VIII. are humbling themselves, that they may reach the ear of the man of power, who can provide for them! What numbers of Brutuses are soliciting appointments! How many men of slender abilities are extolled to the skies! What trifling services are exaggerated! How many bloody spots are hidden from sight! This wonderful change of scene has taken place in a moment. Let us hope that the hero of liberty—he who hitherto has only distinguished himself in the revolution by conferring benefits—will view these manœuvres with the disgust which they excite in every noble mind, and that he will not tolerate the attempt of a crowd of disreputable individuals to shroud themselves under the rays of his glory." Personally, the hero of liberty here alluded to (Bonaparte) had nothing to do with the appointments to the tribunate and the legislative body; but the council of state and the senate, who made them, were little more than his nominees; and, doubtless, they took care not to nominate any persons who were adverse to his views.

He had already, as M. Thiers remarks, "effected much since his return from Egypt. He had overthrown the directory, and acquired an authority, apparently inferior, but, in reality, superior, to that of a constitutional monarch. But he had only just possessed himself of that authority; and it yet remained for him to legitimatise its assumption by measures of utility and great actions. He had still an immense deal to accomplish; and his first attempts at re-organisation were only one effort. It was thus far successful, no doubt; but it still left the country exposed to great disorder and deep suffering. There were still poverty in the treasury, privation in the armies; the flame of civil war in the Vendée; hesitation on the part of the neutral powers; and a determination truly obstinate, on the part of the belligerents, to continue the war. Still, that assumption of power, succeeding his early toils, and preceding the immense task which he felt the confidence of ere long accomplishing, charmed his ambitious soul." That task was the subjugation of all Europe to his dominant will, and making France supreme among nations; and he would have accomplished it, but for what M. Thiers terms the "obstinacy" of England, which power alone continued, from first to last, a steady and dis-

interested opposition to his schemes of aggrandisement; and at length enabled France and the continent to throw off the yoke, though the misconduct, prejudices, and evil counsel of those for whom she fought, neutralised or destroyed most of the advantages which might have been attained.

One of the earliest steps taken by the first consul after the council of state and the senate were organised, was, it is said by the advice of Talleyrand, to address letters to the king of Great Britain and the emperor of Germany, making overtures of peace. It is only fair to the memory of Bonaparte that those documents should be given *verbatim*. The following is that addressed to the monarch of these realms:—

"Paris, 6th of Nivôse, year VIII. (Dec. 26th, 1799).

"Bonaparte, first consul of the republic, to his majesty, the king of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Sire,—Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first station in the republic, I think it proper, in entering upon my office, to make a direct communication to your majesty. Is the war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the globe, destined to be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, stronger and more powerful than is necessary for their safety and independence, sacrifice, to vain ideas of greatness, the blessings of commerce, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness? How can they help feeling that peace is the first of wants, as well as the first of glories! These sentiments cannot be new to the heart of your majesty, who rules over a free nation, with the sole aim to render it happy. In this overture your majesty will see only my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to the general pacification, by a prompt procedure, entirely confidential, and divested of those forms which, necessary perhaps for disguising the dependence of weak states, betray only, in those that are powerful, a mutual desire to deceive. France and England may, by the abuse of their strength, for a long time to come, retard its utter exhaustion, for the misfortune of all other nations: but, I dare assert, that the fate of all civilised nations is concerned in the termination of a war, the flames of which are raging throughout the world."

The letter to the emperor of Germany ran as follows:—

"Sire,—On returning to Europe, after an absence of eighteen months, I find the war re-kindled between your majesty and the French republic. The French nation has called me to fill the post of chief magistrate. A stranger to vain glory, the first of my wishes is to stop the effusion of that blood which is about to be shed. Everything forebodes, that, in the next campaign,

numerous and ably-directed armies will, in the event of the resumption of hostilities, triple the number of victims hitherto sacrificed. The known character of your majesty leaves me no doubt as to the wishes of your heart. If that wish alone is consulted, I see the possibility of reconciling the interests of the two nations. In the communications which I have previously had with your majesty, you have personally testified some regard for me. I request you to consider the step which I am taking as proceeding from a desire to make a return for it, and to convince you, more and more, of the very high respect which I entertain for your majesty.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE,

"First Consul of the French Republic."

Whilst awaiting replies to these notes, Bonaparte ordered all the diplomatic agents accredited to friendly or to neutral powers, to repair to their posts. He instituted arms of honour; and decreed that, in future, "for every brilliant action, a musket of honour should be presented to the infantry; a carabine of honour to the cavalry; grenades of honour to the artillery; and swords of honour to officers of all ranks." He took active steps to follow up the suspension of arms in the Vendée by a treaty of peace, which, chiefly through the influence of the abbé Bernier, *curé* of St. Laud, was concluded on the 18th of January, 1800; when M. d'Autichamp, a distinguished Vendean leader, agreed, on behalf of the province, to lay down arms and make complete submission, the government stipulating to grant a full amnesty, to respect public worship, to suspend or remit taxes in the ravaged provinces, and to exclude the chiefs from the list of emigrants. The first consul also appointed his brother Lucien to succeed Laplace (who had been nominated a member of the senate) as minister of the interior; and M. Abrial to succeed the second consul, Cambacérès, as minister of justice. He convoked the senate, the tribunate, and the legislative body, which assembled on the 1st of January, 1800; and chose M. Sièyes, M. Daunon, and M. Perrin, of Vosges, respectively as their presidents. Numerous *projets de loi* were soon sent from the council of state to these bodies, all of which, except the tribunate, appeared disposed to take the *mot d'ordre* from the first consul. That body contained a few members who wished to be independent; and as early as the 2nd and 3rd of January, some angry debates took place, which caused the first consul to conceive an aversion for that branch of the legislature which could not be overcome.

The answer of earl Grenville, the British minister of foreign affairs, to the note of the 26th of December, was received early in January. It was dated on the 4th of that month (the 15th of Nivôse), and was much longer than the document to which it replied. "The king," wrote his lordship, "has given frequent proofs of his

sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack; and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend. Nor can he hope that this necessity would be removed, by entering at the present moment into a negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France, since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation, to the great and desirable object of a general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war." The noble earl proceeded to demonstrate, that the causes arose out of the desire for "the extermination of all established governments," to promote which, "the resources of France had, from year to year, in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted." He showed how, "to this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, his majesty's ancient allies, had been successively sacrificed;" whilst "Germany had been ravaged, and Italy had been made the scene of unbounded anarchy and rapine." Even "his majesty himself had been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom." While such a system continued to prevail, any attempt to re-establish peace would be useless. His majesty would greatly rejoice if it should appear that the dangers to which he and his allies had been so long exposed had ceased, and that "better principles had ultimately prevailed in France." Though "the best and most natural pledge of the reality and permanence" of such a change "would be, the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and respect and consideration abroad;" yet, "desirable as such an event must be both to France and the world, it was not to that mode, exclusively, that his majesty limited the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His majesty made no claim to prescribe to France what should be the form of her government, or in whose hands she should vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation. He looked only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe." Whenever it appeared that such security and safety could in any manner be obtained, "his majesty would eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of a general pacification." At present there was "no sufficient evidence of the principles upon which the new government" of France "would

be directed, no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability." On the 7th of January, before, we should think, lord Grenville's letter could have been received, a decree of the consuls appeared, ordering the formation of an army of reserve, to be composed of all discharged veterans then unemployed; and a levy of 30,000 conscripts to be made from those liable to serve in the next year.

The reply of Austria was dated eleven days later than that of England; and, as its substance and tendency were the same as those of the English note, a copy of lord Grenville's despatch was probably sent to Vienna. M. Talleyrand, in his answer to that despatch, denied that France had provoked the war, which sprung from an opposite quarter; for "as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction;" and "it was to the projects of dismemberment, subjection, and dissolution, prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France had a right to impute the evils which she had suffered, and those which had afflicted Europe." If the wishes of his Britannic majesty, however, were for peace, "why, instead of seeking an apology for the war, should not attention be paid to the means of terminating it?" It was proposed to England, that negotiators should meet at Dunkirk, or some other place, to consider those means. To Austria, the first consul offered to negotiate on the terms of the treaty of Campo Formio. To which M. Thugut, the Austrian foreign minister, replied, that the treaty had been violated as soon as concluded; and that its terms were not capable of satisfying, at that time, the claims and pretensions of the belligerent powers; and intimated that Austria would not enter into negotiations to which England was not a party. Further despatches were interchanged; but the French government could not hold out sufficient proofs, either of its sincerity or its stability, to induce either the British or the Austrian ministry, at that time, to open negotiations. The correspondence was, however, important and valuable, as showing the object which those governments had in view. "This was not," as a modern historian observes, "to claim a right to interfere in the internal affairs of France, or to dictate to her inhabitants the form of government or race of sovereigns they were to choose;" the sole object of the war was self-defence: it "was undertaken not to impose a government upon France, but to prevent her from imposing governments on other

nations;" and to oppose a barrier to those infidel and democratical principles, by which "the republic first shook the opinions of the multitude in all neighbouring states; and then, having divided the inhabitants, overthrew their independence."*

Whatever might be the opinion at the time, it is now known that Bonaparte was not sincere in his wish to put an end to those hostilities, which he rightly described as having spread their flames throughout the world. In after-years, he told Las Casas and others, that he had no serious intention of concluding peace. "I had then," said he, "need of war; a treaty of peace, which would have derogated from that of Campo Formio, and annulled the creations of Italy, would have withered every imagination. Mr. Pitt's answer, accordingly, was impatiently expected. When it arrived, it filled me with a secret satisfaction. His answer could not have been more favourable. From that moment I foresaw that, with such impassioned antagonists, I could have no difficulty in reaching the highest destinies." Under the circumstances, the allies were justified in not negotiating with a newly established power, which might have been overturned at any moment; but knowing what we do now, it appears that they would rather have promoted their own interests than those of Bonaparte, by accepting his offers to treat, and by endeavouring to bring the war to a conclusion.

The negotiations with England and Austria extended into March. Whilst these were going on, Bonaparte was very active himself in directing and superintending the affairs of government; and he took care that others should not be idle. He placed the matters connected with law and jurisprudence in the hands of the second consul, Cambacérès; and that of the financial department was entrusted to Lebrun: all the rest—war, marine, interior, foreign relations—he took himself. He continued, for a time, the lenient measures with which he had inaugurated the consulate; but he very early showed himself no friend to the liberty of the press. In January, a decree appeared, signed by him as first consul; in which it was stated, that "the consuls, considering that some of the journals printed at Paris were instruments in the hands of the enemies of the republic, had ordered the minister of police to limit the number of journals published during the continuance of the war." The decree named the journals which were to be continued†—that privilege depending upon their not "inserting articles derogatory to the respect due to the

* These negotiations formed the subject of debate in both houses of the British parliament. The conduct of the British ministry was severely censured by the opposition in both houses; but motions condemnatory of that policy and conduct, were negatived, in the Lords by a majority of 74 to 6; and in the Commons by 265 to 74.

† These were the *Moniteur Universel*, the *Journal des Debats*, the *Journal de Paris*, the *Bien-Informé*, the *Publiciste*, the *Ami des Lois*, the *Clef du Cabinet*, the *Citoyen Français*, the *Gazette de France*, the *Journal des Hommes Libres*, the *Journal du Soir*, the *Journal des Défenseurs de la Patrie*, and the *Decade Philosophique*.

institutions of the country, the sovereignty of the people, and the glory of the French arms; or offensive to the governments which were the friends and allies of France, even if such articles were copied from foreign journals." Any violation of this regulation involved the immediate suppression of the offending journal. Theatrical compositions were placed under the censorship of the minister of the interior, as were all books. The *Moniteur* was declared to be the only official journal—a distinction it has retained under every change of government.

A new plan was formed, under the auspices of the first consul, which reorganised the interior of the republic for administrative purposes. The principal power in the departments had been vested in departmental councils, elected by the primary assemblies of the people. These councils were abolished, and the system of prefectures introduced, at the head of which was a prefect appointed by the executive. He was removable at pleasure, and corresponded directly with the minister of the interior. The taxation of the departments, and its distribution amongst the various communes, was settled by a council-general, convoked in each department once a year; its members (who received no salary) being appointed, and the meetings called, by the government. Another body, a council of prefecture, in each department, heard and decided all disputes on the part of the taxpayers. Over each commune there was a *maire*, and a municipal council, nominated by the prefect. "Thus a complete gradation of power was established; all depending on the executive, or in other words, on the first consul."—The judicial system was also reorganised. Throughout the country, the judges in the civil and criminal courts were elected by the people, for five years only; Bonaparte substituted judges, appointed by himself, for life. He also gave a *juge de paix* to each commune; a tribunal *de premiere instance* (something like our magisterial petty sessions) to every *arrondissement*; a criminal court to every department; twenty-nine courts of appeal to as many principal towns; and a court of cassation for all France was appointed to sit at Paris.* The trial by jury was retained; but a power was given to the prefect to interfere in, and regulate, the choice of jurors. The police was reorganised, and rendered more effective. The charge of the police in the *arrondissements* (answering to our hundreds) was given to the *maires* and their assistants; but in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and other large towns, a commissary-general of police (termed in Paris the prefect of police) was placed, who had commissaries under him; and all re-

ceived their orders from the minister of police, who had the *gendarmerie* also at his disposal. These arrangements were embodied in bills, drawn up under the eye of the first consul, and transmitted, through the council of state, to the tribunate and the legislative body, by whom they were adopted by large majorities. With respect to the police, however, the first consul did not stop with the foregoing regulations. He organised a secret police, of which Junot was the first director. The reports from this body were made direct to Bonaparte; and it was a watch upon, and a check over, the minister of police himself.—These arrangements form the basis of the present departmental, judicial, and police systems of France.

Simultaneously with these legislative measures, and the successful efforts to pacify the Vendée (before alluded to), a decided attempt was made to crush the insurrectionary movements which still continued in Britany and Normandy, where the Chouans—"that is," says Thiers, "men whom insurrection had habituated to plunder, and who could not do without it"—had fled, under Georges Cadoudal and other Vendean leaders. At first these men rejected all attempts to induce them to submit; and on the 21st of January (2nd of Pluviôse), general Chabot marched into the centre of Britany, attacked and defeated a band of 4,000 Chouans under M. Bourmont, and so disheartened that leader, that he yielded, and gave up his arms on the 24th. The general of the republic then marched upon Rennes; and on the 25th, two divisions of his army, under generals Harty and Gency, having seized a convoy of flour and cattle belonging to the insurgents, were escorting it towards Vannes, when they were attacked by a party of Georges' men, who attempted to retake the convoy. There was a desperate fight, which ended in the complete defeat and flight of the Chouans, 400 of whom were slain. On the 27th, another party sustained a defeat near Hennebon, losing 300 men. This appears to have annihilated the hopes of the royalists. An English 80-gun ship and some frigates were off the coast; the English government having been induced to send a force there, at the instance of several leading emigrants, who represented the entire country to be in arms. Some of these emigrants were landed in boats from the squadron; and when they found that everything was going against them, they got back with difficulty. Unfortunately, misled by the representations of these men, the ministry at London had sent to Georges 20,000 muskets and twenty pieces of cannon. He had scarcely got them into his possession, when the defeats just mentioned—

* This court already existed in another form. The president of the old court was M. Target, who refused to defend Louis XVI. When engaged in the formation of the new court, Bonaparte told Bourrienne that he

could not reappoint Target, but would make Tronchet president, who so nobly performed that perilous duty which Target had declined. This was not the only mark of sympathy he evinced for the royalists.

and the successes of generals Gardanne and Chambarlhac in Lower Normandy, where they had gone in pursuit of count de Frotte, who in valour, determination, and zeal for the royalist cause, was a second Georges—obliged that chief to submit; and the arms landed by the English fell into the hands of the republicans shortly after. Most of the leaders had interviews with the first consul, and all accepted his amnesty, and remained in France, except Cadoudal. His interview with Bonaparte lasted some time; and many inducements were held out to him to join the republican banner. He refused; and as soon as he quitted the Luxembourg, he set out for England. He had M. Hyde de Neuville for the companion of his journey; and, "several times, when giving his fellow-traveller an account of this interview, he exclaimed, showing his vigorous arms, 'What a blunder I committed in not strangling that fellow!'"

In these affairs with the royalists, there appears only one blot upon the republican escutcheon, and that was a foul one. Count de Frotte, seeing that the cause of royalty was for that time lost, wrote a letter to general Gardanne, before the submission of M. Bourmont and the other chiefs had taken place, proposing a general pacification of the Chouans. The negotiation was tediously prolonged, and the term proposed for its continuance by the royalists had expired; but the count apprehended no danger. He had, however, whilst the negotiation was in progress, written a violent letter to an aide-de-camp of the republican general. For this, as soon as the term for treating expired, he was seized, and several officers with him; brought before a military tribunal, and condemned to be shot. They died as heroically as they had lived;—an order, sent by the first consul (at the instance of Bourrienne) for their pardon, arriving too late. Many of the other chiefs took office under Bonaparte, who made the abbé Bernier (who had been instrumental in obtaining the suspension of arms in the Vendée, as well as the final pacification of the revolted provinces) bishop of Orleans.

No enemies being left in the field at home, and the war still raging abroad, the first consul turned his thoughts to taking a personal share in the campaign, although the law forbade his doing so. Before he made any arrangement for its opening, he resolved to close the session of the tribunate; in which body, notwithstanding the opposition of Benjamin Constant and a few others, he had secured a good majority. With a view to excite a sympathy across the Atlantic, and to enlist the inhabitants of the United States in his cause, he also resolved, about the same time, to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of Washington, the news of whose death on the 14th of December, 1799, was

received early in February. In pursuance of this resolution, he issued the following order of the day to the army:—"Washington is dead! That great man fought against tyranny, and he consolidated the independence of his country. His name will ever be dear to the French nation, as to all the free men of both worlds, and especially to the French soldiers, who, like him and his American army, are fighting for equality and liberty."—Ten days' mourning was ordered in the army; black crape was suspended from the tricoloured flag; and, on the 9th of February (21st of Pluviôse), the day the session was closed, the military were assembled at the Invalides. There general Lannes presented to Berthier, the minister at war, the colours taken in Egypt; then an oration was pronounced in favour of Washington, by M. Fontanes; and then, black crape being suspended from all the colours, France was declared to be in mourning for the founder of the American republic. What a mockery was this!—to be organised by the man who had already laid violent hands upon the liberty, and was even then concerting measures for the destruction of the republic, of France.

This ceremony was shortly followed by another—the installation of the consuls in the Tuileries, which took place on the 18th of February (the 30th of Pluviôse). After that palace was allotted to the consuls in December, it had to undergo considerable repairs; about 600,000 francs being expended upon it. When completed, the consuls, who up to that time had continued to reside at the Luxembourg, left the latter palace in a state carriage drawn by six white horses, which had been presented to Bonaparte by the emperor of Austria, after the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio; and the first consul wore a magnificent sword, also a present from that sovereign. This carriage was preceded by a few private coaches, but more hired ones, containing the ministers, the members of the council of state, and public authorities, all in full costume, as were the consuls themselves. The *cortège* was escorted by the troops, their bands playing as they passed along. Bonaparte, as soon as he arrived, rushed up the grand staircase of the palace, and looked around him for a few minutes with the air of a man who had just completed some great achievement. He then returned to the court, and reviewed the troops; after which he received the ministers and the officers of the various departments. Three days after, his first diplomatic *levée* was held, at which ambassadors from Spain, Rome, and the new Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics; and the ministers of Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Baden, and Hesse Cassel, were present.

Although the palace of the Tuileries was appropriated to the three consuls, only two took up their residence there—Bonaparte and Le

Brun; the latter being lodged in what was termed the Pavilion of Flora. But Cambacérès would not consent to abide in the "palace of kings." He is reported to have said to his colleague Le Brun—"It would be wrong for us to go and live in the Tuileries; it is not a fitting place for us; and, for my part, I will not go. General Bonaparte will soon want to live there alone; and then we should have to move out. 'Tis much better not to go there at all." Cambacérès was right; and he was also awake to his own interest. On his application for another residence, a handsome house in the Place du Carrousel was assigned to him, which he retained till Bonaparte had to leave France. As to that general himself, he no doubt thought he was established in the palace of the sovereigns of France for life. A day or two after he had removed there, he said to his secretary—"Well, Bourrienne, here we are in the Tuileries, and here we must stay now." Up to that time, the first consul's decrees, and other documents, still bore at the head the emblems adopted during the republic—of a female seated, and clad in ancient drapery; with the legend, "*Republique Française, Souveraineté du Peuple*;" to which was added, "*Bonaparte, premier consul*." This legend was soon altered to that of "*Au nom du Peuple Français, Gouvernement, Français*;"—the "liberty and sovereignty of the people disappearing in form, as they had long since disappeared, if they could be said to have ever existed, in practice."

Napoleon had scarcely taken possession of the Tuileries, when he received the following letter from Louis XVIII., dated the 20th of February, at Mittau, in Russia:—"Sir,—Whatever may be their apparent conduct, men like you never inspire alarm. You have accepted an eminent station, and I thank you for having done so. You know better than any one, how much strength and power are requisite to secure the happiness of a great nation. Save France from her own violence, and you will fulfil the first wish of my heart. Restore her king to her, and future generations will bless your memory. You will always be too necessary to the state for me ever to be able to discharge, by important appointments, the debt of my family and myself." A second epistle followed this after a lapse of some time, in which Louis said—"As to my principles, I am a Frenchman, merciful by principle, and also by the dictates of reason. You, the victor of Lodi, Castiglione, and Arcole, the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, cannot prefer vain fame to real glory. But you are losing precious time. Together we may ensure the glory of France. I say *we*, because I can do nothing for France without you, and you cannot secure her happiness without me. General, Europe observes you; glory awaits you; and I long to restore peace to my people." These

letters came to the knowledge of Josephine and her daughter Hortense, who were anxious that Bonaparte should, at all events, hold out hopes to the Bourbons. On one occasion, when they had been urging this course upon him, he said to Bourrienne—"These devils of women are mad! The Faubourg St. Germain has turned their heads! But I care not; I will have nothing to do with them. The partisans of the Bourbons are deceived, if they suppose that I am the man to play Monck's part." He did not return any answer to the first letter; but he replied to the second, after a long interval. Having thanked Louis for the civil terms used in his letters, he added:—"You must not think to return to France. You could not do it without trampling over 100,000 dead bodies. Sacrifice your interests to the repose and interests of France, and history will do you justice. I can feel for the misfortunes of your family; and I shall learn, with pleasure, that you are surrounded with all that can contribute to the tranquillity of your retirement."* It would appear that the first consul had great doubts as to the future stability of France, in the event of his dying without children; and anticipated a series of civil wars. But his dread of the emigrants and the priests, whom, he said, "none but a fool would trust," prevented him from countenancing any attempt to restore the Bourbons. If restored, he observed to Bourrienne, "they would think that they had reconquered their inheritance, and would dispose of it as they pleased." His own ambition, also, militated against the wishes of the rightful heirs to the throne. After several conversations with De Bourrienne on these letters, he at last said—"My resolve is taken, therefore let us say no more on the subject. I know that those women plague you. Let them mind their knitting, and leave me to do what is right."

Whilst the first consul was actively engaged in directing the measures we have detailed (and most of them originated with himself), M. T. d'Hauterive, a diplomatist of the old school of Choiseul and Vergennes, who was an *employé* in the office of foreign affairs, under Talleyrand, was performing the same office for him, which the De la Guéronnières, and others, have so frequently performed for his nephew in the present day: he was preparing a pamphlet, which was, in fact, a manifesto of Bonaparte's policy; and which was published soon after he was established at the Tuileries, where, according to some of his biographers, he was soon thrown into embarrassments by the extravagance of Josephine. This pamphlet was entitled *The State of France at the end of the Year VIII*. That state was described; and the aim of the first consul's policy was declared to be, to recover for France the political influence which

* About this time Murat married Marie Caroline, the youngest sister of Bonaparte.

she held and exercised in Europe in the 17th century. The increase of the power, and the development of the resources, of Prussia, Russia, and Austria, since the peace of Westphalia, demanded, according to M. d'Hauterive, a corresponding increase in the power of France; and, as a matter of course, the diminution of the influence and the power of England, which had been greatly augmented by the causes that injured France. "Had the war of the Spanish succession," according to the pamphleteer, "turned out more favourable to France, the maritime system of Europe would have been longer subordinate to the interests of continental politics. Holland and Portugal would have remained independent of England; England herself would not have changed her government; the family of the Stuarts would have been restored; and the English nation, less powerful and less wealthy, would not have made all the states of Europe pay so dearly as they have done, for the advantages which it has derived from its maritime power and commercial prosperity." To counteract the influence of that power and prosperity, a new system of international law, especially as it affected maritime questions, was declared to be necessary; "the basis of the maritime interests of France," was said to be "an alliance with Holland, Spain, and Genoa;" and a new maritime confederation was pointed out, which Turkey, the Barbary States, Naples, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States, were invited to join. "France," continued M. d'Hauterive, "has laid the foundation of her federative continental system. The most important conditions of this system are already realised; others depend on the chances of the war, and on the will of the belligerent powers. In this state of uncertainty, France will trust to the energy of its system of warfare, and to its watchfulness in strengthening its maritime federal relations."—The pamphleteer made the following remarks on the French armies and the military talents of the first consul:—"The French armies in the last campaigns, though generally less numerous than those of the enemy, have seldom presented themselves for battle in numbers disproportionate to those opposed to them. In the memorable campaign of Italy, the illustrious general [Bonaparte] was, perhaps, never in any one single battle inferior in numbers to the enemy before him. Constantly accelerating the march of his various corps, and triumphing over time and distance before he tried the chances of a battle, he had already, at the time of action, overcome every difficulty, and had made himself sure of

beating the enemy, over whom he had, by his celerity and genius, acquired the advantage of numbers—an advantage the greatest of all in the judgment of men who know that a field of battle is not a theatrical stage; and that the incidents of a combat are neither fictions nor prodigies, but real combinations, skilfully conceived and vigorously executed. These remarks may excite the surprise of the careless observer, but they will not escape the eye of the accurate historian."—After asserting, that "the French had, of late years, brought the art of war to perfection," by "establishing the theatre of war amongst the neighbouring nations; little more than one year's occupation of Italy" alone, having "saved France 160,000,000 of livres"—M. d'Hauterive wound up his pamphlet, by declaring what would be the future policy of France, i.e., of the first consul. "France has just conquered the alliance of Switzerland. If she cannot extend her federative continental system by peaceful means, she will substitute military influence; and, if the princes of Europe will not become her allies, she will force into her alliance those states which are unable to defend themselves, and she will press into her service all their resources for defence and for subsistence. The recent treaties with Holland, Spain, Switzerland, and some Italian states, exhibit our position with regard to our friends and allies. The treaties concluded with Prussia, and indirectly with some of the northern states of Germany, show our position with respect to neutrals. Our late treaties with Austria, and with some princes of Southern Germany, and the events which have occasioned the rupture of those treaties, reveal the position of France with regard to her enemies."—This was the policy which Bonaparte pursued, of establishing a great European confederation, of which France was the head and director; placing as rulers over as many states as he could, his relatives and friends, to render them more subservient to his influence.—The pamphlet of M. d'Hauterive was ably replied to by M. Gentz, a German author, who, in two works, *The State of Europe at the end of the 18th Century*, and *Considerations on the Cause and Character of the actual War against France*, clearly demonstrated, that that republic had then claimed a greater increase of territory, influence, and power, than was consistent with the maintenance of that balance of power which it had been the object of all the general European treaties of the 16th and 17th centuries to establish; and that, under the plan of a federal confederation, she really meant to absorb and subjugate all minor states.

CHAPTER II.

THE POWERS ALLIED AGAINST FRANCE; THE ALLIED FORCES; THE FRENCH ARMIES; STEPS TAKEN TO AROUSE THE SPIRIT OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE, AND RECRUIT THE TROOPS; DEPARTURE OF BONAPARTE FOR ITALY; PASSAGE OF THE GREAT ST. BERNARD; FORT BARB; THE CAMPAIGN OF APRIL AND MAY; SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF GENOA; DISCOMFITURE AND RETREAT OF THE AUSTRIANS FROM THE VAR; THE FIRST CONSUL AT MILAN; MOVEMENTS OF THE TWO ARMIES; BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO; BATTLE OF MARENGO; SUSPENSION OF ARMS.

HAVING succeeded in suppressing all signs of insurrection against his authority in France, and carried out those arrangements for the administration of his government at home, which we have noticed in the preceding chapter, the first consul turned his attention more exclusively to foreign affairs and to the prosecution of the war. One of his aims, in connection with the latter object, was to detach the czar of Russia entirely from his alliance with England, towards which power Paul was already much less favourably disposed than his predecessor had been. Several acts of courtesy were interchanged between the authorities of the two nations, the example being set by the French, by order of Bonaparte. The consul himself completely won the heart of Paul by sending home, not only without ransom, but clothed in new Russian uniforms, 7,000 Russian soldiers, who had been made prisoners at Zurich and in Holland. This led to a further interchange of civilities, and to Paul's taking a decided part against Great Britain, before the close of the year.

Still, at the period of which we are now writing (the beginning of March, 1800), Russia nominally formed a part of the triple alliance against France, the other powers being Austria and England. Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey also appeared in the list of the enemies of the republic; and, on the 16th of March, Bavaria entered into the alliance, by a treaty with England, concluded on the part of the British government by Mr. Wickham, then envoy to the German states. By this treaty the elector agreed to furnish 12,000 troops, in addition to the contingent which he was bound to supply as a member of the Germanic empire. Two similar treaties were concluded by the same minister with the duke of Wurtemberg on the 12th, and with the elector of Mayence on the 30th, of April, each agreeing to furnish 6,000 troops to join the army employed against France. The expense of the recruiting, equipment, and maintenance of these troops, was to be borne by England; and, whilst their dominions were guaranteed to the princes, they were bound not to enter into any separate treaty. The peasants of the Black Forest also armed in great numbers, and joined the Austrian army, which amounted to at least 150,000 men in Germany—30,000 in the garrisons, and 120,000 in the field. It was com-

manded by field-marshal baron de Kray, who had distinguished himself in Italy, but was not so popular with the troops as his predecessor the archduke Charles. That gallant and able commander had been removed because he had shown an unwillingness to prosecute the war, as he had convinced himself that it could not be successful. The second in command, under baron de Kray, was the archduke Ferdinand.—In Italy, the Austrians had at least 120,000 men under general baron de Melas, an officer of high reputation. About 96,000 of these men were encamped in Piedmont, and at the foot of the Maritime Alps; the remainder were garrisoned in Venice, Lombardy, and Tuscany. This army was supported by an English fleet, under lord Keith, which cruised in the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Genoa; and an auxiliary corps of 20,000 English troops was encamped at Port Mahony, in the island of Minorca, under general Abercromby, ready to be conveyed wherever their services could be rendered most useful. A detached squadron of ships from the English fleet blockaded Malta. The plan of the campaign, on the part of the allies, was, for the army under marshal Kray to watch Switzerland, whilst general Melas blockaded Genoa, and captured it, if possible, of which there appeared to be no doubt. Then to cross the Apennines and the Var, and march into Provence, upon Toulon; where it was expected a body of royalists, under general Willot, a proscribed emigrant officer, and Pichegru, who had escaped from Guiana, where he had been sent by the directory, would join them. As the allies advanced on the Var, it was expected that the French would be drawn from the Rhine; and then marshal Kray's army was to move forward, in two divisions, for the attack of Switzerland.

The force by which these plans were to be carried out was not only large but effective, for all the 300,000 men, who in Germany and Italy were arrayed against the republic, were seasoned troops, inured to the climate where they were serving, and inspired with an intense dislike, almost amounting to hatred, against the French. The great evil was, that the force in Germany had to be scattered over so extensive a surface; so that when the campaign fairly commenced, and Moreau marched 75,000 men into the valley of the Danube, Kray could only collect 45,000 to meet him there. The entire French army in

Germany, under Moreau, amounted to 130,000 men. The army of Italy, under Masséna, could not muster more than 36,000: of that number, upwards of 20,000 were encamped or quartered in Liguria, from the Trebbia to the Col di Tende—the object being to guard the passes of the Apennines, and cover Genoa. These troops were deficient in ammunition and artillery; their uniforms were ragged and torn, their spirits depressed, and there was great difficulty in persuading them to stand by their colours. In France the consuls had about 30,000 soldiers, principally scattered over the royalist provinces. To excite a national spirit, not only amongst these men but throughout the population of France generally, was a primary object of the government. With this intent, on the 8th of March (18th of Ventôse), a proclamation was published to the “French nation,” in the name of the consuls, but signed only by Bonaparte. “Frenchmen!” said this document, “you desire peace; your government desires it more ardently than you. Their first wishes, their constant labours, have been for peace. The English ministry reject it.” * * * “It is no longer for factions, it is no longer to choose their tyrants, that the French are arming; it is to secure what is dearest to them; it is for the honour of France, for the sacred interests of humanity.” To secure success, the consuls said, money, iron, and soldiers were needed; and Frenchmen being called upon to supply those essentials, were assured that their armies “would fight for nothing but the happiness of France and the peace of the world.” The legislative body, whose session was prolonged several weeks beyond that of the tribunate, followed up this proclamation by declaring, that “all Frenchmen who had completed their twentieth year, on the 1st of last Vendémiaire (September 22nd, 1799), were at the disposal of the government;” and they at once complied with the demand of Bonaparte for 100,000 conscripts. The consuls appealed to all discharged conscripts; to all soldiers retired, but not disabled; and to the companies of veterans, to join their old colours; or, if not attached to any corps, to repair to the army of reserve, to consist of 60,000 men, which was forming at Dijon. To still further popularise the government, an *arrêt* was published, recalling many of the proscribed who were still exiles from their country. This *arrêt* brought back Carnot, Barthelemy, Boissy d’Anglas, Portalis, Villoul, Joyeuse, and about forty others, several of whom were immediately employed by the first consul. “Those proscribed by the directory,” remarks Alison, “were thus early admitted into favour: at a subsequent period, Bonaparte received with equally open arms the royalists and the victims of the revolution. The only faction against which to the last he was inveterate, was the remnant of the Jacobin party,

who retained, throughout all his career, the resoluteness of their character and the perverseness of their opinions.”

The position of the French army in Italy was considered very critical; and the first consul determined to undertake another campaign in that country. He, however, was anxious to conceal his plans, and to give those who were observing his motions, erroneous impressions as to the objects he had in view. To divert attention from himself, therefore, he removed Berthier from his post as minister of war, nominated him commander-in-chief of the army of reserve, and sent him to Dijon. Carnot, the returned *proscrit*, was placed in the war-office in his stead. He had been brought up as an engineer, and, before the revolution broke out, had received promotion from the prince of Condé. He was well acquainted with the theory and practice of the military art, as far as any man who had not actually served in the field could be; and made an excellent war minister; ably carrying out the plans of the first consul for recruiting the strength of the army, and for supplying the troops with the *matériel* of war, and other necessities.

The latter part of the month of March, and the month of April, were employed in recruiting the army, and in disposing a part of it to protect the country; the other part being destined to share in the Italian campaign. A small force, half French, half Dutch, was stationed in Holland, under Augereau. Camps, of from 4,000 to 5,000 men in each, were pitched at Liège, Maestricht, Lille, St. Lo, and Rennes. There were near 30,000 men in the five camps, which still left 30,000 of the army of reserve to be disposed of. These were formed into three war divisions—one at Rennes, one at Nantes, and one at Paris; and when they were partly supplied with *matériel*, they were ordered to march rapidly to the east, by different routes; the general rendezvous being Lausanne. But more than these 30,000 men were required; and a further supply was obtained from the depôts of the regiments stationed in Egypt; which, although they were much wanted there, could not be sent, because, says Thiers, very naïvely, “it was impossible to cross the sea, incessantly watched by the English.” Some conscripts were added to these depôts, and a few fine battalions formed, which, as soon as equipped, were dispatched towards Lyons. A corps of artillery, with sixty pieces of cannon, was organised, and marched as soon as possible towards Lausanne by different routes. The first consul also collected and forwarded supplies of ammunition and provisions for the troops, who were furnished with shoes, clothing, arms, and horses on the march.—Whilst this was doing for the army, the navy was not neglected. Admiral Bruix had returned to Brest from a cruise in the Mediterranean,

and the "grand fleet" under his command, consisted of about twenty French and fifteen Spanish ships. It was closely blockaded by the English; but the first consul, having sent part of the arrears of pay, and provisions to this fleet, ordered the admiral not to suffer himself to be shut up in harbour; but, if he "had only thirty sail against twenty, to put to sea on the first opportunity, were he even obliged to fight." When once clear of the English, he was to make for Toulon, and convoy to Egypt certain vessels he would find in port, laden with provisions. Having performed that duty, he was to raise the blockades of Malta and Alexandria. The admiral found it impossible to obey these orders; nor was admiral Gantheaume, who eventually superseded him, more successful.

Having completed all these arrangements, the first consul, before he set out for Italy, was anxious to arrange with Moreau the plan of the campaign in Germany. He had a long correspondence with that general, and even sent for general Denoles, the chief of his staff, to explain to him the views he entertained as to the proper strategy to be adopted. Moreau, however, had a plan of his own; and he refused to be dictated to by the first consul, who was reluctantly obliged to give way, as he feared to displace that general, on account of the attachment of his troops.

On the 5th of May (the 16th of Floréal), the first consul informed his two colleagues that he was going to Dijon, to inspect the army of reserve; but should not be long absent. Leaving Cambacérès to act for him, and preside over the council of state, the next morning he left Paris for Dijon; and on the following day, whilst all Europe believed that he was busily occupied in organising his government, and preparing plans for others to carry out, he was travelling rapidly towards Geneva, accompanied only by his secretary, M. de Bourrienne, and his aide-de-camp, Duroc. He arrived at that town on the 8th, where he had an interview with Necker, and his daughter, the celebrated madame de Staël, who had resided at the villa of Coppet, near Geneva, since the constituent assembly banished the former. He made a very favourable impression on Necker, which was not reciprocated; for the first consul left him with the conviction that his fame, as a statesman and financier, was much greater than he really deserved. At Geneva he was also met by general Marescot, who brought him important information. Several weeks previously—as soon as he had determined to make an Italian campaign, and, by crossing the Alps, to enter Piedmont—he had sent this general to survey the passes of the mountains. Marescot had been assisted by other able engineers; and their reports induced the first consul to select the Great St. Bernard as the route by which the main body of the army should enter Italy. This would bring the

force in the rear of the army of Melas, and compel him to fight or fall back. A defeat would be fatal to him, as he must retreat, and abandon his conquests; but should the republicans be beaten, they could retire on the St. Gothard and the Simplon. A defeat to them would only be a loss of honour; to Melas, it would not only bring dishonour, but ruin in its train. All depended, however, upon concealing the real nature of the movements from the Austrians; hence the talk in Paris about the army of reserve; the nominating Berthier to command it; and the journey of the first consul, ostensibly to review the troops. Austria had her spies abroad, and they visited Dijon, where they found a miserable corps of about 8,000 men. The army of reserve, therefore, was made the subject of ridicule; and Melas had no fear of an attack on his rear. Strange, however, that, with her spies in all parts of France, as Austria is reported to have had at that period, their attention should not have been directed to the movement towards the east, of so many different bodies of men, who, when united, constituted that formidable army which wrenched from Melas all the advantages he had previously gained.

As soon as Bonaparte had determined upon his route, he set out for Lausanne. His arrival was preceded by that of the various bodies of men which had marched from Paris, Nantes, Rennes, Lyons, and Dijon; who had been busily engaged in preparing for their further advance. They constituted a force of about 35,000 infantry and artillery, and 5,000 cavalry. Carnot arrived at Lausanne soon after the first consul, and brought intelligence of successes obtained by Moreau in Germany; and the information that he would detach 15,000 or 20,000 men to descend on Italy by St. Gothard, in order to form the left wing of the first consul's army. This was what Bonaparte wanted. On receiving the news, the word "Forward!" was given, and soon all were in motion towards the Alps. In arranging for the march, the great difficulty had been with the artillery. At last, the guns were removed from their carriages, the latter being taken to pieces, and put on the backs of mules. The former were placed on sledges formed of large fir-trees, with very low wheels, and were dragged along by men. The ammunition and provisions were put in small boxes, and conveyed on mules, of which there were an abundance; for the peasants flocked to Lausanne, to offer the services of themselves and their beasts. The men also conveyed six days' provisions on their persons. So zealous were the troops, and with such admirable precision were their movements directed, that the guns were ready in an incredibly short space of time; and, on the 14th of May, the army had reached the foot of the mountains. There Berthier, who had

joined from Dijon, addressed to them the following proclamation:—"Soldiers! The troops of the Rhine have signalised themselves by glorious victories; those of the army of Italy struggle with invincible perseverance against a superior enemy. Emulating their virtue, do you ascend, and reconquer beyond the Alps—the plains which were the first theatre of French glory. Conscripts! you behold the ensigns of victory; march, and emulate the veterans who have won so many triumphs: learn from their lives, to bear and overcome the fatigues inseparable from war. Bonaparte is with you: he has come to witness your first triumph. Prove to him that you are the same men whom he formerly led in these regions to immortal renown." The entire army was now united, nominally under the command of Berthier; because, under a law of the constitution, the first consul could not command in person. Bonaparte evaded the law at first; but he soon defied it; and openly took that position of commander-in-chief and generalissimo, which he had all along secretly maintained.

The passage known as that of the Great St. Bernard, is one of the chief mountain-passes in the Pennine Alps, between the Swiss Valais and Piedmont. It may be considered to commence at Martigny in the Valais, and to debouche at Aosta, in the valley of that name on the southern side of the mountains. From the Valais, the passage was, at the time, practicable, even for cannon, as far as a place called St. Pierre, at the foot of the Cols; but from that place to Aosta, the road, or rather track, consisted merely of a horse or bridle-path, following the sinuosities of the ravines which had to be traversed.* The most elevated part of the ridge, at the summit of the Cols, is a narrow valley, inclosing a lake, 8,200 feet above the level of the sea. This valley, about a mile in length, is shut in by mountains covered with snow, and its appearance is inexpressibly gloomy. At its entrance from the Valais, stands the convent, the repute of which for hospitality is known all over Christendom; and which was, according to tradition, built by Bernard de Menthon, A.D. 862, for the succour of travellers. It is dedicated to St. Bernard, and has given its name to the pass and to the mountain. The latter, in ancient times—having a temple to Jupiter, standing at the opposite end of the valley to that where the monastery is built—was called Mount Jovis, corrupted into Mount Joux. A few remains of the temple are still to be seen.—This pass is on the south of Switzerland, and the north of Piedmont. The Alps extend further to the west; and then running southward, form the western boundary of Piedmont, and separate it from Savoy. In this western range are two passes,

* A good road is now made over the St. Bernard, passable for cars.

both more used than that of the Great St. Bernard—those of Little St. Bernard and Mont Cenis. The first consul determined they should all be made available. General Chabran, with the 70th demi-brigade and a number of conscripts, in all, near 6,000 men, was ordered to make for, and cross, the Little St. Bernard; and general Thurreau, who defended Mont Cenis with 4,000 men, had orders to cross the mountain, and, if possible, penetrate to Turin. The main body was to take the Great St. Bernard route; and as it was expected that it would be joined by the division from Germany, and probably by that of general Chabran, the first consul anticipated having from 60,000 to 65,000 men under his command.

In the night between the 14th and 15th of May, the advanced guard, under general Lannes, commenced the passage. On the 16th, the main army was at the foot of the mountain, and the first consul slept that night at the convent of St. Maurice. The following day the march began, and continued till the 20th, one division crossing each day. Some part of the ascent was extremely laborious and difficult; but the men sang warlike songs, and encouraged each other; the band of each regiment played at its head; when any particularly steep part was encountered, a charge was sounded: and thus the martial spirit of the troops was not suffered to give way. The cannon were dragged up the ascent by the men of the different corps; a hundred being attached to each gun, who were relieved every half mile. On reaching the hospital, there was an hour's halt, and the benevolent monks doled out to each soldier a ration of bread, cheese, and wine. Then they passed on, the most toilsome part of the passage being over. The merit of this march—though very laborious and difficult—has, no doubt, been greatly exaggerated. Sir A. Alison, who has traversed on foot the ground over which this army passed; that traversed by Suwarroff over the St. Gothard, the Schächenthal, and the Engiberg; and that surmounted by Macdonald in the passage of the Splügen, the Mont Aprigal, and the Mont Tonal—is of opinion, that "the march of Macdonald was by far the most hazardous" of the three, "so far as mere natural difficulties were concerned;" and that that of "Suwarroff was, upon the whole, the most worthy of admiration, from the vigorous resistance he experienced at every step; the total inexperience of his troops in mountain warfare, and the unparalleled hardships, both physical and moral, in which its later stages were involved. That of Napoleon over the St. Bernard, in a fine season, without any opposition from the enemy, with every aid from the peasantry of the district, and the experience of his own officers, and by a road impracticable only for carriages and cannon, must, with every impartial observer acquainted with the ground,

rank as the easiest of these memorable enterprises."

Berthier proceeded with the first division, in order to receive the *matériel*, and to see that it was properly put in order. Bonaparte remained at Martigny, to forward the other divisions, with the provisions, ammunition, and artillery. When the last man was on his way, he set forward himself. He took a Swiss peasant for his guide; and wearing a grey great-coat and three-cornered hat (his usual dress), with a riding-whip in his hand, he sometimes walked, and sometimes rode a mule, till he reached the southern foot of the mountain. Then he found that an unanticipated difficulty awaited him.

Lannes, with the advanced guard, had been ordered to push on to Ivrea, to take that town, and thus make himself master of the plain of Piedmont. He defeated a body of about 1,500 Croats at Chatillon; but on advancing a few miles further, his march was suddenly arrested at the entrance of the valley of the Aosta. That valley is traversed by the Dora-Baltea, and terminates to the north in a narrow pass, between two mountains, scarcely fifty yards apart from each other. The road runs between the foot of the mountains and the river; but not far from the entrance is a rock, "which seems to have fallen from the neighbouring heights into the middle of the valley." The river runs on one side of the rock, and the road on the other. The town of Bard lies at the foot of this rock; and at the top, when the French entered the valley, was a fort, with twenty-two guns, so disposed, as to command, not only the village and the road, but all the paths upon the adjacent mountains. A fire from this fort was opened upon the French, who dashed into the town, and soon compelled the Austrian troops there to take refuge in the fortress. But it was impossible to advance while the fort remained; and it appeared to be equally impossible to take it. General Lannes ordered an assault; but the attacking party was so cut up by stones, musketry, and hand-grenades, that the attempt was given up. Then, by wonderful exertions, two 4-pounder and two 8-pounder cannon were dragged up a steep mountain (Albaredo), which is on the left bank of the Dora-Baltea. A fire was opened from them upon the fort, to the evident surprise of the garrison; who, however, returned it, and dismounted one of the guns. General Marescot, the chief engineer, being consulted, declared that there was no means of taking the fort. The advance of the columns was, in consequence, suspended; cannon, caissons, infantry, and cavalry, accumulated in the narrow defile which formed the entrance of the valley, so as to be, for a time, unmanageable; and Berthier contemplated a retrograde movement. The first consul, however, on his arrival, would not hear of the troops retracing their steps, or taking any

route but that which would bring them to the vicinity of the foe. He immediately employed himself in reconnoitring the position. On ascending the mountain Albaredo, he found that there was a pass, practicable for pedestrians, but utterly impracticable for carriages and cannon, at a height which was beyond the reach of the guns of the fort. As the commandant of the latter indignantly refused to comply with the summons to surrender, it was resolved that the army should take this route; and it was a more daring and dangerous feat than the passage of the St. Bernard. Fifteen hundred labourers preceded the troops to make the path as practicable as possible, to cut down trees to throw across ravines, and, where the slopes were very rapid, to cut steps to assist the descent. Along this path the men marched in single file; the cavalry led the horses by their bridles; and the mules, with the provisions and the ammunition, were taken over in the same way. The Austrian commandant could scarcely believe his eyes when he saw the moving panorama above him. He immediately sent messengers to De Melas, to inform him of the enemy having crossed the Alps, and being then crossing the Albaredo into the plains below, without his having any means of obstructing them: but he pledged his life they should not get a single piece of cannon on the other side of the valley. He was mistaken. The French held the town; and in two nights they took through their guns, without losing one. In the first attempt, they were heard by the garrison, who lighted the road by a discharge of pot-grenades; and then a shower of projectiles put seven artillerymen out of thirteen *hors de combat*. To conceal their movements, the French covered the streets with straw and dung, and the wheels of the gun-carriages with tow. Tow was also wound about the guns themselves, so as to prevent the least jarring noise: they were then dragged past the fort by the artillerymen, and safely conveyed to the other side of the defile. The garrison from time to time discharged a gun, apparently by way of precaution, and several of the artillerymen were wounded; but none of the artillery were injured in the slightest degree. After all had passed, a division of conscripts, with some cannon, was left to reduce the fort, which held out till the 5th of June, when the commandant capitulated.

Whilst the main army was waiting for the artillery, Lannes pushed on, and, on the 25th of May, captured the town of Ivrea, where a gallant but unavailing resistance was made. The Austrians, when driven from the town, made a stand behind the Chinsella, where they were again defeated on the 26th, when they retired upon Turin. Lannes marched rapidly to the Po, where he was fortunate enough to secure a flotilla of boats, which proved of great advantage to the

French. On the 28th of May, the first consul had the satisfaction of seeing the whole of the main army assembled at Ivrea, its advanced guard having pushed on its patrols as far as the gates of Turin. The right and left wings were equally successful in their movements. General Chabran brought his conscripts over the Little St. Bernard; and the general took the command of that part of them appointed to besiege the fort of Barb. General Thurreau crossed Mont Cenis, carried the pass of Susa, taking 1,500 prisoners and several cannon, and then advanced into the Novalese. General Moncey, with the corps from Germany, advanced, without opposition, to support the operations of the first consul, by Mont St. Gothard and the Simplon. General Bethencourt, with a Swiss brigade, ascended the Simplon, forced the terrific defile of Gondo, reached Duoma d'Ossola, and opened a communication with general Moncey. And general Lecchi, with a division of Italians, turned the valley of the Sesia, repulsed an Austrian corps, and formed a link with a detachment left in Switzerland. Thus more than 60,000 men were either converged in the plains of Piedmont, or threatening the Austrians in other quarters.

But it is necessary that we should go back for a short period, and trace the operations of De Melas and his troops, from the commencement of the campaign on the 8th of April. At that period, the French army of Liguria, of 34,000 men, was divided into four corps. One, 8,000 strong, occupied the summit of the Alps, from Argentiére to Mont Cenis. The right wing, under Soult, composed of 16,000 men, occupied Gavi, the Campo-Freddo, the Bochetta, and the summits of the valleys to the north of Genoa. The centre, under Masséna, who had 12,000 men with him, was stationed to the westward, extending through Cadebone, Vado, Savona, and the Col di Tende: Masséna himself, at the commencement of the month, had his headquarters in Genoa, Suchet commanding in the field. The right wing, under Thurreau, as already stated, guarded the passes of Mont Cenis; watching, also, Little St. Bernard and the Col de Geneva. The Austrians were cantoned in the plains, and at the entrance of the valleys occupied by the French; and a strong division advanced on Genoa, which the republicans prepared to cover and defend. On the 5th of April, by orders from Vienna, operations commenced; and Masséna, who had neglected the advice given him by the first consul in March, to concentrate at least four-fifths of his forces on Genoa, or had been unable to act upon it, was, to a certain extent, surprised. De Melas had much the largest army; and he sent his lieutenant, general Ott, with 15,000 men, to debouch upon the right of Genoa; and lieutenant-general Hohenzollern,

with 10,000, to threaten that city on the left; whilst he himself, with general Elnitz as his second in command, and a division of 50,000 men, ascended the valley of the Bormida, and attacked the entire line occupied by the French centre; taking Vado, Savona, and Cadebone; intersecting the French line, and throwing Suchet back on Borghetto. Soult was also obliged to retire from Montenotte, and fall back on Genoa. In that quarter, Hohenzollern had driven the French from the neighbourhood of Gavi, far up the important pass of the Bochetta; and Ott had taken Montes Faccio and Ratti, and invested the forts of Quizzi, Richelieu, and St. Tecla, within cannon-shot of the walls of the city. These results were not obtained without much fighting, in which the republicans displayed great bravery; but generally they were much inferior in numbers to the imperialists, and were obliged to succumb.

These operations only occupied from the 5th to the 8th of April; and they rendered the situation of Masséna very critical. He had, in a sortie, recovered Montes Faccio and Ratti, and the positions in that quarter; but he found it necessary, unless he wished to be entirely overwhelmed, to make a decided effort to check the progress of the enemy. He therefore divided his army into three corps—leaving one at Genoa, under Miollis, to defend the city; another, under Gazan, was directed to march on Voltri, and from thence to Sassello; and he himself, with the third, moved along the sea-coast, hoping to co-operate with Suchet, to whom he sent a communication, ordering him to suspend his retreat. Soult was directed to move by Aqua-Bianca and San Pietro del Alba, upon Sassello, and to join Gazan, of whose division he would then take the command. These movements were none of them successful. Melas left Elnitz with a strong force at Vado, to make head against Suchet, and marched on Genoa. In the night of the 8th of April, the French were again driven from the Bochetta; and although, in the night of the 9th, Soult, having taken the command of Gazan's division, attacked an Austrian column under St. Julien at La Vereira, defeated it, and made 1,500 prisoners, taking also seven standards—yet this success was more than counterbalanced by the disaster sustained by the French left at Cogoletto. Masséna's division was there completely overwhelmed by De Melas on the 10th, and driven back to the neighbourhood of Voltri. The next day, Suchet and Elnitz met on Monte Giacomo. There the republicans were successful in separating general Ulm from the main body of the imperialists, and compelling the corps he commanded to lay down their arms. On the 12th, Suchet became the assailant, and the fortune of war changed. The Austrians were posted on Monte Giacomo, a lofty hill, difficult to ascend; and

the position was rendered as strong as art could make it. The French advanced with their characteristic bravery; but were repulsed on all points, and the ground was covered with their dead. Suchet had to retreat hastily; and he reached Melogno and Sette Pani, on the sea-coast, with great difficulty, his men being in complete confusion. There was more fighting on the 15th and 16th, between the Austrians under Hohenzollern and De Melas, and the French under Soult and Masséna; the result of which was, that both divisions of the republicans had to retire on Voltri. The attack was followed up on the 17th, when Masséna and Soult, being again defeated, were compelled to fall back on Genoa, which the latter only reached by the most desperate fighting. Suchet, after his repulse on the 12th, had been joined by some troops flying from other quarters; and he resolved to make another attack on Monte Giacomo; but Elnitz had received an additional force of three brigades from the commander-in-chief, and the republicans could make no impression. On the contrary, they were repulsed, and then the imperialists became the assailants. The French were completely beaten, and fell back towards the Var; and a few days after, threatened by a superior force under De Melas himself, Suchet, on the 2nd of May, fell further back, to Borghetto. There he was attacked, on the 6th, by De Melas, with a superior force, defeated with the loss of many men killed and wounded, and compelled to cross the Var, and, as far as he was concerned, to leave the soil of Italy free from the invader.

The French were now confined to Genoa. That city is situated in the very centre of the beautiful inlet of the Mediterranean, which bears the name of the Gulf of Genoa. A short distance from the sea, a spur of the southern Apennines separates into two ridges, one branching off to the east, the other to the west—thus forming a triangle, the base of which is supported by the sea. In this triangle stands Genoa, exhibiting, as vessels approach it, one of the most beautiful sights in the world. Noble palaces, princely mansions, lofty and elegant buildings (some private residences; others used for public purposes), terraces, and gardens, rise one above another; forming a splendid amphitheatre, in which nature and art appear to vie with each other to produce the greatest effect. At the period we are writing of, the city was strongly fortified, both next the sea, and by land. Next the sea, two moles inclining towards each other, till at a distance they appeared to meet, formed the port; and a double row of fortifications on the mountain ridges, which surmount the walls on the land side, surrounded the city. Two forts, Diamond Fort and Spur Fort, were built at the apex of the triangle, and covered the entire city, and

the fortifications, by their fire. Two rivulets bordered these fortifications—the Bisagno on the east, and the Polcevera on the west. The batteries on the west commanded the valley of the Polcevera, with the faubourg of St. Pierre d'Arena, which runs through its centre; whilst those on the east were themselves commanded by Monte Ratti and Monte Faccio. Detached outworks were therefore thrown up, called forts Quizzi, Richelieu, and St. Tecla, on the Madonna del Monte. Such was the city and the fortifications that the Austrians, aided by the English fleet, which established a strict blockade by sea, now prepared to besiege.

From the 18th of April, when he was driven back to Genoa, Masséna considered himself definitively shut up there, unless he could have relief from without, of which, at that time, he had no expectations. "He therefore turned," says Thiers, "his immediate attention to the internal police, and the provisioning the place. Fearful lest the Genoese nobles might practise treachery, he took precautions against any surprise on their part. The national guard, composed of Ligurian patriots, supported by a French force, encamped in the principal streets in the city, with lighted matches to the guns; this guard was to assemble whenever the drums should beat to arms. Such of the inhabitants as did not belong to it were ordered to retire, at that signal, to their houses. The armed troops alone were authorised to traverse the streets. At ordinary times the inhabitants were ordered to be in their houses by ten o'clock at night; and assemblages, at any time, were strictly prohibited." Masséna had bought up all the corn in Genoa; and, when the holders refused to sell it, he seized it without payment. He then put the army and the inhabitants on rations, by which the supply of provisions was not exhausted so soon as it would otherwise have been; but before the month of May came in, great want began to be felt, which was increased as the siege progressed. The operations of the besiegers were carried on with great activity. General Ott commanded the Austrians, who surrounded the city on the land side, and kept up a pretty brisk cannonade, whilst discharges of cannon were frequently made from the English fleet. It was not till the 30th of April that any decided assault was ventured upon. On that day the imperialists made their attack on all sides, and it was supported by a bombardment from the sea. In the course of the day the Austrians established themselves in the valley of the Polcevera; on the plateau of the Two Brothers, upon which Fort Diamond was erected; in Fort Quizzi; on all the southern slopes of Monte Faccio, and on the Madonna del Monte. The next day the French recovered all these positions, except Monte Faccio. On the 2nd of May, Masséna made a sally, and attacked the heights

of Coronata, which the Austrians had strongly fortified. He was repulsed with great slaughter; and, for the next eight days, little was attempted on either side. The French were struggling with famine—an enemy more fearful than the Austrians; and the latter were preparing for final measures. At length, on the 11th, when the Austrians were celebrating the successes of the commander-in-chief over Suchet, Masséna directed two attacks to be made on their positions on Monte Faccio—one by Soult, in flank; another by Miollis, in front. The latter failed, and the republicans were driven back in great confusion to the gates of Genoa. Masséna, however, rallied the fugitives, and again attacked the victorious imperialists, who were also assailed in flank by Soult. They were compelled to give way; and only made good their retreat by leaving 1,300 prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The following day an attack was made upon Monte Creta, a most important position on the mountains in the rear of the city, where the Austrian general, Hohenzollern, had posted himself, with several thousand men, and thrown up some strong works. Soult commanded the attack, which was commenced in the midst of an awful thunder-storm. At the outset, success appeared to declare for the republicans, who carried the first line of intrenchments. There they were charged by the Austrian reserve, headed by Hohenzollern, and thoroughly broken and routed. Soult, wounded in the thigh, was taken prisoner, and his troops fled back to Genoa in great confusion.

From that day the siege was converted into a blockade. After enduring the greatest sufferings from famine—cheered, on the 27th of May, by the receipt of intelligence of the passage of the Alps by the first consul; and of the successes of Moreau in Germany, which led to another sortie and another defeat on the 28th, followed by a severe bombardment in the night of the 31st—Masséna entered into negotiations; and on the 4th of June capitulated. The terms were honourable. The garrison (9,000 in number) retained their arms, ammunition, and baggage, and were conducted (those who could march) to Voltri and Antibes—the sick and wounded by sea. No stipulation was made in respect to their abstaining from service; but they were at liberty to join the French army immediately on leaving their captors. To the inhabitants, a full and entire amnesty was granted. It would be difficult to conceive either inhabitants or garrison reduced to greater straits than were those of Genoa before the surrender took place. When the victors entered the city, they encountered a population scarcely removed from utter destitution. "On all sides," writes Jomelli, who was an eye-witness of the horrors he describes, "death was reaping its victims; the rival furies of famine and pestilence were multi-

plying their devastations; army and inhabitants alike seemed approaching dissolution." Before the French departed, copious supplies of all necessities were sent from the English fleet. "Your defence," said lord Keith to Masséna, "has been so heroic, that we can refuse you nothing; yet you alone are worth an army: how can we allow you to depart?"

This was the last triumph of the Austrians; and if Masséna could have delayed the surrender of Genoa four-and-twenty hours longer, the siege must have been raised. The baron de Melas, now aware of the movements of the first consul, and of the formidable army which was collecting to drive him from Italy, had ordered general Ott to discontinue the blockade, and retire from the Po; and the Austrian staff officer who brought the order was with him when general Andrieux arrived from Masséna, to announce his willingness to give up the city, if an "honourable capitulation" were granted to the troops, instead of an "unconditional surrender" being exacted. This was the cause of such favourable terms being conceded. A few hours later, and the Austrians would have retired, leaving the city free. It was the opinion of the Austrian commander-in-chief—who, since Suchet had crossed the Var, had had his headquarters at Nice—that Bonaparte would either march on Turin, or immediately make for Genoa to relieve Masséna. He therefore retired on the Piedmontese capital, fixing his head-quarters at Coni. There he ordered generals Ott and Elnitz to join him, thinking that he should then be strong enough to fight the French if they advanced on Turin, or to pursue them if they went to Genoa. The latter general had been watching Suchet, who, when driven out of Italy, had rallied in a strong and almost impregnable position behind the Var. That river rises in the Alps; runs first in a south, then in an east and south direction; and, after a course of sixty miles, enters the Mediterranean at St. Laurent, six miles to the north-east of Antibes. For the last fifteen miles it forms the boundary between France and the Sardinian province of Nice. A strong bridge is thrown over this river at St. Laurent, which had a formidable *tête-du-pont*; and it was to the west of this bridge that Suchet had intrenched himself when he retreated from Nice, leaving garrisons in the fortresses of Montalban and Vintimiglia in his rear. The former, perched upon a rock, commanded the only road by which the Austrians could advance; and all their movements were telegraphed by the commandant to Suchet. Could Elnitz have attacked the bridge of St. Laurent immediately after the French had retired to their own country, it is very probable that he would have inflicted upon them another defeat. But he had to wait for his heavy cannon; and when they arrived, Suchet was so strongly posted,

that the efforts to dislodge him, made with great bravery on the 22nd and 27th of May, failed. In the last affair, the republican defences were attacked in front by the Austrians, with twenty pieces of cannon; and several English vessels, detached from the main fleet, kept up a constant discharge on their right. But little impression was made on the intrenchments; whilst the cannon of the French, and discharges of musketry from behind them, cut down rank after rank of the assailants. At length they retired; and Elnitz broke up his camp during the night, retreating, with 17,000 men, in the direction of Turin. The French harassed the retiring forces greatly in their march, and they received repeated checks. On the 7th of June, Elnitz, with one division of his army, comprising about 10,000 men, reached Ceva, twenty-six miles from the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief at Coni; where general Gorupp, with a much weaker corps, had arrived. —Suchet, after the surrender of Genoa, was joined by Masséna and part of the garrison of that city; and, by the direction of the latter, he re-entered Piedmont, posting his army upon the summits of the Apennines, in advance of Acqui, a small town on the left bank of the Bormida, eighteen miles south-south-west of Alessandria.

It is now time to return to Bonaparte, who did not direct his course either to Turin or Genoa; but crossed the Sesia and Ticino, in the direction of Milan, leaving the Austrians in his rear. General Lannes commanded his advanced guard. As a feint, he marched on Chiavaso, on the Po, and seizing a number of boats and small vessels, he commenced the construction of a bridge across the river; and this confirmed the opinion of De Melas, that Turin was the destination of his enemy—an opinion strengthened by general Thurreau's descent from Mont Cenis, and his capture of Susa and La Brunetta. He therefore sent a strong force to oppose Lannes at Chiavaso; while Murat, with his cavalry, occupied Vercelli, on the right bank of the Sesia, without opposition; and the entire army passed over, no enemy appearing to dispute their advance. At the Ticino, where the French found themselves on the 31st of May, a corps of Austrian cavalry, under general Festenberg, was drawn up in front of Turbigo, to oppose their passage. Under cover of artillery, the first division of the French, commanded by general Gerard, seized the bridge of Naviglio; and though the Austrians attacked them with great determination, and at first made a considerable impression on their ranks, killing and wounding a great many men—they were baffled by the French retiring into a position where the union of wood and water checked the impetuosity of the horsemen's charge. There they remained, attracting the attention of the enemy, till so many of the republicans had crossed the Ticino,

that they were enabled to drive the Austrians from Turbigo at the bayonet's point. No further opposition was offered; and, on the 2nd of June, the first consul entered Milan.

The French were received, apparently, with great joy by the Milanese; though as they had made similar manifestations on the arrival of Suwarroff the previous year, the sincerity of the demonstration may well be doubted. They were greatly surprised to see Bonaparte. It had been reported that he had been drowned in the Red Sea, and that it was one of his brothers who commanded the army: they would not, for some time, therefore, believe that it was really the hero of Lodi who was in their city. However, they were soon convinced, and then their apparent satisfaction was unbounded. The first consul lost no time in exercising the authority which the fate of battles had again placed in his hands. He took up his residence in the ducal palace; and having dismissed all the Austrian officials, he re-established the republican magistrates, and had the Cisalpine republic again proclaimed. He forbade, however, the adoption of any harsh measures towards the defeated party. He did not forget to procure, by levies and contributions, the means of obtaining supplies for his troops; and having taken these steps, he impatiently awaited the arrival of general Moncey, with the contingent from Moreau's army. The troops with him were not, however, suffered to be idle. A division under Lannes took possession of Pavia; Lodi was also occupied; and Pizzighettone, twelve miles from the latter, invested. On the 5th of June, three days after the occupation of Milan, during which all the above movements were made, Moncey and his troops arrived. They were somewhat more numerous than was anticipated, the division consisting of 25,000 men; and they rendered the army more than a match for the Austrians, even if Melas could have concentrated all his soldiers on the spot to attack them. On the 6th of June, Lannes crossed the Po at Pavia; and Murat at Piacenza. Duhesme, the same day, made an attack on Cremona, drove out the garrison, with the loss of 800 men, and established himself in their place. On the 6th and 7th, the first consul reviewed all the soldiers in the neighbourhood of Milan; and, on the latter day, addressed to the entire army a proclamation, in which he reminded his soldiers of what they had done, and what remained to do; and assured them, that "the result of their efforts would be a cloudless glory, and solid peace."

At Milan, Bonaparte obtained possession of all the despatches that had passed between the baron de Melas and the court of Vienna; and they made him acquainted alike with the plans and the strength of his enemy. A spy, who had been useful to him in his first Italian

campaign, but who had lately been in the pay of the Austrians, also made his appearance at Milan, where he had been sent to obtain, and convey to baron de Melas, information as to the movements of the French. He, however, went to his old employer, and betrayed to him all he knew of the designs of the Austrian general; giving him a description of the Austrian corps, their numbers, their positions, and the names of their generals. For this he received 1,000 louis d'or from Bonaparte, who said he did not want to conceal a knowledge of the strength of his forces, and their position, from the Austrians: Berthier, therefore, gave the spy what particulars he required, with which he returned to Coni, and received another reward from De Melas.* The information thus obtained, induced that general to advance to Alessandria, where he remained three days inactive, while the French were strengthening themselves on the right bank of the Po; and three out of four corps which De Melas had ordered to advance on Piacenza, from different directions, were met by the enemy, and defeated in detail. The fourth, and the most numerous one, under general Ott, met Lannes and Victor, with two advanced divisions of the French army, at Montebello, near Voghera, on the 9th of June. The Austrians amounted to nearly 15,000 men, chiefly Hungarian grenadiers. This division had been engaged in the siege and blockade of Genoa, whose fall Bonaparte had been apprised of by intercepting a courier from Ott to De Melas; and he had warned Lannes that he would meet 15,000 or 18,000 troops coming from that city, where Hohenzollern had been left in command. On the way to Piacenza, Ott met the fugitives from that town, Pavia, and Cremona. He formed a junction with them; and on learning the advance of the French, he posted his men on some gentle eminences, in two lines—the right resting on the heights formed by the roots of the Apennines, and commanding the road to Tortona, which wound round them; the left extending into the plain, where their fine cavalry would have ample room to manœuvre. Lannes' division was in advance, and first came into action. It was not more than 9,000 strong; but the men advanced *en échelon*, attacked the Austrian positions, and fought for some time against the odds with great desperation. They were giving way, and must have been utterly routed, when Victor's division came up, and turned the fortune of the day. The Austrians were then outnumbered, but they fought desperately. As the battle continued, the men crossed fields covered with grain nearly as tall as themselves, and the opponents were frequently hid from each other

till they found themselves in immediate contact. In this position, much hand-to-hand fighting took place, and the slaughter was great. At last, the Austrians, their left being turned, were obliged to retreat, having lost 5,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. In this battle, for which Lannes afterwards received the title of Duke of Montebello, that general said, "bones cracked like glass in his division." After the engagement, general Ott rallied his men under the walls of Tortona, four miles from the field where it was fought.

It had been the intention of the first consul, after occupying Milan, to relieve Genoa; but the fall of that place caused an alteration in his plans. He therefore moved his army to Stradella, about thirty-four miles to the east-northeast of Alessandria, where De Melas had his head-quarters. There he remained three days; and there he was joined by Desaix, who, on arriving in France from Egypt, found letters, wishing him immediately to go to Italy. From Stradella messengers were dispatched to Suchet, ordering him to cross the mountains by the Col di Cadibona, and march on the river Scrivia; thus placing himself in the Austrian rear. The first consul also stationed from 9,000 to 10,000 men on the Ticino; left from 3,000 to 4,000 at Milan and Ancona, and placed from 10,000 to 11,000 on the lower course of the Po and the Adda. All these different corps and divisions were posted in such a manner that they could, with the utmost promptness, reciprocally support each other; and the two bridges over the Po, which afforded the only means of retreat in case of disaster, were covered with formidable *têtes-du-pont*. Bonaparte had with him, at Stradella, about 32,000 men; and he had succeeded in occupying the only line by which the Austrian general could reach the plains of Lombardy.—That general was environed with dangers. He had Bonaparte in front, and Suchet in his rear. On his right the ridges of the Apennines, backed by the sea; and, on his left, the Alps, the passes of which led to an enemy's country. He appeared thus to be in a net; but he was not disheartened. He had 30,000 excellent troops, on whose disposition and bravery he could confidently depend; his artillery was far superior to the enemy's; and his cavalry deserved the epithet which has been frequently applied to them, of "magnificent." He determined, therefore, to give battle, and to break through the lines of circumvallation which Bonaparte had drawn round him. To enable him to carry out this determination with greater assurances of success, he summoned Elnitz from Ceva, and Hohenzollern from Genoa. The latter had orders to bring with him every able-bodied man, and to leave the defence of the place to

* This man's information was very useful to the French; and, after the battle of Marengo, Bourrienne, by Bonaparte's order, gave him another thousand louis. On re-

ceiving them, the man said he would never more follow his "odious profession;" which he appears to have despised whilst he practised it.

those troops who had been prisoners within its walls, and who had not yet recovered from the effects of the privations they had endured. A courier was also dispatched to lord Keith, to request him to transport from Minorca the English auxiliary corps, which had been for some time inactive. This courier left head-quarters on the 10th of June, after De Melas had learned the full extent of Elnitz's losses, and the fatal result of the battle of Montebello. Even this did not dishearten him; and he addressed a proclamation to his troops, couched in firm and heroic language, in which he called upon them to emulate their past deeds, and live with glory, or die with honour.

The position of Stradella was admirably adapted to resist attack, and "to compensate," remarks an historian, "the inferiority of the first consul in cavalry and artillery. The right rested on impracticable morasses, extending to the Po; the centre was strengthened by several large villages; the left, commanding the great road, extended over heights, the commencement of the Apennines," where a field battery was placed. There Bonaparte awaited the attack of De Melas; and when, at the end of the third day, he neither saw nor heard anything of him, he imagined that he must have "escaped, either by ascending towards Genoa, or by crossing the Upper Po, with the intention of forcing the Ticino. Tired of waiting," writes Thiers, "he left his position at Stradella in the afternoon of the 12th of June, and advanced, followed by his whole army, to the heights of Tortona. He gave orders for the blockade of that fortress, and established his head-quarters at Voghera. On the morning of the 13th he crossed the Scrivia, and debouched in the immense plain extending between that river and the Bormida, which, at the present day, has no other name but the plain of Marengo." There the troops bivouacked, and Victor was ordered to take possession of the bridges over the Bormida. The French advanced with their usual daring; carried the village of Marengo with little loss; but were arrested at the Bormida by a cannonade from the *têtes-du-pont*. There was no appearance, however, of any large bodies of the enemy; and the first consul drew the not unnatural conclusion, that De Melas had found an outlet in another direction; as, if he had intended to fight a battle, and force his way from Alessandria to Piacenza, it did not appear likely that he would have suffered the plain and village of Marengo to have been occupied without a struggle. So impressed was the first consul with this idea, that, having ordered Victor and his two divisions to remain at Marengo; sent Desaix, to whom he had entrusted the command of the reserve, to Rivolta, with a view to observe the communications with Genoa; and placed Lannes *en échelon* in the plain, with Watrin's division—he directed

all the officers of his staff to meet him at head-quarters at Voghera, and set off on his return there. The waters of the Scrivia had, however, risen during the day, and overflowed its banks. To pass was impossible; and he fixed his head-quarters for the night at Torre di Garofalo, between Tortona and Alessandria. But for that event, a very different result might have ensued on the following day.

De Melas had not retired. On the contrary, he was advancing with 24,000 infantry, 7,000 cavalry, and 200 pieces of cannon, towards Marengo; a council of war having been held on the 12th, at which it was resolved immediately to give battle to the French. The field where the battle must take place was the plain of Marengo, just alluded to. This plain was traversed, for its whole extent, by the high road from Alessandria to Piacenza. San Giuliano was the first town when the Scrivia was crossed. From thence it was three-quarters of a league to Marengo, which was near the Bormida. The road between the two places ran in a straight line; and the plain on each side was covered with corn-fields and vineyards. Early on the morning of the 14th of June, the Austrian army was in motion, and crossed the Bormida by three bridges which were thrown over the stream. General Victor, when he occupied Marengo, had placed Gardanne's division in advance. It consisted of two demi-brigades; and they were the first that came in contact with the imperialists. O'Reilly's brigade, supported by a park of artillery, had crossed the Bormida as the advanced guard of De Melas's army; and its superiority of numbers soon compelled Gardanne to retreat to Marengo. Two lines followed O'Reilly—the first led by generals Haddick and Kaim; the second by De Melas and Zach. Elnitz commanded the cavalry, which made a detour by Castel Ceriolo, in company with general Ott's division. As the Austrians advanced, Victor united his two divisions to defend Marengo; and he dispatched a messenger to the first consul, to inform him that the whole Austrian army was advancing, with the evident intention of giving battle.

Marengo, if the numbers were at all equal, was well situated for defence. Between the Bormida and the village there was a deep and muddy rivulet, called the Fontanone. It formed the arc of a circle; the Bormida, into which it fell on both sides, being the chord. Victor disposed his force in three divisions—the centre, in the village; the right and left, on the Marengo side of the rivulet; the former extending to Castel Ceriolo. The division of Lannes was posted, part on the right, between Marengo and Castel Ceriolo; and part as a reserve in the rear, and at some distance. The French gallantly received the fire of generals Haddick's and Kaim's column; and, for two hours, the firing was incessant—two

divisions of the French troops, Gardanne's and Chambarlhac's, being drawn up in a semicircle, round the Fontanone, and pouring a converging fire into Kaim's brigade. While it continued, general Pilati attempted to pass the Fontanone, and turn the left of the French. He was repulsed; but renewed the attempt, when general Kellermann met him at the head of his brigade; and though Pilati had 2,000 of the "magnificent" cavalry with him, he could not stand the shock. The French "dashed upon his squadrons as soon as they attempted to debouch, slaughtering, and hurling them into the muddy bed of that little stream, which could not have been better formed by the most consummate art for covering the position of the republicans." But numbers prevailed. De Melas brought up his column in aid of Haddick, who received a severe wound, of which he subsequently died, and was obliged to leave the field. The rivulet, as well as the river, were passed, and the village carried by assault. The brave officer who defended it, Oliver Rivaud, though wounded, returned, and drove out the Austrians; but they retook it; and, after two hours' fighting, from 7 to 9 A.M., it remained in their possession. Receiving intelligence that Suchet was moving on his rear, and had reached Acqui, De Melas detached 2,500 horse to arrest his progress, and then devoted all his energy to drive the French across the plain. For two hours more the battle raged. At the expiration of that period the French showed signs of weakness; the Austrians pressed on with redoubled ardour; and Chambarlhac's division, in the centre, was well-nigh mowed down. Oreilly drove back the extreme left of the French: Ott, debouching from Castel Ceriolo with a fine body of cavalry, turned the right wing, where Lannes commanded; and though the cavalry brigades of Champeaux and Kellermann made some brilliant charges (in one of which Champeaux was mortally wounded), they could not make an impression on the imperialists. After four hours' fighting the French gave way. At first they retired in some order; but, repeatedly charged by superior numbers, at last the mass broke up, and the plain of Marengo was covered with the dying and the dead, and with numerous detached bodies of men trying to escape the ruthless fire which was pouring upon them, and still desolating their ranks. A few squares of Lannes' division only maintained their ground; Victor's was entirely broken and dispersed.

If Bonaparte had retired to Voghera on the previous evening, the defeat of Victor and Lannes would have been complete. But Victor's message soon reached him at Torre di Garofalo, and he immediately hastened to the scene of carnage, taking with him the consular guard and Mounier's division of three demi-brigades; two regiments of cavalry following in

his rear. Before he started he dispatched a messenger to Desaix, with orders for him to return with the reserve to San Giuliano with the utmost expedition. It was eleven o'clock when Bonaparte arrived on the plain of Marengo. He rode at the head of his guards, and the sight appeared to give the flying troops new spirit. The fugitives, who had reached San Giuliano, rallied in the rear of Lannes. Bonaparte dispatched 800 grenadiers of his guard to check the career of Ott in that direction; Mounier's division was sent to Castel Ceriolo, to stop the further progress of the enemy from that point; and the first consul placed himself in the centre. Again the battle raged; Lannes' demi-brigades effected wonders; and the grenadiers of the guard, though charged by cavalry and attacked by cannon, for some time maintained their ground unbroken. Castel Ceriolo was taken and retaken; but at length Cara St. Cyr drove out the Austrians, and, by barricading the houses, maintained himself there for the remainder of the day. The reserves brought up by Bonaparte thus preserved the right wing from that frightful disorder which prevailed in the left, and extended to the centre. If so large a portion of the Austrian cavalry had not been detached to watch Suchet, those portions of the French army must have been entirely cut up. Even the right was obliged to give way at last; and Bonaparte ordered them to fall back by degrees, anxiously longing for the hour when he might expect the approach of Desaix.

It was past the middle of the day. De Melas (who had two horses shot under him), supposing the victory won, and greatly fatigued with the exertions of the morning, which few men of his age could have sustained, had returned to Alessandria, leaving the command to Zach. The broken centre and left of the French were falling back, in great disorder, upon San Giuliano; and the Austrians were following, more leisurely than Zouaves or Chasseurs de Vincennes would have done on such an occasion. The right wing was also retreating, but in good order. Lannes was two hours in retiring three-quarters of a league—halting, and charging with the bayonet, when the enemy approached and became too pressing. At length, about 3 P.M., the heads of the columns of Desaix's division were seen debouching on the plain, near San Giuliano. The first consul immediately rode up; and on encountering Desaix, his first words were, "What think you of the day?" "That we've lost the battle; but there's time to gain another," was the reply; and steps were immediately taken to retrieve the misfortunes of the previous eight hours. "The French soldier," says Scott, "understands, perhaps better than any other, the art of rallying after having been dispersed. The fugitives of Victor's division, though in extreme disorder, threw themselves into the

rear of Desaix's position, and, covered by his troops, re-formed their ranks, and renewed their courage." Desaix had 6,000 fresh troops with him. Zach was advancing upon San Giuliano, at the head of about 5,000 men. The arrangements to stop him had to be made instantaneously; and if they failed, all would indeed be lost. Not daunted by the responsibility of their position, a few minutes sufficed for the first consul and Desaix to make their arrangements: all the other leading officers counselled a retreat; but of that Bonaparte would not hear. Desaix's fresh troops were formed in advance of San Giuliano, a little to the right of the high road: on their left were the relics of Victor's division; on their right, Lannes' demi-brigade: the whole formed an oblique line, from San Giuliano to Castel Ceriolo; and twelve pieces of artillery, all that were left, were ranged, under Marmont, in front of Desaix's brigade. The troops were scarcely formed when the Austrians appeared, "in order of march, rather than in order of battle," it is remarked. As soon as they were fairly in sight, Marmont discharged a shower of grapeshot upon them, to their great surprise. Desaix, at the same instant, led on one of his demi-brigades. He was on horseback; and, sending Savary to the first consul with the message that he was going to charge, and wanted some cavalry to support him, he gave the word, and the republicans advanced, with a brisk discharge of musketry. The Austrians returned it, and Desaix was mortally wounded at their first fire. His fall from his horse was seen by his troops, and appeared to inspire them with an intense desire for vengeance. The 9th light infantry, which he was leading, poured in their fire, and then, forming column, charged the enemy with an irresistible impetuosity; and their front line, broken up, fell back upon the second in complete disorder. The Austrians, however, stood their ground well; and the Hungarian grenadiers, advancing to the charge, made the French halt: a fearful discharge of musketry took place, and the French line wavered, broke, and fled. At this moment, Kellermann, who, with his dragoons 800 strong, had been concealed from the Austrians by the festoons of a vineyard, charged them when "they were rapidly advancing to follow up their success, in all the disorder and security of victory."* The column was cut in two; and such was the fearful slaughtering to the right and left, that the Hungarians, absolutely cowed, laid down their arms to the number of 2,000, and, with the general and his staff, were made prisoners. The rest fled in great disorder, and, in their route to the rear, threw into irretrievable confusion the other divisions which were advancing to their support. Then the remains

* Letter of Kellermann, who gave this account of the charge which finally made the French victorious.

of Victor's and Lannes' divisions attacked with renewed spirit the infantry of general Kaim, which was opposed to them; and retrieved the misfortunes of the early part of the day, by driving them, in the utmost disorder, towards the Bormida. The flying foe made for the bridges—some took the stream itself; amongst whom were the artillery, who not able to get on the bridges, which were choked up by the infantry, dashed into the river, where horses and guns were entangled in the mud, and twenty pieces fell into the hands of the republicans. The loss was great, and would have been much greater, had not baron de Melas hastened to the spot. He rallied the rear-guard in front of the bridges, and by a bold and determined courage, which reflects the greatest honour upon the men under the circumstances, they checked the pursuit, and gained time for their comrades to cross. Having reached the ground they left in the morning, the remnant of the troops re-formed, and retired to their quarters, depressed and spirit-broken; whilst the French were exulting over their hardly-won victory.

This was one of the most important victories Bonaparte ever gained; for if he had been defeated, he would have lost France. Yet the death of Desaix made the recollection of it unpleasant to him; for he seems never to have loved nor regretted any one so much as he did this young general, who was cut off at the early age of thirty-three. His body was found by Savary, and it was carefully embalmed by the orders of the first consul, who retained Savary and Rapp, who had been his aides-de-camp, near his own person. But he had soon to turn his thoughts from private friendship to public affairs. When baron de Melas retired to his quarters, and considered the position of his army, he found that the losses he had sustained were quite irreparable; and on the next morning (June 15th; 27th of Prairial), he sent prince Lichenstein with a flag of truce to the first consul, to solicit an armistice. The proposal was very acceptable to Bonaparte, whose position was not much more favourable than that of De Melas. He therefore at once assented; and the same day the terms were agreed to, and signed at Alessandria. They were as follows.

A general suspension of arms till the emperor could be referred to at Vienna; and if his approbation was received, the Austrians were to retire behind the line of the Mincio, with all the honours of war; and to surrender to the French all the fortresses they occupied. The latter were to be delivered up between the 16th and the 26th of June; the Austrian army to be divided into two columns, and to retire as fast as the fortresses were given up. M. de Melas had accumulated a vast store of provisions, which were to be divided equally between the contracting parties: the artillery at

the Italian foundries to be delivered to the French, and that at the Austrian foundries to the imperialists; and the latter, on evacuating Lombardy, were to confine themselves behind the Mincio, the Fossa Maestra, and the left bank of the Po, from Borgo Forte to the mouth of the river, in the Adriatic. Peschiera and Mantua were left to the Austrian army.

The armistice signed, there was nothing to detain the first consul at Marengo; but before he left, he wrote a letter to the emperor of Austria, "amidst the sufferings of a multitude of wounded, and surrounded by 15,000 dead," to "beseech his majesty to listen to the voice of humanity, and not to permit two brave nations to slaughter each other for interests which were foreign to both." M. de St. Julien, one of the generals who possessed the confidence of the emperor of Austria, was sent to Vienna with this letter and the convention of Alessandria. On the 17th of June (29th of Prairial), the first consul left Marengo for Milan, where he instituted a provisional government till that of the Cisalpine republic could be thoroughly reorganised, and appointed general Jourdain the commissioner. He recognised the new pope, Pius VII. (whom he induced to liberate Talleyrand, *ci-devant* bishop of Autun, from his obligations as an ecclesiastic); and the Milanese

having made preparations for a solemn *Te Deum* in the ancient cathedral, he determined to attend it. Writing to his colleagues, he said—"To-day, in spite of all that our Paris atheists may say, I am going in great state to the *Te Deum* which is to be sung in the cathedral of Milan." The same day, he assembled the clergy of Milan at the ducal palace, and addressed them in a very impressive speech. In the course of it, he said—"No society can exist without religion; there is no good morality without religion; it is only religion, then, which gives to a state good and lasting support. I inform you, that the churches in France have been opened again, that the catholic religion there resumes its former splendour, and the people look with respect to their old pastors, who return full of zeal to their old flocks." * * * "This is what I wished to communicate to you on the subject of the Christian religion, catholic and Roman. I wish that the expression of these opinions may remain engraven on your hearts, that you may give effect to what I have been saying. And I give permission for this to be communicated to the public through the press, in order that my opinions may be known, not only in Italy and France, but all through Europe." The publication of this speech produced a great effect in France.

CHAPTER III.

THE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY; ALTERNATE SUCCESSES AND DEFEATS OF THE AUSTRIANS; ARMISTICE OF PARSDORF; THE FIRST CONSUL AT PARIS; FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE; SECOND CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY; BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN; ANOTHER ARMISTICE; SECOND CAMPAIGN IN ITALY; ARMISTICE OF TREVISO; MALTA TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH; AFFAIRS OF EGYPT; CONVENTION OF EL ARISCH; REFUSAL OF ENGLAND TO RATIFY IT; ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL KLEBER; INTERNAL CONDITION OF FRANCE; THE INFERNAL MACHINE.

THE first consul, having appointed Masséna commander-in-chief in Italy, left Milan on the 24th of June. He was accompanied by M. Duroc, his favourite aide-de-camp; M. de Bourrienne, his secretary; Savary, one of the officers he had attached to his person, in memory of Desaix; and Bessières, commandant of the consular guard. Before, however, we notice the events which transpired in the French capital towards the close of the year and the century, we must take a glance at the campaign in Germany, where misfortune had also awaited the Austrian arms.

The month of April was occupied by both Austrians and French in taking up their positions. The head-quarters of field-marshal Kray were at Donauschingen, in the grand-duchy of Baden. His right wing, 26,000 strong, rested on the

Maine. It was commanded by general Starray, whose head-quarters were at Heidelberg. The left, consisting of 26,000 men, under the prince de Reuss, was in the Tyrol; with 7,000 militia, who occupied the Rheinthal, and the shores of the Lake of Constance. Kray commanded the centre division of 43,000 men, stationed behind the Black Forest, in the environs of Villingen and Donauschingen. Another body of 15,000, under Keinmayer, guarded the passes from the Reuchen to the Valley of Hell, and formed the connecting link between the centre and the right wing. Moreau had also divided his army into three corps. The centre, of 26,000 men, under Gouvion St. Cyr, occupied the left bank of the Rhine, from New Brisach to Plobsheim; the right, of 32,000 men, under Lecourbe, occupied Switzerland, from Basle to St. Gothard; and the left, of

21,000 men, under Sainte Suzanne, extended from Kehl to Haguenau. The reserve, composed of 28,000 fine troops, under Moreau himself, was in the neighbourhood of Basle. The campaign commenced on the 24th of April (4th of Floréal), when Moreau put his troops in motion. The remainder of the month was occupied in marchings and counter-marchings, which it would be of no interest to detail, the object being to deceive the Austrians as to the real intention of the French general, which was to cross the Rhine; and the Austrians were most desirous of preventing him. He, however, succeeded, by the 1st of May, in placing the entire army beyond that river. The corps under Moreau, St. Cyr, and Lecourbe, occupied a line, passing through Boudorf, Stühlingen, Schaffhausen, and Radolfzell, to the Lake of Constance; having taken, in their manœuvres, the fort of Hohentwiel (in which were forty guns), 1,500 prisoners, and six field-pieces.

On the 3rd of May, Lecourbe was ordered to march on Stockach, a walled town of Baden, fifteen miles N.W. of Lake Constance, where marshal Kray had placed immense magazines of provisions, and where the prince of Lorraine (Vaudemont) commanded with 12,000 men. Moreau himself advanced with the reserve on Engen, fifteen miles from Stockach, to support Lecourbe, if necessary. That general encountered the Austrians in various places, inflicting and suffering loss; and Stockach fell, with all its magazines, 4,000 prisoners, and 500 horses, on the 2nd of May. The same day, the French centre, 32,000 strong, which Moreau had removed, defeated 40,000 Austrians, under marshal Kray in person, in front of Engen. The fighting was severe; and the loss of each of the combatants was about 7,000 killed and wounded. The Austrians were again beaten at Möeskirch, in Styria, on the 6th of May; at Biberach, a village of Baden, on the 9th; and at Memmingen, on the Iller, on the 10th. Both the French and Austrians had many killed and wounded in these engagements; but the latter were the greatest sufferers, and, in consequence, abandoned all their positions between the Rhine, the Lake of Constance, the Danube, and the Lech; and Kray placed his division in an intrenched camp at Ulm. This camp was originally traced out by the archduke Charles, and occupied both banks of the Danube, and the heights of St. Michel. It was of great strength. The town and *tête-du-pont* on the river, were armed with 140 pieces of heavy cannon; the redoubts of the camp were lined with artillery, and the magazines were ample. From this position Kray was enabled to keep up his own communications, and also to threaten those of the French. At this time, in consequence of a message from the first consul, of which Carnot, the minister at war, was himself the bearer,

Moreau sent off general Moncey, with 25,000 men, to Italy; and this nearly equalised the contending forces, notwithstanding the great losses of the Austrians, whose position at Ulm embarrassed Moreau. He felt that it must require a long time to take the camp, even if it could be taken at all; that it was not likely the imperialists would be tempted to quit it; and that it would be dangerous to push on in advance, and leave such a formidable foe in his rear. The circumstances dispirited the French, and encouraged the Austrians, whose soldiers, lodged in excellent quarters, we are told, "rapidly recovered their strength; while the *morale* of the army, which had been considerably weakened by the continued disasters of the campaign, as quickly rose, when they perceived that a stop was at length put to the progress of the enemy."

During the remainder of the month of May, Moreau employed various means, but all in vain, to dislodge the imperialists from this stronghold; whilst they made several sorties on their besiegers. In one of these enterprises, the archduke Ferdinand, on the 16th of May, inflicted a severe loss on the French left; and in another on the 24th, Kray put a considerable number of the republicans *hors de combat*. A third sortie took place on the 4th of June, when the Austrians assailed the left flank of the investing force, under the orders of Richepanse. This body was broken, and on the point of being completely routed; but was saved by Ney. That general receiving orders to support Richepanse, made such a vigorous assault upon the enemy with his division, that he caused them to pause in their career. The routed republicans rallied when they saw that their opponents were checked, and renewed the fight on their part. After another short struggle, the imperialists retired to their intrenchments with a loss of 1,000 prisoners, besides the killed and wounded.

Finding that he could make no impression on Ulm, Moreau resolved to cross the Danube below that town, and thus cut the Austrians off from their great magazine in Bohemia. He concentrated his forces between Günzburg and Donauwörth; and, on the 19th of June, effected the passage at Blindheim. As soon as this movement was known (which it was, in fact, while it was making), all the Austrian troops were ordered up, to drive the enemy back, if possible. Starray commanded in that quarter; and Kray sent the greater part of his cavalry and light artillery to support him. The shock between the opposing forces took place at Hochstadt. The Austrians were defeated after a bloody conflict, and retired behind the Brenz, leaving the French securely established on the left bank of the river. The consequences of this victory were very serious to the imperialists. In the recent actions, they had lost 4,000 prisoners and

twenty pieces of cannon. Kray, cut off from his resources, was obliged to abandon the intrenched camp, and retire to Nördlingen, leaving 11,000 men in garrison at Ulm. He reached his destination on the evening of the 23rd, his troops having performed a perilous march—described as “a semicircle, of which the republicans occupied the chord”—chiefly by night. Moreau, as there was some distance between him and the Austrians (and he knew they could evade him if they pleased), resolved, instead of immediately pursuing them, to occupy Munich. General Decaen was dispatched on that service from Dillingen, with 10,000 men; and after defeating the troops under Meerfelt, by whom the city was protected, he made his entry on the 28th of June, just after the elector had left it, carrying away everything of value from the palace. At the same time, general Richepanse invested Ulm on both sides of the Danube; whilst Kray continued his retreat—abandoning all Swabia and Franconia. On the 29th of June, general Montrichard, with the republican vanguard, came up with the imperial rear-guard at Neuburg. He attacked them with great fury; but field-marshal Kray, while the contest was raging, brought up reinforcements, and the assailants were beaten, broken up, and thrown back two leagues, in great confusion. Kray then crossed the Danube, and descended the right bank to Landshut—a town on the Iser, in Lower Bavaria. There the rear-guard, under the archduke Ferdinand, remained; but the main body continued the retreat to the camp of Ampfing, on the Inn, where marshal Kray halted, occupying, also, the *têtes-du-pont* of Wasserburg and Mühl-dorf. Moreau, at that time (the beginning of July), had his front clear, and his advanced posts at Linz, on the Danube. He also occupied Moosburg, Freisingen, and Munich. The road to Vienna seemed to be open to him; and he had turned his attention to clearing his extreme right from the forces of the prince de Reuss, who, from the Tyrol, threatened his communications. At this period, intelligence of the battle of Marengo, and the suspension of arms at Alessandria, reached both armies, and led to proposals for an armistice being made by marshal Kray. Rest was necessary to imperialists and republicans alike; still, at first, Moreau did not appear inclined to peace. He, however, assented after several messages from the Austrian commander-in-chief; and, on the 15th of July, an agreement for a suspension of arms was signed at Parsdorf, a place situated in advance of Munich. By this armistice, it was stipulated that hostilities were to cease, and a notice of twelve days to be given before they were resumed. The French were to retain, for the present, possession of the country they occupied, from the Grisons to the source of the Inn; the valley of that river, from that point to the

sources of the Lech; the intermediate country along the Iser, to its junction with the Danube; and from thence, by Weissenburg, to the Maine. In this vast tract, the imperialists held the fortresses of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philipsburg; the garrison of which they agreed not to augment till the conclusion of peace.

The first consul, after he left Milan, travelled with great rapidity till he reached Paris. He was received at Lyons, Dijon, and other places, by enthusiastic crowds, assembled to welcome his arrival; and he re-entered Paris on the 2nd of July. His return was not an hour too soon for his own interests. His sudden rise to power had created many enemies; and his dislike to the Jacobins caused them to be as decidedly opposed to him, as were the most ardent royalists. A courier had arrived at Paris with news of the disasters sustained at Marengo previous to the arrival of Desaix; and there had been delay in transmitting the intelligence of the victory. Those who were anxious for another political change, seized the opportunity to concert together, and they were joined by many personal enemies of the first consul. Some of this latter class went so far as to get up an “infernal machine,” consisting of a barrel of gunpowder, stuck round with grapeshot and pieces of old iron; which was to explode in a public street when the first consul was passing. They, however, tried its effect one day, to see how it would work; and this led to the arrest and imprisonment of several of their number.—For several weeks, the principal topic of conversation was, the necessity of “overturning the government, and avenging the crimes, of the 19th of Brumaire.” Many and fresh revolutionary projects were disturbed by the opportune arrival of the man against whom they were directed. The people, generally, evinced the greatest joy at his arrival, which they manifested in the usual way by ovations, illuminations, &c. These rejoicings had scarcely subsided, when M. de St. Julien arrived from Vienna, with an autograph letter from the emperor, accepting the armistices signed at Alessandria and Parsdorf—expressing his own desire for peace, and wishing Bonaparte to explain himself confidentially, and with perfect frankness, respecting the bases of a further negotiation. “I send to you,” said his imperial majesty, “the count de St. Julien, major-general in my army. He is charged with my instructions; and to point out to you how essential it is not to enter into public negotiations, likely to excite, prematurely, in so many nations, hopes, perhaps illusory, till it is ascertained, at least in a general manner, if the bases that you mean to propose for peace are such as to afford a prospect of obtaining that desirable end.” The emperor then stated that engagements, which could not be broken, bound him to England; and this rendered it the more desirable that the first consul’s

views should be made known, in order that it might be seen how far they would coincide with those obligations.

The engagements alluded to, arose out of a treaty which had been signed at Vienna on the 12th of June, two days before the battle of Marengo. By that treaty, or convention, England agreed to advance the sum of £2,000,000 to Austria, free of interest, as long as the war continued, both parties binding themselves not to make a separate peace with the enemy for one year from the date of the agreement. Probably count de St. Julien was not aware of the existence of this treaty. At all events, on the 22nd of July he had an interview with prince Talleyrand; and the latter proposed, that they should not confine themselves to a mere convention, but draw up preliminary articles of peace. The Austrian envoy thought that he had not sufficient power. But the emperor's letter to Bonaparte contained the words—"You will give credit to everything which count St. Julien shall say on my part; and I will ratify whatever he shall do:" which, Talleyrand contended, really conferred upon him full powers to negotiate; and the count suffered himself to be convinced. The negotiations, therefore, proceeded; and, on the 28th of July, preliminaries, based on the articles agreed to at Campo Formio, were signed, the Rhine frontier being assigned to France; and particular indemnities for Austria being taken from Italy, instead of Germany, by which the Austrian territory would be carried beyond the Adige. As the usual forms of exchanging full powers had not been adhered to, because the Austrian ambassador had no full powers to exchange—he being sent, it appeared, rather to learn the first consul's views, than to make any definite arrangement—it was provided that the preliminaries should not bind the parties till they were ratified; and it was agreed that the ratification should be exchanged on the 18th of August.

On that day, count Lehrbach, sent as special envoy by the emperor of Austria, informed the French government, that he could not conclude a treaty to which England was not a party: but, he added, lord Minto, the English ambassador at Vienna, had assured M. Thugut, the Austrian minister for foreign affairs, that his government was quite willing to enter into negotiations. The first consul was very indignant at this communication; and he immediately announced that the armistice should expire on the 10th of September; at the same time, issuing orders that the army of reserve, then organising at Dijon, should enter Switzerland on the 5th; and that Augereau, with 18,000 men from Holland, under Lahn, should co-operate with the left of Moreau's army. Before these orders were carried out, he instructed M. Otto, who resided in London, under a safe-conduct from the British government,

as agent for the exchange of prisoners of war, to propose a naval armistice to lord Grenville. This proposal was at first definitely rejected, as it was quite a novel idea to propose a naval armistice before the preliminaries of peace were signed. Anxious, however, to put an end to a destructive war, the British government offered to agree to a suspension of arms both by sea and land—Malta, and the harbours of Egypt, to be put on the same position as that in which Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt were placed by the armistice of Parsdorf; the blockade of Brest and the maritime ports to be raised, so as not to impede commercial transactions; but the British squadrons not to quit their stations, and the French men-of-war not to be permitted to sail. Bonaparte would not agree to these terms without an important addition: he demanded, that his ships of the line only should be confined to the ports; that frigates should be permitted to sail; and that six frigates should be allowed to proceed from Toulon to Alexandria, without being visited by English cruisers. At the same time that he made this demand on England, he sent a message to Vienna, refusing to continue the armistice, or to proceed in the negotiations, unless Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt were placed in the hands of France as a guarantee for the good faith of Austria. The emperor, owing to the state of his army, of which he had made himself an eye-witness, felt bound to submit to the demand; and, by a convention signed at Hohenlinden on the 28th of September, those fortresses were made over to France, and the armistice was prolonged for forty-five days, both in Germany and Italy. England, however, would not abandon her propositions; and the negotiations with her did not commence. The first consul, in consequence, intimated to Austria, that he would in future only treat with the two courts separately; and as Austria was bound, by the treaty of the 12th of June, not to adopt this course, both parties employed themselves, during the armistice, in preparations for prosecuting the war, when it expired, with renewed vigour.

At that time it was not known why Bonaparte insisted upon the liberty of sending six frigates to Egypt. We know now, from his own revelations, made at St. Helena, that it was to reinforce his army in Egypt. He intended the vessels should be armed *en flute*, and convey 3,600 troops and military stores to Alexandria, by which means he hoped to establish his authority there, and to defy all attempts to dislodge the republican army. As he could not effect anything in that quarter just then, he turned his attention to another. The interests of the northern powers, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, were directly opposed to the maritime code which England maintained formed part of the law of nations. They contended, that trade

should be as free in war as in peace, except for articles technically termed "contraband of war;" that is, such as are actually used in warlike operations: and that "the flag should cover the goods;" that is, that goods of belligerents might be conveyed from place to place in neutral ships. These demands England would not yield: she claimed "the right of search" with respect to neutral vessels, to enable her cruisers to ascertain whether these vessels had merchandise belonging to belligerents on board; and, if that were the case, then she claimed the "right of confiscation." During the American war, in 1780, Catherine II., of Russia, formed a northern league to resist the claims and the practice of England; and in 1800, the emperor Paul, greatly pleased with Bonaparte for sending home the Russian prisoners,* at the instigation of France, suggested the league known as the "Armed Neutrality;" and although Denmark was obliged, by the presence of an English force, to sign a convention on the 24th of August, by which the right of search was for the time conceded, she ultimately joined the league, which was not formally organised till the 16th of December. In the meantime, Paul refused to listen to the entreaties of Austria to aid her in resisting the progress of a power which threatened to annihilate the independence of Europe; and Frederick William of Prussia also persisted in his system of neutrality, till, in December, he joined the league of the "armed neutrality," which was really an act of hostility to England. The formation of this league in Europe, was preceded by the signing of preliminaries for a treaty between the first consul and the United States of America, negotiated by Joseph Bonaparte, and signed on the 30th of September. The terms were, that the alliance should continue eight years, during which time certain modifications were to be made in the right of search; commerce was to be free between the two countries; and the captures that had, up to that time, been made on either side, were to be restored, except such as were contraband.

The armistice with Austria expired on the 15th of November. Before that time the Austrian army had been reinforced by 5,000 men sent by Bavaria; 18,000, the garrisons of the three fortresses of Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt; and 15,000 recruits from the interior; the entire force on the Inn, to defend the entrances to the hereditary states, amounted to at least 110,000 men. Marshal Kray had retired, and the archduke John had taken the command. In Italy, field-marshal Bellegarde had about 100,000 men: but, in both instances,

the effectiveness of the force was again lessened from the wide extent of territory over which it had to be distributed. To compete with these forces, Augereau had 20,000 men on the Maine; Moreau 110,000 in Bavaria; there were 80,000 troops in Italy, under Brune; a reserve of 10,000 chosen men at Amiens; and a second army of reserve of 15,000 men, to be augmented to 30,000, at Dijon. The number of French troops then in the field was estimated at quite 240,000; and it was supposed that the army of Egypt, the garrisons in the interior and along the coast, and the dépôts, amounted to an equal number; so that France had little short of half a million of men under arms.

The condition of France is represented as being greatly improved during the year VIII. of the republic; that is, since the overthrow of the directory. A better feeling had sprung up on religious matters. By a decree of July 26th (8th of Thermidor), the first consul had given every one liberty to observe what holidays he pleased; and though officials were still bound by the *décade*, by others Sunday became to be again generally observed. The prosperity of the people had made rapid advances; trade was brisk; and just before hostilities recommenced, the fundholders received half a year's dividend for the first time since 1790. Bonaparte, to whose wise government this agreeable change was attributed—as the successes of the French arms were ascribed to his bravery and generalship—was at the height of his popularity in consequence. He had also excited a *furor* among the Parisians, by removing to the Invalides, on the 22nd of September, with great pomp and ceremony, the body of Turenne from the care of M. Alexandre Lenoir, to whom it had been committed when the tombs of St. Denis were violated. When, therefore, it was announced that the armistice was at an end, and that the war was to be recommenced, there was no feeling prevalent in the French capital but manifestations of joy and exultation, and anticipations of more triumphs for the arms of France.

The French armies had orders to advance as soon as the armistice expired; and in Germany, Moreau crossed the Iser, whilst Augereau pressed forward into Bohemia, repulsing the Austrians at all points. On the 3rd of December he halted behind the Regnitz—a river of Upper Franconia, formed by the union of two smaller ones at Fürth—till Würzburg (then the capital of Franconia) was subdued. Thus the way was cleared for the operations of the left wing of Moreau, which was threatened by the strategies of the imperialists. That general had to force the line of the Inn, which forms the western frontier of Upper Austria. It was prodigiously strong, being flanked by the fortresses of Kufstein and Braunau, and defended by the natural bastions of the Tyrol, and the chain of

* "I had hit upon the bent of Paul's character," said Bonaparte one day to Las Casas. "I seized time by the forelock: I clothed them, and sent them back to him, without any expense. From that instant that generous heart was devoted to me."

the Böhmerwald, with their hardy and brave inhabitants. Amongst those of the Böhmerwald, the archduke Charles was then employed in organising a numerous body of troops. Had the imperialists defended this line, it is very improbable that the French could have forced it; but the archduke John resolved to cross the river, carry the war into Bavaria, advance to Hohenlinden, and throw the weight of his forces on Moreau's left. On the 27th of November, the imperialists moved towards Landshut: at the same time Moreau was concentrating his force, and advancing by Haag, towards Ampfing and Mühldorf. He was unaware of the movements of his enemy; but the archduke was apprised of his; and, on the 30th of November, had, in consequence, retraced a part of his way, and moved, by cross-roads, on Ampfing and Dorfen. This movement brought him, on the 1st of December, near Haag, into contact with three divisions of the French, under Grenier, Grandjeau, and Hardy; all of which were defeated, broken, and compelled to fall back, notwithstanding Ney did all he could to rally them, and restore the fortunes of the day. The movement should have been followed up without delay, and there is scarcely a doubt but that Moreau's forces would have been crippled and dispersed, and the campaign brought to a close. But the Austrians were inactive the remainder of that day, and also on the next; and thus the French general was enabled to retire upon Hohenlinden, and to reunite his beaten troops between the Inn and the Iser, at the outskirts of the forest of that name. Here he was attacked, on the 3rd, by the Austrians, who were divided into four columns, and advanced through the forest—only one, the centre, having the advantage of a good road, the others using paths intended exclusively for timber. They were to meet in the open space, extending between Hohenlinden and Harthofen; but before they could clear the forest they were attacked by the French in the midst of a snow-storm, and the laurels of the 1st of December were wrenched from them. They were completely defeated, losing 10,000 men, who were left dead on the field; 7,000 prisoners, amongst whom were two generals; eighty pieces of cannon, and 200 caissons. Moreau lost no time in securing the advantages of his victory. He had lost 10,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, since the 30th of November; but, with the remainder, he marched to the Inn, behind which the whole imperial army had retired; crossed that river on the 9th of December, driving the Austrians before him, and capturing Salzburg on the 13th; his only mischance having been the discomfiture of one of his divisions, under Montrichard, before Salzburg, which was driven back by the Austrian cavalry, with a loss of 500 men. The archduke Charles was

now once more placed at the head of the Austrian army. Had he occupied that post at first, the probability is, that that army would not have been defeated. But he found it impossible to retrieve the disasters which the incapacity of his brother (who was, it may be remarked, brave as a lion, though incompetent as a commander) had mainly caused; and, the road to Vienna being open, he sued for an armistice. It was refused, unless Austria would consent to conclude a separate peace. Necessity—for though the Austrians had gained some advantages over Augereau since the battle of Hohenlinden, and Moreau was in a perilous situation if he had been opposed by a good general and a resolute army, yet the archduke could not depend upon his—obliged the Austrian general to yield; and, on the 27th of December, the armistice* was acceded to, and war, for the present, ceased.

In Italy success had also attended the French arms. Macdonald, with the army of reserve from Dijon, had crossed the Splugen between the 26th of November and the 7th of December, on which latter day he arrived at Chiavenna, on the Lake of Como; his only loss being a battalion of dismounted hussars, who were captured, owing to their own negligence, by a well-concerted movement of the imperialists. On arriving in Italy, by order of the first consul, he placed himself under the command of Brune; and, in advancing to join him, his right wing was twice repulsed in an attempt to surmount Monte Tonal, which lies between the Oglio and the Adige; but his left wing spread itself into the Engadine, a valley in the Grisons, and took two important stations—Glurens and Martinsbruck, on the Tyrolean side of the mountains. Brune did not commence hostilities till he had received intelligence of the victory of Hohenlinden, and the passage of the Splugen. The Mincio was then crossed, on the 20th of December, near Molino, by two divisions under Dupont and Suchet, who had to sustain a most desperate combat with the Austrians on the left bank, being alternately repulsed and victorious; and the village of Pozzuolo was taken and retaken four times, ultimately remaining in the possession of the Austrians. On the 26th, the remainder of the army crossed; fighting desperately as they reached the eastern shore, but driving the Austrians before them at last, who fell back towards the Adige, leaving garrisons in Mantua, Verona, Legnago, and Peschiera: thus reducing the army under marshal Bellegarde to 40,000 men. In the struggle on the Mincio, they had lost about 3,000 men killed, and near 4,000 prisoners, with forty pieces of cannon. After more fighting, mostly to the advantage of the French, though they were beaten on two or three occasions, the two generals, Bellegarde and Brune, agreed to an armistice at Treviso, on the 10th of January, 1801.

* Known as the armistice of Steyer

The Austrians gave up Peschiera, Verona, Legnago, Ancona, and Ferrara, but retained Mantua, much to the displeasure of the first consul, who never employed Brune again, because he did not insist upon its surrender.

Whilst the French were thus successful in Germany and Italy, Malta surrendered to the British blockading force on the 15th of September, 1800; and the French troops in Egypt were subjected to the greatest hardships. The desertion—for that is the right name—of Bonaparte created the most intense dissatisfaction; and Kléber is said to have declared that the same world should not contain them both. The disposition of the troops, and their real inability to defend themselves against the united Turkish and English force which it was anticipated would be brought against them (and a large Turkish army was concentrating under the grand vizier), induced Kléber to agree to a convention for the evacuation of the country; which was signed at El Arisch—a fort captured by the Turks a few days before—on the 24th of January, 1800. The parties to this convention were Sir Sidney Smith, on the part of England; general Desaix, acting for general Kléber, on the part of France; and the grand vizier, on that of the sultan. The tenor of the agreement was, that the republican army was to be collected in three divisions—at Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir—which, with their baggage and effects, were to be embarked in vessels provided by the first consul, or by the Porte, and conveyed to France. Sir Sidney Smith had been minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty to the Ottoman Porte; but lord Elgin now occupied that post; and the gallant admiral had not the necessary powers to bind the British government to this agreement. That government had received information of the wish of the French army to evacuate Egypt; and had sent instructions to lord Keith to agree to a convention for bringing them to Europe; but only as prisoners of war. His lordship received those instructions at Minorca, before the convention of El Arisch was fully carried out; and that convention, of course, fell to the ground. The French had, in fact, acted upon it; for they had given up all their positions on the right bank of the Nile, and some of those in the Delta, Damietta and the fort of Lesbeh included; and their troops were already on the route for Alexandria, with their baggage and stores. They refused, however, to surrender themselves prisoners; and Sir Sidney Smith proposed that the armistice should be continued, as the terms of the convention of El Arisch had been sent to London, and he had not the least doubt but they would be ratified. Kléber was quite willing to agree to this proposal; but the grand vizier demanded that Cairo should also be immediately given up by the French. This was refused, and hostilities were resumed. On the

10th of March, the army of the grand vizier—which was intrenched near the village of El Matarieh, on the plains of Heliopolis, and in advance of the ruins of that ancient city—was attacked by the French troops from Cairo, and totally defeated, losing more than 8,000 men in killed and wounded. One thing which tended to gain the French the victory, was the defection of the Mameluke, Murad Bey, at the head of 600 splendid cavalry, who made terms with the French, because he thought the Turks were about to reconquer Egypt, not for the Mamelukes, but for themselves. Kléber followed up his success by driving the remnants of the vizier's army completely out of Egypt into the Syrian desert; and, by the 25th of April, the supremacy of the republicans was restored: they had regained all they had given up, and stood in a much better position, substantially, than they did when the convention of El Arisch was signed; besides having recovered their *prestige*, and revived their spirits. Sir Sidney Smith was right as to the course which the British government would pursue. He was authorised to carry out the convention of El Arisch, or conclude another on the same terms; but, on the 14th of June, Kléber was assassinated by a fanatic Mohammedan, who imagined the desire he felt to slay the enemy of the prophet and the grand signor, was an inspiration from heaven. The assassin was seized, and condemned to die; but the barbarity of his execution disgraced his executioners. He was impaled alive, and endured unspeakable tortures for four hours, without flinching in the least. Then death put an end to his sufferings. The body of Kléber was interred with great pomp; a monument was raised to his memory, and a medal struck in his honour; and every one expressed sincere regret at the loss of so excellent an officer. He was succeeded by baron Menou, who refused to evacuate Egypt. This officer really carried out in practice what Bonaparte only professed in theory. He married a Turkish woman, embraced the Mohammedan religion, and took the name of Abdallah Menou. This renegadism did him no good, as he was ridiculed by the French, and forfeited the respect even of the most dissolute amongst them, while it did not in the least tend to conciliate the Turks. He, however, maintained the French authority in Egypt till the English had made the necessary arrangements for driving him out, which they resolved to do, when they found he was not to be induced by fair means to evacuate the territory of their ally.

At this period (the closing months of 1800), notwithstanding "the external position of France was daily becoming more brilliant," and its internal condition more prosperous, she "exhibited a spectacle, at times frightful, of the last convulsions of expiring parties." In the south, bands of robbers were so persevering, and so successful in their depredations, that Bonaparte proclaimed

martial law to suppress them; and this made a number of desperate men his enemies, in addition to those who opposed him from political motives. The latter resorted to plans of assassination; and in those plans, Italians at first were the most active. Arena, a Corsican; Giuseppe Ceracchi, Diana, and Demerville, Italian refugees; and Lebrun, an historical painter, a native of Marseilles, and a pupil of David—conspired, with others, to assassinate the first consul at the opera. The attempt was to have been made on the night of the 10th of October; but one Harel, a conspirator, revealed to Bourrienne the intentions of the assassins; and Ceracchi and Diana were arrested in the lobby of the opera-house, armed and fully prepared for the attempt. Singular as it appears, these conspirators were not punished, nor the circumstances of the plot made public, till some royalists disgraced themselves and their cause by also making an attempt upon the life of Bonaparte, with what was called at the time, and since, an "infernal machine." At first the royalists believed, from Bonaparte's hatred of the Jacobins, that he would restore the Bourbons. This led to the letters of Louis XVIII., to which we have already adverted; and to the readiness evinced by some of the royalist chiefs, who had been leaders in Normandy and the Vendée against the directory, to enter into terms of accommodation with him. But when it was quite apparent that the directory had been overthrown and the monarchy restored in fact, though not in name, for the benefit of Bonaparte alone, some royalists resolved to rid the world of one whom they looked upon as the usurper of the rights of others, as well as the only obstacle to the restoration of the Bourbons. Some time before, a Jacobin, named Chevalier, assisted by another named Veyrer, had invented a machine, consisting of a hollow cylinder filled with combustibles, that could be exploded by the application of a match; and of this machine the conspirators resolved to avail themselves. On the night of Christmas-eve, the first consul was engaged to go to the opera with Josephine. He evinced little disposition to keep his engagement; and, falling asleep after dinner, had to be awakened by Josephine, who found him extremely reluctant to move. However, after a short delay, he arose, dressed, and, joining his wife and suite, they repaired to their carriages. The carriage in which the first consul rode was in advance of Josephine's; who had been retarded for a minute or two whilst general Rapp adjusted her shawl, which she playfully asked him to do for her, "after the style of the Turkish ladies." Bonaparte, with whom were Lannes and Bessières, had again fallen asleep as soon as he had entered the carriage. The *cortège* was going through the narrow street of St. Nicaise, and he was dreaming that he was passing the Tagliamento by torchlight, when there

was a terrible flood, which lifted up the carriage by its force. At the moment he awoke, a tremendous noise was heard, and a bright flame appeared to be blazing around him. "We are blown up!" he exclaimed: but the coachman drove on furiously; and it subsequently appeared that he was drunk, and imagined the noise was a cannonade in honour of his master. The machine had been discharged just as the carriage passed with great rapidity. A second or two earlier it would have done its work; and if Josephine had followed the first consul instantaneously from the Tuileries, her carriage would have been destroyed. The machine exploded between the two;* and, though the first consul and his consort escaped, the consequences were lamentable. Twenty persons were killed; fifty-three were wounded; and several houses were much damaged. The party whom it was designed to destroy entered the opera-house unhurt, and was received with the usual demonstrations of welcome. These had not subsided, when the box-door was opened. Bonaparte eagerly exclaimed, "Josephine!"—being about to inquire where she was; but seeing her, he sat down, merely saying—"The rascals wanted to blow me up." By this time an agitation was observed in the house; groups gathered in the lobbies; and soon the narrow escape of the first consul was known. Then the audience rose as one man, and the warmest congratulations were expressed. These Bonaparte acknowledged from his box, and soon after returned to the Tuileries.

This attempt caused the police to proceed against the former conspirators, and to take steps to trace those who were guilty in that of December. Bonaparte was very violent on the subject, attributing the attempt to the Jacobins. Some one wished to direct his thoughts into another channel; but he flew into a passion, and exclaimed—"I am not to be bamboozled. This is no attempt of Chouans, emigrants, or *ci-devant* nobles and priests. I know the authors; I shall be sure to get at them, and to inflict upon them an exemplary punishment." The next day there was an animated scene before the council of state, the first consul maintaining that there were "ten thousand scoundrels spread over the whole country, who had persecuted all the honest people, and who were steeped in blood. The chiefs of these men," he said, "must be struck boldly, and the others would disperse. Fifteen or twenty of the villains must be shot, and two hundred of them transported;" and he declared he was "ready to constitute himself sole judge; to have the culprits brought before him, to examine them, to try them, and to have sentence of justice executed." The council were astonished at this ebullition, which only one man, admiral Truguet, opposed. The next day Cambacérès summoned the council to his own house,

* Napoleon himself related these particulars to Las Casas.

and endeavoured to excuse the warmth of the first consul. Several other meetings were held, in which that functionary suggested the idea of a new law, which the first consul had conceived; but the year closed before anything was concluded, either as to who were the real offenders, or as to the new law which Bonaparte wished to enact.

CHAPTER IV.

CLOSE OF THE 18TH, AND OPENING OF THE 19TH, CENTURY; PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE CONSPIRATORS OF OCTOBER AND DECEMBER; NEW CRIMINAL LAW; TREATY OF LUNEVILLE; DIFFERENCES WITH NAPLES; GALLANT DEFENCE OF PORTO FERRAJO; THE "ARMED NEUTRALITY;" ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO THE BALTIC; BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN; ASSASSINATION OF THE EMPEROR PAUL; ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT; BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA; THE FRENCH EVACUATE EGYPT; BATTLE OF ALGEZIRAS; TREATY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA; NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN ITALY; AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN; PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND; ATTACK ON THE FLOTILLA AT BOULOGNE; PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE CONCLUDED WITH ENGLAND; TREATIES WITH BAVARIA, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, RUSSIA, TURKEY, AND ALGIERS; THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

THE 18th century closed, and the 19th opened, under circumstances very favourable to France, which country seemed rapidly recovering material prosperity at home, and acquiring glory and honour abroad. Her influence was established nearly all over the continent; Portugal and Turkey being the only powers that had not succumbed to the arms or the diplomacy of Bonaparte, who, by a "succession of fortunate events, had consolidated his power, and was, *de facto*, ruler of France,"* and appeared to hold in his hand the destinies of Europe. On all hands changes seemed imminent. "We are standing," said his brother Lucien, "amid the graves of old, and beside the cradles of new, institutions;" and no one could tell where innovation and revolution would stop. The only power that appeared able and willing to resist the progress of the great colossus was England; and even her government took a step which, right enough in every sense of the word, might, being taken just at that time, be construed into a concession to that republic whose power and resources were wielded by one who was certainly the most remarkable man of the era. On the 1st of January a royal proclamation was published in the *London Gazette*, announcing the future style and title of the sovereign, as—"George the Third, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith;" the title of king of France being laid aside. No disposition was, however, shown by the English government to waver in its opposition to the aggressive and encroaching policy of the first consul; though Austria was about to conclude a separate peace with him, contrary to her treaty with England of the previous June; and the northern powers,

influenced by the emperor Paul of Russia, had entered into that league which, they fondly hoped, would deprive England of her maritime supremacy.

The successful ruler of France was engaged, in the first days of 1801, in taking steps to punish the actors in the conspiracy of the 24th of December, which had so nearly put an end to his rule and his life. Under the impression that it was a Jacobin plot, he and Fouché made out a list of 153 individuals, who were termed "Terrorists;" many of whom had figured in the wildest scenes of the revolution; and, amongst them, were those members of the council of five hundred, who had been most violent in the opposition made to Bonaparte on the 8th of November (18th of Brumaire), 1799. The council of state was asked—but in truth commanded—by Bonaparte to sanction a report, attributing to these men crimes of every description, including assassination. "All these men," it was stated in the document, "have not taken up the dagger; but all are universally known to be capable of pointing it, and of using it." As soon as this report was agreed to, the first consul, on the 4th of January (15th of Nivôse), drew up and signed a decree, sentencing all these men† to be transported beyond the seas, without trial, and without hearing. The next day the senate declared, that this act of the first consul was necessary to the preservation of the constitution. Then the conspirators of the 10th of October were proceeded against. Chevalier and Veyrer, said to have been the original inventors of the "infernal machine," were tried by a military tribunal—condemned, and sentenced to be shot; which sentence was immediately carried into execution. Arena, Ceracchi, Topino-Lebrun, Demerville, and Diana, were tried before the ordinary tribunal, for the conspiracy of October. The latter was acquitted; the others were

* Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords.

† Most authorities say there were 153 included in the list; Thiers gives the number as 130.

condemned and executed, the principal evidence against them being that of the informer Harel. The trial took place on the 9th, the execution on the 31st, of January.

During these proceedings Fouché was endeavouring to unravel the plot of December; and, from a clue obtained through a female, the police were put upon a track, by which it was ascertained that the conspiracy to assassinate the first consul on Christmas-eve had originated with the Chouan Georges Cadoudal, then in England; and two of his agents, named St. Réjant and Limoëlan—the former of whom had set fire to the match, and was himself wounded in the explosion—were arrested, tried, condemned, and executed. Under the bed of St. Réjant a letter to Georges was found, in which he had narrated the principal circumstances of the attempt, and justified himself for its failure. Fouché had, from the first, contended that the conspiracy of December was not a Jacobite plot; and he was severely censured, holding this opinion, for sanctioning the transportation of the 153 so-styled “Terrorists.” Those men were all collected and dispatched to Nantes the day after Bonaparte had condemned them, but they were not deported. They were allowed to live in France, under the surveillance of the police, being prohibited for some time from visiting Paris.

The first consul was not satisfied with the punishment of the conspirators: he wanted a law which would enable him to punish future offenders, if not in an absolutely arbitrary manner, still, that there should not be any delay; and without affording them the slightest chance of escape. He sent a draft of such a law before the tribunate, where it was opposed most vehemently by Benjamin Constant, Daunon, Chenier, and others; and only carried by forty-nine to forty-one. There was also a considerable minority against it in the legislative body. The new tribunal, created by this law, was called the “Special Commission Court.” It consisted of eight judges, in three classes:—1st, the president, and two judges of the ordinary criminal tribunal; 2nd, three military men, bearing at least the rank of captain; 3rd, two citizens, to be chosen by the government, from the persons pointed out by the constitution as being qualified for judges. Thus five out of the eight were directly nominated by government. Offenders were to be brought before this tribunal, which decided without a jury; and no appeal was allowed against their decision, or any revision of the sentence. Upon a trial, not fewer than six members of the court were to be present; of whom four had to agree in a sentence of guilty; and if all the members were present, then six must so agree. Before this tribunal, all persons taken in arms; all those charged with conspiracy; and the *chaffeurs*—that is, the robbers

already alluded to, who rendered travelling so unsafe, and whose existence was one of the ostensible reasons for proposing the law—were to be brought. Another law was passed, even more arbitrary; by which the executive government was authorised to banish any parties suspected of entertaining opinions opposed to it, whether they gave them effect in overt actions or not. All branches of the legislature were opposed to these laws; but except in the tribunate, the opponents were too cautious to make any very decided demonstration. The first consul exulted in his success. “He made use of the boldest language; and, on more than one occasion,” writes Thiers, “hesitated not to declare, ‘that, if he was too much annoyed—if people would endeavour to prevent him from restoring peace and order to France—he would rely upon the opinion which the country had of him, and govern by consular ordinances.’” His ascendancy increased every moment with success; his boldness with his ascendancy; and he was no longer at the pains of dissembling the extent of his designs.” All who in any degree thwarted him, were made to feel his anger in some way or other. After Benjamin Constant had opposed the law for the “Special Commission Court,” madame de Stäel, who was visiting him, was banished from France. Fouché at first attempted to check his violent denunciations of the Jacobins, and incurred, in consequence, his anger, which was scarcely withdrawn when the minister of police assisted him in making out the list of the 153 *proscrits*. He subsequently remodelled the police, so as to control somewhat the conduct of Fouché, and to enable him to become acquainted, as he thought, with all that minister’s proceedings. But Fouché was more than a match for him. He gave Bourrienne 25,000 francs a-month; and Josephine 1,000 francs a-day; and whilst the former informed him exactly of all the proceedings of Bonaparte, the latter revealed to him all that passed in the interior of the Tuileries.

Whilst the first consul was engaged with the domestic occurrences just narrated, he was carrying on negotiations with Austria; involved in differences with Naples; and had to conduct the continued hostilities with England. The result of the armistices of Steyer and Treviso was, that negotiators from Austria and France—M. Cobentzel for one, and Joseph Bonaparte for the other—met at Luneville, a town of France, in the department of the Meurthe, in January. They discussed the terms of a treaty; and the warm words which on more than one occasion occurred between them, rendered it very doubtful, for some time, whether any agreement would be come to. On the 9th of February, however, the treaty of Luneville was signed; by which, for the second time, a commanding position in Italy and on the left bank of the Rhine, was ceded to France. The emperor gave up all the

territory on that bank, extending from Switzerland to Holland; the German princes who yielded territory there being indemnified by cessions on the right bank. Lombardy was declared independent, and the Adige made the boundary between that country and the dominions of Austria in Italy; Venice, with its territorial possessions to the left bank of that river, being guaranteed to the emperor. The duke of Modena gave up his duchy, to be annexed to the Cisalpine republic; and received the Brisgau in exchange. The emperor's brother, the grand-duke of Tuscany, gave up his dominions, on the promise of an indemnity in Germany, to the infant duke of Parma, who was a branch of the royal family of Spain. France gave up Kehl, Cassel, and Ehrenbreitstein, on condition that those forts should remain in the situation in which they were when she evacuated them. The independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics, was guaranteed, and their inhabitants were to be allowed to "have the power of choosing any government they pleased."* These terms did not differ materially from those of the treaty of Campo Formio, or from the offers which Bonaparte made before hostilities broke out after the armistice of Parsdorf; and as the French had obtained great successes at Marengo, Hohenlinden, and on the Mincio, this may be regarded as a proof of his moderation. But the treaty involved the emperor in differences with the princes of Germany. He signed it, "not only as emperor of Austria, but in the name of the Germanic empire." This he had no right to do; for, although he was the head of the empire, he could not bind the minor sovereigns without their concurrence and consent, which, in this case, were not given. Bonaparte insisted: as Scott remarks, he threw his sword into the scale; and the emperor—to quote his own words, from his *Apology to the Electors of Germany*, which appeared on the 8th of February—was induced to comply, by "the consideration of the melancholy situation in which, at that period, a large part of Germany was placed; the prospect of the still more calamitous fate with which the superiority of the French menaced the empire, if the peace was any longer deferred;" and, "the general wish, which was loudly expressed, in favour of an instant accommodation." This appeal induced the diet to ratify the treaty; but the question of indemnities long distracted the Germanic body.

With Naples, the first consul was involved in a short war; and, at the same time, there was an insurrection to suppress in Piedmont. It broke out on the 15th of January, and was the result of the exactions of the French troops, and the annexation of Vermicelli to the Cisalpine republic. The peasants of the valley of Aosta

were the first to take up arms. They expelled the republicans, shutting up a depôt of conscripts in the fortress of Ivrea. There were movements, also, at Turin and other quarters; but Soult and Murat had very little difficulty in suppressing them. The king of Naples, restored to his dominions by the allies, felt himself bound to assist them in the campaign of 1800. He did so, however, very inefficiently. After the armistice of Treviso, his army kept the field—one portion occupying the Roman states; and another, by advancing into Tuscany, encouraged the inhabitants of Sienna and Arezzo to throw off the French yoke. General Miollis, who commanded the French army in Tuscany, encountered the Neapolitans, under count Roger de Damas, near Sienna, on the 14th of January, and dispersed them almost without a struggle. The revolted towns again submitted; and Murat, at the head of 28,000 men, marched for Naples. But the forethought of the queen had secured a friend. When the winter campaign commenced in Italy, fearful of the result, she had proceeded to St. Petersburg, to beseech the czar, should that result be disastrous, to intercede with the first consul on behalf of Ferdinand. Paul was flattered by the application; and at once dispatched M. Lowascheff, an officer high in his confidence, and who held the post of "grand huntsman" of Russia, to plead for Naples, should a desire again to occupy the Neapolitan territory be displayed by the first consul, in the event of his arms being successful. This officer was courteously received by Bonaparte, whose anxiety to still further cement his friendship with Paul, led him to assent to the wishes of the autocrat—though that assent was more a form than a reality. Lowascheff was requested to go to Italy, and arrest the march of Murat. He arrived at Florence at the same time that the French general made his entry into that city; and the result of his arrival was, the armistice of Foligno, signed on the 9th of February. By the terms of that agreement, the Neapolitan troops were immediately to evacuate the Roman states; and all the ports of Naples and Sicily were instantly to be closed against English vessels of merchandise as well as of war, and remain so till the conclusion of peace. A treaty, founded on the terms of the armistice, was signed at Florence on the 18th of March. It contained the same provision against English ships as the armistice; and the prohibition against entering Neapolitan ports was extended to Turkish vessels. Porto Ferrajo, in the island of Elba; Piombino, in Tuscany; and a small tract on the sea-coast of that duchy, were ceded to France; and, in addition to stipulations respecting the cessation of political persecutions, the restoration of paintings and statues carried off from Rome, &c., it was agreed that Naples should surrender three frigates, ready armed, to

* The treaty was published by Dumas, and also in the *Annual Register*, vol. xlii., p. 282.

France; and that in case of a menaced attack from the troops of England or Turkey, a French corps should be sent to aid the government of Naples, and to act with a force which the emperor of Russia had promised to supply under such circumstances. By a secret article, the Neapolitan government agreed to receive from 12,000 to 15,000 French troops in the gulf of Tarentum; and promised to pay 500,000 francs (£20,000) per month to this contingent, besides furnishing all the provisions it might require. On the 1st of April, 12,000 men, under Soult, marched from Central Italy, for Naples; and, before the month closed, to the surprise of Europe, they took possession of the fortresses of Tarentum, Otranto, and Brindisi; and of all the harbours in the extremity of Calabria. Bonaparte, in his instructions to Soult, ordered him to preserve order; to suppress any appearance of revolution; and to attend mass with military music. He was also informed, that he must "maintain his army at the expense of Tuscany and Naples, as the republic was so overwhelmed by the return of its armies to the territory of France," after the treaty of Luneville, "that he [Bonaparte] could not send them a single farthing." He also ordered that Porto Ferrajo—which was held by a garrison of 300 British, 800 Tuscan, and 400 Corsican troops, under governor Airley—should be reduced. But his soldiers were unable to obey his orders. The governor made a gallant resistance; and it was, says Dunias, "an extraordinary spectacle, in the midst of triumphal songs, and in the bosom of a continental peace, to see an island, easy of access, and almost touching the continent, the scene of a long-continued and doubtful strife." That strife was steadily maintained; and Bonaparte's troops were unable to reduce the fortress, which was only surrendered in the following year, as a condition of the peace of Amiens. The frigates given up to France by the treaty of Foligno, were intended for Egypt; and one object which Bonaparte had in sending his troops to Naples, was to reinforce the army in the former country; which he thought he might be enabled to do, probably, from the ports of that kingdom. When he left Egypt, he had promised Kléber to send reinforcements speedily. He had not forgotten his promise; but had been unable to fulfil it. Admiral Gantheaume had sailed from Toulon with a squadron of ships of the line and transports, having from 5,000 to 6,000 men on board; but the English were on the watch; and the admiral had to put back, with difficulty regaining the harbour. Other attempts failed; and though the French naval commanders were constantly on the lookout to evade the enemy, only two frigates, with 500 or 600 men, reached Egypt. The occupation of the Neapolitan ports had no better result.

Successful in the south, Bonaparte was now

to meet with disappointment in the north, where his efforts to organise a maritime confederacy against England, and to get Russia to join him in attacks upon her Indian empire, were signally thwarted. We have already mentioned the "armed neutrality," which the emperor Paul was mainly instrumental in organising; and that sovereign had, no doubt, received hints and suggestions, if not specific directions, from Bonaparte as to the course he should pursue. This league, to which Russia, Sweden, and Denmark were parties, and which Prussia ultimately joined, was ostensibly directed, as we have already stated, against the right of search, claimed by England, to prevent her enemies, in time of war, from carrying on their commerce in neutral vessels, and in defence of the principle, that "the flag covers the goods:" but it was really a blow aimed by Bonaparte at the commercial greatness and maritime supremacy of Great Britain. By the "league" entered into, and the agreement signed by the four powers, arms of all sorts, and saddles and bridles, were alone deemed "contraband of war;" all other articles, it was stated, "should not be subject to confiscation, but should pass free, and without restraint;" whether they belonged to the subjects of the contracting parties, or to those of the belligerent powers. The four powers agreed mutually to defend each other, if disquieted or attacked on account of the convention; and it was stipulated, that the principles promulgated in the agreement, should apply to every maritime war by which Europe might unhappily be visited. The ports of the Baltic were closed against England till she assented to the conditions demanded by the "league."

The naval armament with which England was at that time threatened, was of a formidable description; the fleets of the northern powers and France comprising the following ships of the line, and other vessels:—

	Ships of the Line.	Frigates.	Smaller Vessels.
Russia	82	40	—
Denmark	23	31	—
Sweden	18	14	74
France	50	40	—
Total	173	125	74

Besides this numerous armament, the Dutch and Spanish fleets were at the disposal of the first consul, who, within three months after the league of the "armed neutrality" was signed, obtained the control also of the Neapolitan ships of war. A serious danger, therefore, threatened England, which prompt and determined action only could avert.

Mr. Pitt was at that time at the head of affairs in England; and, under his auspices, the most decisive steps were taken to make the offensive measures adopted against that country, recoil on their originators, and break up the league. On the 14th of January, an order in

council was issued, laying an embargo on all vessels belonging to the confederates, which might be in British ports, except those of Prussia, whose adhesion to the league was not then known in England; letters of marque were issued for the Baltic; and a fleet was collected at Yarmouth, to proceed to that sea, and crush the league before the various fleets of the confederates could be all collected together and directed against this country. This fleet consisted of seventeen sail-of-the-line, carrying seventy-four and fifty guns; four frigates, four sloops, two fire-ships, and seven bombs. The command was given to Sir Hyde Parker; lord Nelson being the second in command, and rear-admiral Graves the third. The squadron sailed from Yarmouth on the 12th of March, Mr. Pitt having just resigned; and Mr. Addington succeeded him as premier of England. It arrived in the Cattegat on the 26th. Mr. Vansittart, who was on board Sir Hyde Parker's ship, immediately went to Copenhagen with a flag of truce; but all attempts to induce the Danes to abandon the "armed neutrality" failed. It was then resolved to attack the fleet collected at Copenhagen, and the Sound was passed on the 30th—a fierce bombardment being kept up from the castle of Cronenburg, and a number of batteries erected on the shore. But the shots fell short of the British ships, and the fleet arrived before Copenhagen the same day. The 31st of March, and the 1st of April, were employed by Nelson in sounding a narrow channel leading to the city; so intricate, that the Danes thought they might defy the approach of a hostile fleet. This service effected, it was resolved that the attack should take place on the 2nd of April. The defences were formidable. Six sail-of-the-line, eleven floating batteries, mounting from eighteen to twenty-eight heavy guns; one bomb-ship, and a number of schooners, were flanked by the Crown batteries, which were two artificial islands at the mouth of the harbour, mounting sixty-six guns, according to the Danish account; but Nelson said he counted eighty-eight. The command of the attacking squadron was given to Nelson. It consisted of twelve out of the seventeen ships of the line, and all the frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-vessels that accompanied the squadron. The attack was successful. After fighting four hours, the fire of the batteries was silenced, and seventeen ships, small and great, struck their colours. Negotiations were then resumed; a suspension of hostilities followed; and the "armed neutrality" was virtually dissolved.

The very day that the conditions of the armistice were agreed upon by the crown prince of Denmark and Nelson, intelligence reached Copenhagen, that Paul, the emperor of Russia, had been assassinated by his nobles, in the night between the 23rd and 24th of March. When

the news reached Paris it had a serious effect upon the first consul. A passionate exclamation of "My God!" escaped him; and for some time he appeared to be in deep and anxious thought. He felt that his alliance with Russia was endangered, and that the accomplishment of one of his darling schemes was rendered more than doubtful. This scheme was, to attack the British possessions in India; in which attack Paul had engaged to aid him. Twenty-five thousand Russian troops and 50,000 Cossacks were to have joined the French army; and a passage through Persia was secured. It is doubtful whether such an expedition would have succeeded; but, had it been undertaken, it would certainly have tasked the resources and the energies of the British empire in the east, where the marquis of Wellesley was governor-general; and his brother, afterwards the celebrated duke of Wellington, held a high command in the Indian army.

Before Mr. Pitt retired from the British ministry, he had been induced, by Mr. Henry Dundas (subsequently created lord Melville), then secretary for war, to send an expedition to Egypt. The king, George III., was opposed to this measure; and declared that it was with the greatest reluctance that he consented to engage the flower of his army in a dangerous expedition, against such a distant province. In this instance, however, as in many others, adventurous daring, zeal, and energy, were crowned with success. The troops which had been employed at Minorca and elsewhere, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, were collected at Malta, from whence they embarked on the 10th of December, 1800, and reached Marmorice, in the Levant, after a tedious voyage of six weeks. Some delay took place there, to allow measures of united operation to be concerted with the Turks; but the latter were so disheartened by recent disasters, that they were in no spirits to resume the contest; added to which, the plague was ravaging their camp, and a violent feud existed between the grand vizier and the pasha of Alexandria. The English general, therefore, resolved to undertake the enterprise alone, although he had only 17,512 men, including about 1,000 sick; whilst the French, with the same number of invalids, amounted to 27,516. The troops were embarked on board of about seventy transports, and, being escorted by a squadron commanded by lord Keith, arrived in Aboukir Bay on the 1st of March. Bad weather prevented the landing being attempted till the 8th, when all the troops were disembarked after a severe contest with the French, who were beaten, with the loss of 300 men and eight pieces of cannon; the English losing 500 in killed and wounded. Sir Ralph Abercromby occupied three days in landing his artillery and ammunition, and in organising his forces. On the 12th, the army

moved forward to Alexandria; and, on the 13th and 14th, encountered the French under general Friant, strongly posted, but in inferior numbers, who inflicted severe loss upon the English troops, though they were eventually beaten, and compelled to retire. On the 21st, the decisive battle of Alexandria was fought, in which the French were thoroughly defeated, and Menou was compelled to retreat to the heights of Nicopolis. He lost 2,000 men in killed and wounded; and the English loss amounted to 1,500. To them the joy of victory was damped by the loss of their gallant chief, who received a mortal wound, and was conveyed on board lord Keith's flag-ship, where he died on the 28th. The command of the army, in consequence, devolved on general Hutchinson (subsequently created lord Donoughmore), who remained inactive for some days; but 6,000 Albanians having arrived in the bay of Aboukir, they were joined by 1,000 British, and the combined forces occupied Rosetta, capturing Fort Julien, and its small garrison of 150 men, on the 19th of April. A reinforcement of 3,000 British troops joined general Hutchinson early in May; and—having isolated Alexandria, by cutting a neck of land that ran between lakes Maadieh and Mareotis, and letting the water of the former into the dry bed of the latter—he advanced on Cairo, where general Belliard had retired with 10,000 men, after being repulsed, in an attempt to proceed to the east, by a body of Turks led by majors Hope and Holloway, two English officers. Cairo was invested by the English on the left, and by the grand vizier on the right, bank of the Nile, on the 20th of May; and, on the 22nd, the French general proposed a suspension of arms. This was acceded to: further negotiations followed; and, on the 27th of June, a capitulation, similar in its terms to that of El Arisch, was signed. It was ratified the next day; and 13,672 troops of the line were, in consequence, sent to France, with their arms and baggage, leaving 320 pieces of heavy artillery in the hands of the victors.

Menou, shut up in Alexandria, and his force reduced to one-half the original number—whilst, on the 9th of July, Hutchinson was reinforced by 3,600 British troops, and 2,400 sepoy from India, under Sir David Baird—on first hearing of the capitulation of Cairo, vowed that he would bury himself under the ruins of the town before he would follow the example of his colleague. However, when general Hutchinson, after the embarkation of the men who had surrendered at Cairo, invested Alexandria, he soon found his position untenable. There were several gallant affairs, in sorties and attacks, in which the English were uniformly successful; and, on the 31st of August, Menou consented to capitulate on the same terms which were granted to Belliard. Nearly 11,000 men surrendered, on condition of being sent to France; but the British

took 389 cannon, chiefly brass; 195,000 lbs. of powder, and 14,000 gun-cartridges. The French writers attribute this result to the incapacity of the French generals, and to the failure of the attempts made to reinforce them.

After the English had landed in Egypt, admiral Gantheaume had made another attempt to take out a supply of troops. He sailed from Toulon on the 25th of April, and reached the coast of Africa, a few days' march to the west of Alexandria, about the middle of May. Before the troops he had on board landed, however, and while it was in debate whether they should land or not, as they could not make friends of the natives, and would have a long march through the desert—Gantheaume thought he saw the English fleet; and he immediately slipped his cables, and sailed for France. On his voyage home, on the 24th of June, he encountered and captured, after a gallant resistance, the *Swiftsure*, 74, captain Hallowell; with which he re-entered the port of Toulon.—Bonaparte, during Gantheaume's absence, ordered a fleet of fifteen ships of the line, French and Spanish, to be drawn from the harbours of France and Spain, in order to support him. The British blockading squadron, when it was found that Gantheaume had eluded them, having sailed in pursuit, enabled the French commanders to collect twelve ships of the line at Cadiz; and admiral Linois, with three more and one frigate, was sent to join them from Toulon. He found, as he approached the port, that the blockade was resumed by Sir James Saumarez; and he put into Algeziras Bay, where he was protected by powerful batteries. There, on the 6th of July, the French vessels were attacked by Sir James Saumarez with six ships of the line; but, in consequence of the severe fire from the French ships and the batteries, Sir James was obliged to retire, with the loss of the *Hannibal*, which grounded, and was taken possession of by the enemy. The British, in this engagement, had 361 killed and wounded; the French and Spaniards, 586. Six days after, the British ships, having been refitted at Gibraltar, encountered the united squadron of French and Spanish vessels, of nine ships of the line and four frigates; and, after a desperate engagement, continued into the night, compelled them to return to Cadiz. After the day closed, and while the engagement was at its height, the *Real Carlos* and the *Hermenigeldo* (both Spanish ships, carrying 112 guns), each mistaking the other for an enemy, exchanged their broadsides with great fury. Whilst this unhappy encounter was going on, the *Real Carlos* was set on fire; her sails, which had been recently tarred, having burst into flames, from a broadside poured in by an English vessel, the *Superb*, while passing. The wind blowing violently at the time, spread the flames to the *Hermenigeldo*, and soon both vessels blew up with a most awful explosion.

Out of 2,000 men, about 250 were saved by the English boats: all the rest perished.* The *Superb* also captured the *San Antonio*, of 74 guns: the remainder of the squadron escaped; but most of the vessels were greatly shattered. The gloom which the loss of these ships occasioned in Spain did not extend to France, to damp the joy which the capture of the *Swiftsure* and the *Hannibal*, and the retreat of the British fleet from Algeiras, occasioned. Those isolated triumphs over the British flag were not sufficient, however, to console Bonaparte for the loss of Egypt. Junot affirms, that the first consul's "design was, to have made that country the point from which the thunderbolt was to issue which was to overwhelm the British empire." When the news of Menou's capitulation reached him, he exclaimed—"Junot, we have lost Egypt! My projects and my dreams have alike been destroyed by England." Junot remained with him two hours after the intelligence arrived; and the duchess d'Abrantes informs us, that he "wept like a child" whenever he recounted what passed during the time.

The period occupied by the occurrences in Egypt and in the Mediterranean, which we have just described, was not uneventful elsewhere. Shortly after the battle of Copenhagen, Nelson was appointed commander-in-chief in the Baltic. On the 20th of May, he signed a convention with Sweden and Denmark, by which all the restrictions laid on British commerce in that sea were removed; and corresponding steps were taken by the British government. The first consul had sent his favourite aide-de-camp, Duroc, to St. Petersburg, to congratulate the new emperor, Alexander, on his succession; and to endeavour to persuade him to enter into similar relations with France, as those his predecessor had sanctioned. The French ambassador was received with cordiality; but lord St. Helen's, from England, was welcomed still more warmly; and, on the 17th of June, his lordship concluded a treaty with the vice-chancellor Panin, by which all the principles of the "armed neutrality" were abandoned. The first consul was filled with indignation at this arrangement, which, he said, "was equivalent to an admission that England was sovereign of the seas. She could desire no more," he affirmed, "than such a treaty conceded; and a third-rate power would have been ashamed to have signed it."

Bonaparte had not been inactive whilst the foregoing events transpired. The peace of Luneville relieved him from any apprehensions he might have entertained from continental combinations; and, although that treaty guaranteed

"the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics," and gave their inhabitants "the power to adopt such forms of government as they might judge proper," he resolved, that the reorganisation of those governments should proceed from him. The Cisalpine republic, which comprised Lombardy, Modena, and the Legations—and where, according to Ugo Foscolo, "the overbearing insolence of foreign preconsuls, the iron rule of French captains, and a foreign military power mocking the people with the name of liberty, and violating all the existing laws," had produced nothing but misery—was placed, says Thiers, "in the state of an ally dependent upon France." The affairs of Naples were adjusted on the basis of the treaty of Florence; the constitution of Liguria was submitted to the first consul, that it might be altered so as to strengthen the executive authority. Tuscany was converted into a regal domain—"the kingdom of Etruria"—and bestowed upon Don Louis, a son of the duke of Parma, who had married a daughter of the king of Spain; the duke renouncing Parma and Placentia, to be disposed of as Bonaparte pleased. Godoy, known as the "prince of peace," was at this time the ruling spirit in Spain; and, whilst the public were wondering why the head of the French republic should thus favour a branch of the Bourbons, the reason became apparent. Under the influence of Godoy (who had been promised a share in the spoil), the king of Spain had declared war against Portugal, in order to make that power break off her friendly relations with England. The prince of Brazil†—who then ruled Portugal as prince-regent, on account of the mental aberration of the queen, Maria Francesca Isabella—had applied to England for the aid of 25,000 troops; to which he would have joined the Portuguese army, and, giving the command to an English officer, would have carried the war into Spain. But the expedition to Egypt, and other causes, prevented the English government from complying with this request: they could only send a few hundred men, and £300,000 in gold. Portugal, alone and unaided, could offer no effectual resistance to Spain; and, in June, a cessation of hostilities took place. This, however, did not suit the first consul, who ordered a division of his army, under generals Le Clerc and St. Cyr, to advance into Portugal; his object being to occupy some part of the Portuguese territory, that, whenever peace was concluded with England, he might make the withdrawal of his troops dependent on the restoration of the conquered colonies of France. The French troops

* M. Thiers, in his *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, says, that admiral Saumarez, after his defeat at Algeiras, "carried his rancour so far as to put on board his ships furnaces for red-hot shot;" and that it was one of these shots, discharged from the *Superb*, that set the

Real Carlos on fire. This is not true. There was no furnace on board the *Superb*, or any other British ship. The fire was occasioned as stated in the text.

† The title of the eldest son of the king of Portugal, till after 1816.

accordingly entered Portugal, invested Almeida, and threatened Lisbon and Oporto. The English, on learning of these aggressive steps, took possession of Madeira, that that fine island might not also be seized by the French. The prince-regent, alarmed at the prospect before him, entreated Lucien Bonaparte, who was then ambassador at the court of Madrid, to intercede with his imperious brother; and, eventually, peace was restored—the ruler of Portugal placing 20,000,000 francs in the hands of bankers at Paris, for the use of the first consul; and making Lucien Bonaparte, Talleyrand, and others, presents of diamonds and other jewels. Thus, says Capefigue, “the first consul was appeased. He stood in need of many resources to organise his new power. To some he gave offices; to others, rank; but money to all. When he wanted to enrich a man, he gave him the embassy of Madrid or of Lisbon—countries which had not yet been drained, like Italy and Germany, by a French invasion, and where an envoy was sure to make his fortune, because he had to do with weak people, who had their hands full of the wealth of Mexico and of the Brazils.”

Whilst warlike operations were pursued in Egypt, in Portugal, and on the high seas, negotiation was being carried on between the governments of France and England, with the view of settling the terms of peace. The change of ministry in the latter country had been occasioned more by the desire for peace than any other reason. On the 21st of March, soon after his accession to office, lord Hawkesbury, who had succeeded lord Grenville as secretary of state for foreign affairs, intimated to M. Otto the desire of England to terminate the war; and as the first consul professed to be equally anxious for that event, an interchange of terms took place, which led to no result. England does not appear to have asked more than she was entitled to from her position. The French were required to evacuate Egypt, their tenure of which was most precarious; and England, retaining Malta, Ceylon, and either Trinidad or Martinique, offered to give up all her other conquests. The first consul, however, would only consent to her retaining either Ceylon or Trinidad. For several months an interchange of couriers kept taking place, but neither party was inclined to recede from its terms; and, in the midst of the negotiations, Bonaparte commenced his preparations to invade England. He collected, from the ports of the Calvados, the Lower Seine, the Somme, and the Scheldt, a number of gun-boats and flat-bottomed praams; constructed batteries for heating shot; fortified every point of the coast, so as to enable the gun-boats to creep round from distant ports to that of concentration; and collected at Boulogne much of the artillery and infantry force which had been set at liberty by the treaty of Luneville, and had

since been unemployed. An ordinance of the 12th of July, directed the organisation of the flotilla into nine divisions, each with its proper proportion of men and artillery; and the first consul announced to his colleagues his determination, if peace were not concluded, to enlarge this flotilla, so that it could transport 100,000 men; to embark with it himself; and to make an impression on England by some decided blow. “A fair wind for thirty-six hours,” was, however, he considered, necessary to make a successful descent; and whilst the flotilla was collecting, Robert Fulton made his appearance at Paris, and offered to the government the means of transporting its vessels across the channel in the face of wind and tide, by the means of steam. Bonaparte listened to him, and submitted his plan to some of the most eminent *savans*, by whom it was stigmatised as “visionary,” and rejected as “impracticable.” We now know it was neither; but the world was not then prepared to adopt the bold suggestion.

These preparations in France could not be carried on without attracting the notice of England; and Nelson was appointed to command a fleet of three ships of the line, two frigates, and thirty-five bomb-vessels, brigs, and schooners, with which he sailed from Deal, on the 1st of August, for the coast of France. He made his appearance off Boulogne on the 4th, and attacked the floating batteries and gun-boats of the enemy, sinking two of the former, and destroying a few of the latter, which were without-side the pier. This attack was more of the nature of a *reconnaissance* than anything else; and the English admiral returned on the 15th, when he found great precautions had been taken to defend the flotilla. Every boat had from fifty to a hundred soldiers on board, was secured to its moorings by chains, and protected from boarding by iron spikes projecting from its sides, and strong netting braced to its lower yards. The flotilla was attacked at midnight; but being thus protected, and the approach to the harbour being commanded by the batteries on shore, Nelson was for once defeated. A most unequal combat was maintained for four hours, the wind and tide preventing the English boats from arriving at their destined points at the time assigned to them. If they had, Nelson declared, that “all the chains in France could not have prevented our men from bringing off the whole of the vessels.” The English at last retired, with the loss of 172 men, killed and wounded; and the French characterised the affair as being “not an unsuccessful attack, but a decided defeat.”

The negotiations were continued, after this failure, through the month of September; and the first consul, irritated by Spain's concluding the peace with Portugal in opposition to his

views, ceased to insist upon the abandonment of Trinidad; but he gave peremptory orders to M. Otto, to have the preliminaries signed before the 2nd of October. They were signed on the 1st of that month.—A few hours after the signatures of the negotiators—lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto—had been attached, a messenger arrived in London with the news of the evacuation of Egypt by the French. There is every reason to believe that Bonaparte knew of that event much earlier, and before the negotiations had been brought to a close. If the preliminaries had been signed before the intelligence reached Paris, he would never have given vent to the exclamations recorded by the duchess d'Abrantes, on the authority of her husband, as having escaped him on the occasion. If the English government had been aware of the success of their army, they would, lord Hawkesbury declared, have been compelled, in "deference to public opinion," to have demanded better terms: and it would appear, that it was the knowledge of that success which induced Bonaparte to concede those he did. This is the only conclusion we can draw; unless we suppose that Junot was guilty of deliberate falsehood when he detailed to his wife the conversations narrated in her *Memoirs*.—By the preliminaries, England agreed to give back to France, Spain, and Holland, all her conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad. Egypt was to be evacuated by the British and French forces, and restored to the Porte. The island of Malta was also to be evacuated by the English troops, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem; and to secure the independence of that island from both the contracting parties, it was to be placed under the guarantee of a third power, to be named in the definitive treaty. The integrity of the Porte was guaranteed; France agreed to evacuate the harbours of Rome and Naples, and England to give up Porta Ferrajo, which the gallant little garrison still defended; a compensation was provided for the house of Nassau; a new republic was created of the seven Ionian Isles; and the fisheries of New foundland were restored to the situation in which they were before the war. These preliminaries were ratified by France; and when colonel Lauriston arrived in London with the ratification on the 12th of October, the horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn by the populace to Downing-street, where the ratifications were interchanged. At Paris, the welcome intelligence of "peace with England" was proclaimed at the theatres; and that, M. Thiers tells us, "amidst such acclamations of joy as had not been heard for a long time."

The signing the preliminaries of peace with England had been preceded by the conclusion, on the 24th of August, of a definitive treaty between France and Bavaria; by which, in con-

sideration of a guarantee of its possessions on the right bank of the Rhine, the latter agreed to give up to the former its territories on the left bank of that river.—On the 30th of September, a treaty was concluded between France and the United States of America, in which the commercial privileges granted to France by the preliminaries signed in 1800, were considerably curtailed, though she was put on the footing of the most favoured nations.—On the 8th of October, a third treaty was signed at Paris, between France and Russia—M. de Talleyrand and M. de Markoff being the negotiators. The public treaty—which merely recited, that a good understanding was restored between the two governments, and that they would not allow emigrants from either country to carry on secret conspiracies—was accompanied by a secret convention; the articles of which bound the two powers to act together to introduce into Germany such territorial arrangements as would tend to conduce to the adjustment of the balance of power. It was also stipulated, that Naples should be evacuated when a maritime peace was concluded; that the interests of the king of Sardinia should be adjusted, "in the mode most compatible with the present state of affairs;" and that the republic of the seven islands should be independent. The eleventh and concluding article was as follows:—"As soon as possible after the signature of the present treaty, and these secret articles, the two contracting parties shall enter upon the consideration of the establishment of a general peace, upon the following basis: 'To restore a just equilibrium in the different parts of the world, and to ensure the liberty of the seas;' binding themselves to act in concert for the attainment of these objects by all measures, whether of conciliation or vigour, mutually agreed on between them, for the good of humanity, the general repose, and the independence of governments."—On the 9th of October another treaty was concluded at Paris, between M. Talleyrand and the Turkish ambassador, Ali Effendi, who had been detained there under a species of honourable restraint, and was ignorant of the French disasters in Egypt. By this treaty, France was put in possession of all the advantages of the most favoured nation in the Levant.—A treaty was also concluded with the dey of Algiers on the 1st of December.

Soon after the preliminaries of London had been agreed to, Amiens was selected by the two governments as the place where the terms of the definitive treaty should be considered. Lord Cornwallis was appointed the plenipotentiary for England, and Joseph Bonaparte for France. The discussions were prolonged, and were, more than once, on the point of terminating unfavourably. But at last, on the 27th of March, 1802, the terms were finally agreed upon, and the definitive treaty signed. It did not differ,

in any essential point, from the preliminaries, and it was duly ratified by both powers. It gave rise to long and angry debates in the British parliament; but the government was supported, in the Lords by 122 to 16; and in the Commons by 276 to 20.

CHAPTER V.

NEW CONSTITUTION IN HOLLAND; NEW CONSTITUTION FOR THE CISALPINE REPUBLIC; BONAPARTE DECLARED PRESIDENT OF ITALY; CONCORDAT WITH ROME; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION IN FRANCE; MEASURES TO PROMOTE EDUCATION; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR; BONAPARTE DECLARED CONSUL FOR LIFE; ALTERATIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION; FRENCH VIOLATIONS OF THE TREATY OF LUNEVILLE; REFUSAL OF ENGLAND TO SURRENDER MALTA; RENEWAL OF THE WAR; EXPEDITION TO ST. DOMINGO.

DURING the negotiations, which were at last terminated by the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte had been engaged in extending his power and influence, both at home and abroad, in various ways. Abroad, the constitutions of Holland and Italy were remodelled under his influence. At home, by the conclusion of a concordat with the pope, and the creation of a Legion of Honour, he found the means of attaching a number of both clergy and laity personally to himself; and thus paved the way for the acquirement of that supreme power, which it is impossible to doubt became the object of his ambition subsequent to his accession to the first consulate. The constitution of Holland was entirely recast in the autumn of 1801. By a proclamation of the Batavian directory (who were supported, or more properly controlled, by a body of French troops), the legislative chambers were dissolved; and a new constitution, which had been drawn up at Paris, was promulgated. By this constitution, the republic was redivided into its old provinces; the number of members of the legislative assembly was reduced to thirty-five; and that of the executive body, under the name of a council of state, extended to twelve. A president, to be changed every three months, was placed at the head of the whole; and M. Schimmelpennick, the Dutch ambassador at Paris, was the first raised to that post. The constitution was proclaimed by the directory, whose functions it abolished, and quietly accepted by the people, in November, 1801. As the preliminaries of peace had been signed, England felt itself entitled to demand an explanation of these changes. The only reply obtained from Talleyrand was to the effect, that "Holland had a right to organise itself as best suited its interests; and that the Batavian republic was perfectly free, having its ambassador at Paris, like any other independent state. Besides," he added, "what had taken place at the Hague was by no means an obstacle to further diplomatic arrangements; it being only a progress towards the reconstruction of

society, agreeably to those views of order and justice which the first consul entertained." With this "explanation" the English government was obliged to be content.

The government of Holland thus rearranged, that of Italy next demanded attention. That country had experienced no benefit whatever from the changes introduced by Bonaparte. All classes and all parties were equally oppressed; and the Italians were taunted, according to Foscolo, with not exerting themselves to attain a state of independence it was predetermined they never should enjoy. The members of the executive council nominated by Bonaparte, found themselves involved in financial and other difficulties; and the first consul determined upon some new arrangement. With this view, a *consultum*, composed of 452 members, was convoked, to meet at Lyons, as Bonaparte could not go to Milan. They assembled in December, 1801, 450 being present—a proof of the interest taken by the Italians in the matter, when the season and the distance are considered. The members of this *consultum* comprised those of the provisional government—with deputations from the clerical and legal bodies, the universities and academies, the chambers of commerce, the several towns and departments, and the regular army and national guard. They were met by MM. de Talleyrand and De Chaptal, who opened the assembly on the 31st of December with great pomp. A commission of thirty members was appointed to inquire into, and report upon, the state of Italy; and the *consultum* was divided into five sections, to consider a new constitution, which the first consul had ordered to be drawn up. The commission soon agreed to its report, which was very much in accordance with a draft arranged beforehand, between the first consul, M. de Talleyrand, signor de Mareschalchi (the minister from the republic at Paris), and signori Aldini, Serbelloni, and Melzi, who had been sent to Paris on Italian affairs. It was to the effect, that the

want of confidence between the various countries of which the republic was composed, rendered the tutelary support of France necessary during its infancy; and after various details to prove this fact, it concluded with a request to Bonaparte to assume the chief direction of Italian affairs. The constitution submitted to the *consultum*, proposed to establish three electoral colleges—1st, of 300 proprietors; 2nd, of 200 members of the learned professions; 3rd, of 200 merchants and manufacturers. These colleges were to elect the members of the legislature, and the judges of the upper courts; and the legislative body was to vote, without discussion, on the projects of law submitted to it by the executive, to consist of a president appointed for ten years, a vice-president, and a council of six members. The president was to nominate to all civil and military offices.

The first consul left Paris for Lyons on the 8th of January, 1802, accompanied by Josephine and a numerous array of troops. He arrived on the 11th; and his entry into the city was a perfect triumph. A brilliant troop of 150 young men, of the first families, met him beyond the gates, and formed his escort into the city, where he was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. No great time was spent in deliberation after his arrival. The *consultum* accepted the constitution, with trivial modifications; and when the report of the commission was presented to the first consul, he at once accepted the office of president, and appointed M. Melzi, who possessed extensive landed property in Lombardy, to that of vice-president. The constitution was proclaimed on the 25th of January, (6th of Pluviôse), Napoleon Bonaparte being announced as the first president of the republic, which, instead of Cisalpine, was, hereafter, to be named the Italian republic. This was the first time that the christian and surname of the first consul had been used together. By the territorial arrangement, connected with the adoption of this constitution, the whole of Lombardy to the Adige, the Legations, and the duchy of Modena were included in the republic. Parma remained in abeyance; and Piedmont, for the present, was considered to appertain to France. The Italian republic, thus constituted, contained near 5,000,000 inhabitants, could raise, it was estimated, a revenue of from 70,000,000 to 80,000,000 francs, and support an army of 40,000 men. While at Lyons, Bonaparte gave a new constitution to the Genoese, or Ligurian republic—similar to that of Italy; and placed a native doge at its head.

The first consul left Lyons on the 28th of January, having, before his departure, presented the three mayors of that city each with a handsome scarf, in commemoration of his visit. He re-entered Paris on the 31st; at which time France certainly presented an aspect of comfort

and tranquillity it had not enjoyed for some time. The measures which had been adopted—and it is due to Bonaparte to say, that they were principally founded on his suggestions, when they were not precisely and definitely devised by him,—these measures, for re-establishing religion; rendering travelling safe and secure; for giving activity to commerce and industry; for introducing order and regularity into the administration of the finances; and for reorganising society, shattered as it had been by the convulsions of the revolution—had all been successful. The security of the high-roads had been mainly effected by the military, who, after the treaty of Luneville, having returned to France in great numbers, were formed into movable columns, which, traversing all parts of the country, succeeded so completely in dispersing or arresting the banditti by whom the provinces were infested; that although, in January and February, 1801, travellers could not go from one place to another without the risk of being murdered, they might, before the end of the year, penetrate into any part of France without danger. In many of his measures, especially those for re-establishing religion, the first consul had found great opposition in the tribunate and the legislative body, who also opposed his proposal to create a Legion of Honour. During his absence at Lyons, the renewal of the first fifth of those bodies took place, and, by the management and the influence of Cambacérès, sixty members of the legislative body, and twenty of the tribunate, who had been most strenuous in opposing what they considered the usurping pretensions of the first consul, were not re-elected. After this elimination of its more important members, the tribunate sank into a state of complete insignificance. Thus, when the first consul returned to Paris, he found submission in every quarter; and the resistance he had experienced in the assemblies completely overcome. He was received with addresses from the public bodies, and with warm congratulations from many distinguished foreigners in the French capital, where the gayest season was experienced, in the winter of 1801-'2, that had occurred for many years. It was distinguished by the marriage of Louis Bonaparte to Hortense Beauharnais. They received the nuptial benediction from the cardinal Caprara, in a private house; and it was administered, at the same time, to Murat and his wife Caroline, whose marriage had been contracted before the civil magistrate.

None of Bonaparte's measures were of so much importance as that vital one—the re-establishment of religion in France. We have already noticed the early steps he took in that direction; also his recognition of the pope, with whom he was anxious to conclude a concordat, for the purpose of consolidating, as he expected, the interests of the church and the state. The

negotiations for that purpose commenced in 1800. They were carried on by monsignor Spina, on behalf of the pope, and the abbé Bernier, the pacificator of the Vendée, for France. The terms being settled, the concordat was signed at Paris on the 15th of July, 1801. The papal sanction was not given till September; and although the first consul explained its conditions, and spoke eloquently in their favour to his council, they were not submitted to the tribunate and the legislative body till April, 1802. On the 8th of that month, the *projet de loi*, approving of the concordat, and re-establishing the christian religion throughout the French dominions, was adopted by those assemblies, but not without opposition. There were divisions in both: in the tribunate, the ayes being 78, the noes 7; in the legislative body, the numbers were 228 for, to 21 against. Such a result could not have been obtained a few months earlier. By the concordat, the Roman catholic religion was again established in France as that of the nation; the republic was divided into fifty dioceses, and ten arch-dioceses; the archbishops being to receive 15,000 francs (£600), and the bishops, 10,000 francs (£400), per annum. The bishops were to take an oath of fidelity to the republic, and prepare a prayer for the consuls. One parish priest was allotted to every district of a *juge de paix*, with as many more as might be considered necessary. These inferior clergy were to be nominated by the bishops and archbishops; but the prelates were to be appointed by the first consul, who was thus, in reality, made the head of the church of France. Very trifling salaries were awarded to the parish priest—about £60 per annum in large, and £40 in small parishes; but the departmental councils were charged with procuring houses or lodgings for them, and also for the bishops. There were several important articles, in addition to those merely organising the church, for securing its independence, to a great extent, of the pope.

It was on April 18th (Easter Sunday), 1802, that the return of the French people to the christian faith was solemnly celebrated. In Paris there was a grand procession to the church of Nôtre-Dame, to inaugurate it once more as a temple of Christ, and to restore the Roman catholic worship. This sacred edifice had been greatly injured by the infidel revolutionists—the worshippers of the goddess of Reason. They had pulled down the high altar, cut the paintings into pieces, and destroyed the decorations of every kind. Bonaparte had done much to efface the memory of these enormities. He had a new altar erected, more costly than that which rude infidelity had overthrown; he took great pains to collect all the relics, statues, and paintings that had been removed, and not destroyed, which he had replaced, as nearly as possible, in their original style; and he resolved that the re-

opening of the cathedral should be conducted with every solemnity. On the morning of the day before mentioned, 500 troops (cavalry and infantry) assembled in the court of the Tuileries, and, preceded by the consular guard, led a long *cortège*, composed of the carriages of the senate, the legislative body, the tribunate, and all the public officers, with those of the foreign ambassadors, and many private equipages. These were followed by eight cream-coloured horses, that had been presented to Bonaparte by the king of Spain—each led by a young Mameluke in eastern costume; by Roustan, the Mameluke friend of the first consul, on a splendid charger; and by the state-coach, drawn by eight horses, containing the three consuls, each attended by a footman, in a livery of green velvet trimmed with gold. Several troops of cavalry closed the procession, which was received at the church by the clergy of Paris, with the archbishop at their head, arrayed in their richest pontificals; and high mass was celebrated with all the imposing pomp and ceremonial of the Romish church. At its close, the procession returned in the same order to the Tuileries, having been hailed, both going and returning, with the most cordial and enthusiastic tokens of popular approbation. This important day was closed in a manner which, to the professors of the reformed religion, appears a profanation of the Lord's-day, but which is common in all Roman catholic countries: the theatres were opened gratuitously; there was a concert for the public in the gardens of the Tuileries; the palace and gardens were brilliantly illuminated, and fireworks were discharged in many parts of the city. From thenceforth all government offices were closed on Sundays; the performance of daily mass was resumed at the Tuileries; and the use of the republican calendar discontinued.

The re-establishment of religion was followed by an attempt, on the part of the first consul, to restore all the inalienated national property to the original proprietors, in which he was only partially successful; but, on the 29th of April, he published a general amnesty, which permitted all exiled Frenchmen to return to their native country, with the exception of the members of the royal family, and a few others. Above 100,000 emigrants, in consequence, returned to France, and to each was restored such parts of his former property as had not been alienated by the state. But many were without any present means of subsistence; and, to raise money, they proceeded to cut down the forests on their estates. This was considered injurious to the public interests, and led to some restrictive regulations being issued, as well as to unpleasant contests between the state and individuals. However, altogether the amnesty was productive of great benefits to many thousands. It was followed, on the 1st of May, by a decree, promulgating

a project for a general scheme of public education. Schools for primary instruction were permitted to be established in each commune: secondary schools, taking education a higher step, could also be set on foot, with the sanction of government, which contributed nothing towards the support of these elementary institutions. But thirty *lycées*, or special schools, were established in different parts of the republic, the number of pupils in which was limited to 6,400. The entire expense of these *lycées* was borne by the state. The system of education taught in them comprised the ancient languages, rhetoric, logic, morality, the elements of the mathematics, and physical sciences; and the pupils were selected by the government from the secondary schools, and other sources. Later in the year, 60,000 francs (£2,400) were appropriated to encourage the study of electricity and galvanism: any stranger who resided a year in France, and made important discoveries in science, was admitted to the rights of a French citizen; and the Institute was placed at the head of all the educational institutions. It was divided into four classes, each member receiving a pension of 1,500 francs (£60) a-year. Measures were taken simultaneously to encourage commerce and trade; a council-general of commerce being established in Paris, and a council of commerce in each city of France. A plan was also formed and adopted for establishing chambers of agriculture in the colonies; but before a proper organisation could be made for carrying it out, war was resumed, and interfered with its operation. Measures for recruiting the army and navy, and putting the finances on a better footing, were also adopted; and the Valais being detached from Switzerland, was erected into the "republic of Valais," and placed entirely under French influence. The roads over the Simplon, over Mont Cenis, and from the Rhone, over Mont Genevre to Turin, which now afford so much accommodation to travellers, were commenced.

Napoleon was strongly impressed with the necessity of an aristocracy to support any government, and contribute to its stability; and he deeply regretted that, to any nobility which he created, he could not give the stamp of antiquity. He very early, however, resolved to do what he could in that direction; and his first step was to establish a Legion of Honour, "which should gradually restore the gradation of ranks in society, and enlist all classes of people in its support." This project met with great opposition; and before he finally succeeded in procuring its adoption, the legislature passed, on the 8th of May, a *senatus consultum*, declaring him first consul for ten years beyond the first ten fixed as his original appointment. At length he obtained the sanction of the legislature to the Legion of Honour; but his proposal was adopted in

the council of state by a majority of only 14 to 10. In the tribunate, the numbers were 56 to 38; in the legislative body, 166 to 110. The object of this institution was, to confer an honorary distinction and a pension upon meritorious individuals, civil or military. The legion was divided into fifteen cohorts, each consisting of seven grand officers, thirty subalterns, and 350 members. The pensions varied from about £200 to the grand officers, to a few francs to the private members; and the first consul was named captain-general of the legion, and president of the council for its administration, which was composed of the three consuls and a member of the council of state, the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate. The decree establishing the legion appeared on the 18th of May; and then Bonaparte took notice of the *senatus consultum*, which added ten years to his term of office. He had been steadily advancing and consolidating his own dignity and power, from his first acceptance of the consulate; his aim being to become the sole ruler of France. Those who encouraged him in his views, and supported them in the legislature, endeavoured, when the *senatus consultum* was discussed, to have him declared first consul for life; but the senate refused to go beyond an additional ten years. In reply to the address presented to him, and announcing that extension of his term of office, he declined to accept it, unless it was "confirmed by the suffrages of the people, who first invested him with supreme authority." The legislature agreed to take the sense of the people on the question; but, by a decision of the council of state, without appealing to the other bodies, the question put to them was—"Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be consul for life?" To this question, 3,368,259 affirmatives were received, and only 189,626 negatives. So, on the 2nd of August, 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte was declared to be, for life, the ruler of the French people. He occupied at this time St. Cloud, as well as the Tuileries; occasionally retiring to Malmaison, as a calm retreat from the cares which pressed upon him. He still wanted two things more—a regal or imperial title, and that his office should be hereditary. These he did not despair of attaining.

In reply to the address which was presented by the senate, announcing the result of the appeal to the people, Bonaparte remarked, that "the nation, in bestowing upon him a new and a permanent pledge of their confidence, had imposed upon him the duty of moulding the system of its laws, so as to bring them into harmony with durable institutions." To carry out this view, on the 4th of August, several alterations in the constitution were proclaimed. The tribunate was reduced from a hundred to fifty members—a prelude to its total extinction. The number of the legislative body was reduced

to 258, who were divided into five sections; one to be renewed every year. The senate was to be invested with the power of dissolving both the other legislative bodies, and of modifying the fundamental institutions of the republic. To the first consul was given the power of nominating his successor, and pardoning all offences. The senate accepted the new constitution on the 8th of August; and on this occasion, for the first time, Bonaparte went to the senate-house with all the "pomp and circumstance" of regal power. The Parisians shouted loudly at the display; and the gaiety of their capital—where luxury and pleasure again began to prevail; where the ambassadors—especially lord Whitworth, from England (at whose hotel Mr. Fox was a visitor), M. de Markoff from Russia, and the marquis Luchesini from Prussia—endeavoured to outvie each other by the brilliance of their equipages and appointments; where the drawing-rooms and *levées* of the first consul emulated the splendour of the ancient *régime*; and over which, the spoils gained in vanquished Europe cast an evanescent lustre—quite reconciled the giddy Parisians to the restoration of that monarchical form of government (for such, in effect, was the appointment of Bonaparte as consul for life) which they had shed oceans of blood to extinguish. Bonaparte aimed at possessing all the power of the ancient kings. Looking on Fouché with a jealous eye, and thinking that he might interfere with his future projects, one of his first acts, after the senate had accepted the new constitution, was to abolish the ministry of police, and unite it with that of justice, under Regnier. He made Fouché a senator; and new regulations of pensions and honours conferred on the members of that body, rendered it very amenable to his will.

The *senatus consultum*, declaring Bonaparte consul for life, and ordaining that a statue of Peace, holding in one hand the decree of the senate, and in the other the laurel of victory, should attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation, was proclaimed throughout France on the 15th of August, the birthday of the first consul. The statue of Peace was, however, a great mistake; for his ambition was even then preparing the way for another war. We have already seen how, in violation of the eleventh article of the treaty of Luneville, the independence of Batavia, Cisalpia, and Liguria was interfered with—evidently for the purpose of extending French influence; and Bonaparte had scarcely been declared first consul for life, before (having already quartered a large army on the Dutch) he began to interfere with the freedom of the Swiss. Several of the cantons—Underwalden, Schweitz, Zurich, Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons—were averse to the government of a republic, "one and indivisible," which France had forced upon them; and wished to

restore the federal constitution. A declaration to that effect was made at the diet on the 6th of August; and a civil war commenced, in which the government of the Helvetic republic was obliged to retire to Lausanne. Aloys Reding, whose family had often taken part in the wars and government of Switzerland, summoned a general assembly, which met at Schweitz on the 27th of September, and proceeded to organise a government upon the ancient basis. Some cantons adhered to the republic; and the first consul offered his mediation. It was refused; as nothing would satisfy the majority of the Swiss but a return to the old state of things. Twelve thousand French troops were, in consequence, immediately marched across the frontiers; the leaders of the Swiss were arrested; the country was overrun; and although the Swiss appealed to England, and the English government protested against the infraction of the treaty of Luneville, the cantons were obliged to submit, and accept a constitution which Bonaparte, as "mediator," transmitted to them in February, 1803—a constitution that, in fact, placed Switzerland in subjection to France. Whilst this contest with the Swiss was going on, first the Isle of Elba was annexed to France: next, on the 11th of September, a formal decree was issued, declaring Piedmont a part and parcel of the territory of the republic; to which another decree, issued on the 23rd of October from Parma, declared that the states of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, belonged. Whilst he made these acquisitions in Europe, Bonaparte obtained, by secret treaties with Portugal and Spain, Guiana from the one, and Louisiana from the other; and in October, he sent general Sebastiani on a mission to Egypt, with what view, except to see whether it could be reconquered, it is difficult to guess. On the 30th of January, 1803, a report from that officer was published in the official paper, the *Moniteur*. It described minutely the condition of Alexandria and its forts, St. Jean d'Acre, &c.; with the amount of the military strength of the country, and the state of its finances. It was expressly stated in this report, that "6,000 French soldiers would, at present, be enough to conquer Egypt;" and that England "dared not renew war against France."

It does not appear that the parties to the treaty of Luneville made any formal objection to the above annexations. Indeed, the German powers were engaged in settling the indemnities to which the events of the war, terminated by that treaty, entitled one or other of them. By a treaty agreed to on the 4th of June, 1802, France and Austria were to have acted together in the adjustment of these indemnities; but the latter power appears to have sided with Prussia and Russia against the former. At length, on the 18th of August, a congress assembled at Ratisbon, and its deliberations were not

concluded till the 25th of February, 1803. It would occupy more room than we have to spare, to give the details of the arrangements agreed upon; but Sir A. Alison gives that arrangement its true character, when he says, "it was the most important which had taken place since the treaty of Westphalia;" as by it, "the old Germanic constitution was entirely overturned, and a new division made, which for ever subverted the fundamental principles of the empire." Though the parties to the treaty of Luneville were silent under its infractions, England was not disposed to regard them as unimportant. The 10th article of the treaty of Amiens bound her to evacuate Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and Alexandria; and her troops had begun to withdraw from those places. The interference with the Batavian, Italian, and Swiss republics, and the annexation of territory in Italy, caused the movement to be arrested; and when the English parliament assembled on the 16th of November, 1802, the king's speech spoke of a renewal of hostilities, as not only probable, but, it was feared, inevitable. From that time very active military preparations were carried on in France and England; and it was quite apparent that the army and navy, in the former country, were rapidly returning to the state of a war establishment. Public speakers and writers, in the two countries, mutually blamed each other for this state of things. France demanded the evacuation of Malta; and England, that the treaty of Luneville should be observed, and the independence of nations respected. After the appearance of the report of Sebastiani, the evacuation of Malta was formally refused till France fell back to her position when the peace was signed. The English government maintained, that it was their duty to preserve the balance of power, and protect Europe from a military despotism; and that they would not be justified in giving up such an important position as Malta, till the ruler of the French abandoned those plans of ambitious aggrandisement which he had evidently formed. The misunderstanding between the two governments was increased by the vexatious regulations which Bonaparte, who had refused to enter into a commercial treaty with England, imposed on British shipping. He, on the other hand, conceived himself very much aggrieved by articles in the British press, particularly those which appeared in a paper, published in London, called *L'Ambigu*, the editor of which was Peltier, a French emigrant. He demanded that such articles should be suppressed; and that the emigrants, who, he said, were forming conspiracies against him, should be expelled from the United Kingdom. Of course the latter was a demand which the British government could not comply with; but they did prosecute Peltier for a libel on the first consul. He was ably defended by Sir James Mackintosh: the jury,

however, returned a verdict of "guilty." Before judgment was passed, the quarrel between the two nations reached its climax, and war again broke out: Peltier was therefore never called up to receive sentence.

On the 20th of February, Bonaparte, in an interview with the English ambassador (lord Whitworth), stated his causes of complaint against England, and demanded a performance of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, as the only alternative of war. He professed no desire for the latter course. "Why should I wish to go to war?" he said: "a descent upon England is the only mode I have of combating her; and this, if compelled, I am resolved to undertake. But why suppose that, arrived at my present height of power, I should risk my reputation and life, unless constrained thereto by necessity, in an expedition in which myself and the greater part of my army would, most probably, go to the bottom of the sea—for there are a hundred chances to one against me?" He would, however, make no promise to abide by the treaties into which he had entered, and which he had violated so egregiously; and England, having withdrawn her troops from the Cape of Good Hope, determined, under the circumstances, to hold Malta; with which determination lord Whitworth acquainted him. The result of this interview, which was reported by his lordship to his government, was, that, on the 8th of March, the king of England sent a message to parliament, to the effect, that the military preparations going on in the ports of France and Holland, rendered it necessary that the army and navy of England should be augmented. The same day both houses voted addresses in accordance with the message; on the 9th, it was announced that the militia were to be called out; and, on the 10th, the House of Commons resolved to increase the naval force, from 50,000 men, already voted, to 60,000. On the 13th of March, at a diplomatic *levée*, the first consul singled out the English ambassador, and attacked him in the most intemperate manner.—"You are, then, determined on war!" he exclaimed; and when lord Whitworth, in courteous language, began to disclaim the imputation, he would not hear him; but, interrupting his lordship in the middle of a sentence, said—"We have been at war for fifteen years; you are determined on hostilities for fifteen years more, and you force me to it." Then, turning to the Russian and Spanish ambassadors, he said—"The English wish for war; but, if they draw the sword first, I will be the last to return it to the scabbard. They do not respect treaties, which, henceforth, we must cover with black crape." Then, again turning to lord Whitworth, he continued—"To what purpose are these armaments? Against whom do you take these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in any port of

France. But if you arm, I, too, will take up my arms; if you fight, I will fight: you may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." "We desire neither one nor the other; we desire to live with her upon terms of good intelligence," was lord Whitworth's reply. "You must respect treaties, then," rejoined Bonaparte. "Woe to them by whom they are not respected! They will be accountable for the consequences to all Europe." He repeated these words twice over; then rose abruptly, and left the room.

Lord Hawkesbury replied very temperately to the remarks of the first consul. He declared, that the king had "the most sincere desire that the treaty of Amiens should be executed in as complete a manner as possible; but it was impossible for him to consider the treaty as founded on principles different from those which had invariably been applied to every other treaty or convention—viz., that they were negotiated with respect to the actual state of possession of the different parties, and to the treaties or public engagements by which they were bound at the time of its conclusion; and that, if that state of possession or engagement was so materially altered by the act of either of the parties as to affect the nature of the compact itself, the other party had a right, according to the law of nations, to interfere, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential difference which such act might have subsequently made in their relative positions." The late treaty, it was contended, was based on the condition "specially agreed to in a note of the French government," that "his majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests, for the acquisition of territory made by France on the continent." France had made great acquisitions subsequently to the signing of the treaty, which his majesty, for the sake of peace, would have overlooked; and the evacuation of Malta was in progress, "when his majesty's attention was arrested by the report of colonel Sebastiani on Egypt, which disclosed views utterly inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the treaty of Amiens." Then it became necessary to pause, before so important a place was given up.

It was now quite evident, that the recommencement of hostilities was only a question of time. The British government and the British people were alike indignant at the attack made on their ambassador; and the former instructed his lordship to demand, that the French forces should withdraw from Batavia and Helvetia; that a provision should be made for the king of Sardinia, whose territory had, in violation of treaties, been forcibly annexed to France; and that England should be permitted to garrison Malta for ten years. These terms were presented, in April, as an *ultimatum*, and a week allowed for their consideration. Talleyrand offered some modifications, which were deemed inadmissible; and the

ultimatum was rejected. On the 6th of May, the British parliament was informed that negotiations were pending, on which the mutual recall of the ambassadors depended: on the 16th, the return of lord Whitworth was announced; he having demanded and received his passports on the 12th: on the 17th, an embargo was laid "on all ships in the British ports, belonging to French or Batavian subjects, or to countries occupied by the French armies:" on the 18th, general Andreossi, the French ambassador, embarked at Dover, and war was declared; the declaration being followed, on the 22nd, by a decree from Bonaparte, ordering all the British subjects who had visited France on business or pleasure, to be detained. In consequence of this decree, between 10,000 and 11,000 men, women, and children were restrained from departure, and lodged in the various prisons of France; and between 1,200 and 1,300 in those of Holland.

The war was very popular in England with the people; and addresses, pledging the two houses of parliament to support government in carrying it on, were adopted—in the House of Lords, by 142 votes to 10; and in the House of Commons, by 398 to 67. Many writers, however, since, lay all the blame of the rupture upon the British government; as Mr. Fox, and other speakers, did at the time. But there is reason to believe, that the government in London had positive information that Bonaparte had no intention that peace should be lasting; but only wanted to gain time, to extend his power and influence in Europe. Not satisfied with the acquisitions given him by treaty, he had seized upon additional territories, in violation of treaties; and, if England had given up Malta, the island would have been garrisoned by troops quite unable to resist an attack from France. Undoubtedly, it does not appear, *primâ facie*, that because Bonaparte broke his engagements with other powers, therefore England was justified in not keeping her's made with him. But she had, certainly, reason to apprehend that war would be less dangerous than peace; particularly when it was found that Bonaparte had not abandoned his designs upon Egypt. That country in his possession, and Malta under his control, our dominion in India would not have been worth a year's purchase. As to the embargo, and the detention of British subjects by which it was retaliated, the former was in strict accordance with international law, and the usual practice, when hostilities between two countries were about to commence; whilst the latter was a violation of both law and practice, and brought great obloquy on the name of the first consul.*

* We now know that the instructions of the first consul to Talleyrand were anything but honest and straightforward; that directly after the treaty of Amiens was signed, he spoke of it as a measure only necessary that he might restore and recruit his navy; and that his hope

Before we enter upon the narrative of the long and destructive war which desolated almost every part of Europe, and which laid a terrible responsibility upon the shoulders of those who were the cause of it, we must briefly advert to a second correspondence between the first consul and Louis XVIII.; to an alteration in the law of succession, made by Bonaparte; and to the events which were transpiring, during 1802, in the important island of St. Domingo. At the commencement of 1803, Louis XVIII., as the count de Lille, was residing at Königsberg, under the protection of the king of Prussia. In January, a communication was made to his majesty, from the first consul, offering, if Louis would renounce his right to the throne of France in his (Bonaparte's) favour, to give him a principality and an ample revenue in Italy. Louis refused the offer; though there appeared, at the moment, little prospect of his ever regaining the throne of the Bourbons. In his reply to the first consul, which was dated in February, he said—"I do not confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I esteem his valour and his military talents. I am gratified by many acts of his administration; for the happiness of my people must be ever dear to my heart. But he deceives himself, if he imagines that he will prevail upon me to surrender my rights. So far from it, he would establish them himself, if a doubt could be admitted respecting them, by the step he has just taken. I know not the intentions of God to my family or myself; but I know the obligations which he has imposed upon me. As a christian, I will discharge the obligations which my religion prescribes, to my latest breath: as a son of St. Louis, I will cause myself to be respected, even in fetters: as a successor to Francis I., I wish ever to be able to say, with him—"All is lost, except our honour." The application, thus firmly refused, was not renewed.

It was on the 19th of April, 1803, when engaged on the code Napoleon (which was not promulgated till the following year), that the first consul issued a decree, completely revolutionising the law of succession. It took away the right of primogeniture, and abolished the distinction between fixed or real, and movable, or personal property; and all entails or limitations. From that time (with an exception subsequently made for those on whom he bestowed hereditary nobility), every description of property has been divided, in equal proportions, between those who stand in equal contiguity to the deceased. The subdivision of land which has taken place in France in consequence of this

was, to be enabled so to concentrate the naval powers of Europe, that they might all be brought to bear upon this country, whose power and influence he then calculated upon being finally enabled to extinguish, "by another battle of Actium."

law, has been immense; and it certainly has not added to the happiness or prosperity, or increased the means, of the French people. It may be added, that about the same time, the first consul altered the law of divorce—permitting a husband to divorce his wife for adultery; and the woman might divorce her husband for the same offence, if he brought his concubine into the house.

The island of St. Domingo, or Hayti, as it is now generally called, is, with the exception of Cuba, the largest in the West Indian Archipelago; and was, previous to the French revolution, the most flourishing of any. In 1789, about one-third of the island belonged to France, and two-thirds to Spain; the French portion being the richest and the most productive. The population consisted of the governing whites, free mulattoes, and the negro slaves; the number of the two former being about equal, and the slaves exceeding both in the proportion of at least eight to one. When the news of the revolution in France reached this mixed population, it excited both mulattoes and blacks with a desire for social rights; and the former immediately demanded to be put upon an equality with the whites. The latter refused to admit a "man of colour" to the same privileges they enjoyed; and a civil war broke out, in which the Spanish proprietors, and some English troops on the island, supported the mulattoes, whose pretensions had been encouraged by a decree of the constituent assembly, issued on the 8th of March, 1790, empowering all the French colonists to make known their wishes on the subject of a constitution, through the medium of assemblies freely elected by the citizens. While the disputes raged between the whites and the mulattoes, the national, which had succeeded the constituent, assembly, issued a decree (on the 15th of May, 1791), conferring freedom upon all persons of colour in the colonies, the children of free parents. This was followed by a general insurrection of the slaves, which extended to the Spanish possessions; the insurgents having a daring fellow at their head, named Jean François. A more remarkable man was brought forward by the events of the times—a slave named Toussaint, who had risen from a herdsman to be coachman to the bailiff, upon an estate called Breda. He had learned to read and write—very unusual accomplishments for slaves; and, after the insurrection broke out, he joined Jean François; very soon becoming his aide-de-camp, with the rank of colonel. The civil war which followed was productive of great horrors and atrocities; and the democratic passions of the insurgents were further inflamed, when the intelligence of the execution of the king, and the establishment of a republic in France, was received. This intelligence was soon followed by the capture of Cape Town by the slaves, and

the massacre, without distinction of age or sex, of all the inhabitants who were not enabled to get on board the ships in their harbour, and make their escape. The fugitives went to the United States, where they were kindly received; but one vessel, with 500 souls on board, foundered at sea, and all met a watery grave.

Early in 1794, a British squadron appeared off Port-au-Prince, and took possession of the town, with the mole of St. Nicholas; and a negro chief, Hyacinthe, with 12,000 blacks, joined a small force left there; which, with their allies, undertook the reduction of the island. However, Toussaint, with the French troops on the island, and a much larger number of negroes than were under Hyacinthe, succeeded in maintaining their ground, and in detaching the blacks from the standard of the English, great numbers of whom were carried off by the climate. Subsequent to the arrival of a decree which the national convention issued on the 4th of February, 1794, giving liberty to all slaves, and declaring St. Domingo an integral part of France, Toussaint carried on a series of successful attacks upon the Spanish portion of the island, being at the head of a considerable force of French and blacks, with the rank of general of brigade. The Spanish posts fell before him so rapidly, that the French commissioners, who were with the army, said—"This man makes an opening (*l'ouverture*) everywhere." Hence the name by which he is generally distinguished, of Toussaint L'Ouverture. By 1798, so successful had been the operations of Toussaint, that the whole island was under his control. The Spanish planters had laid down their arms; the English troops had left the island, after their commander had held a conference with Toussaint, surrounded with his negro warriors; and the mulattoes, as well as the whites, had been completely subdued by the blacks. Toussaint had been recognised by the republican authorities at home as lieutenant of St. Domingo; and when tranquillity was restored, he sent his children to be educated in Paris; writing to the directory, then in power, a letter professing fealty, in which he said—"I guarantee, under my personal responsibility, the submission of my black brethren to order, and their fidelity to France."

When Toussaint heard of the downfall of the directory, he dispatched one of his officers, colonel Vincent, to Paris, to lay the state of the island before the first consul, who sent back that officer, with a decree confirming Toussaint in the position he then held, of general-in-chief; with a proclamation to the blacks, calling upon them to be faithful to France, which had recognised their freedom. The successful black now thought his power secure; and committing to one of his lieutenants, Dessalines, the task of following up and extinguishing the few who still remained in the island with views hostile

to his own, he proclaimed a general amnesty, and made a triumphal tour to the various towns, surrounded by a *cortège*, in which all the pomp of European splendour was imitated. Some months were then employed in tranquillising the island; and, this effected, Toussaint assembled, at Cape Town, those whom he considered the principal men. After some days' consultation, these persons drew up a constitution, by which Toussaint was named president and governor of the island for life, with the power to appoint his successor. A copy of this constitution he dispatched to Paris, by the hands of his former messenger, colonel Vincent, who was also the bearer of an autograph letter from the president of St. Domingo to the first consul of France, which commenced with the words, "From the first of blacks to the first of whites." Colonel Vincent arrived in Paris on the 14th of October, 1801, just after the signing of those preliminaries of peace with England, which were afterwards incorporated in the treaty of Amiens.

But Bonaparte had no liking for blacks. He had caused a bill to be passed through the legislative bodies, maintaining the old system of slavery as it existed before the revolution in the colonies; and the slave-trade was re-established under the tricoloured flag. He had expected that Toussaint would have held St. Domingo as long as it suited his purpose that he should do so, as his lieutenant. He found himself mistaken; and that the island was lost to him and to France, unless strong means were used to restore the authority of the mother-country. At this period his aim was to equal England in her "ships, colonies, and commerce," to which he rightly ascribed her greatness; and he could not bear the idea of losing an island which, with the addition of the Spanish portion (ceded to France by the treaty of Bâle), might be expected so largely to employ both ships and seamen. He therefore resolved to reconquer the island, and restore everything to the state in which it existed previous to 1790, except that its entire territory would belong to France, instead of being divided between that country and Spain. This resolution he persisted in, notwithstanding the remonstrances of colonel Vincent, who, even if he approved of the enterprise, had no idea that it could be successfully achieved.

Active measures were taken to carry out the plans of the first consul. The workmen in the dockyards of Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, Toulon, Havre, Flushing, and Cadiz, were all employed, night and day, in preparing transports. Troops were marched to those posts; and the destination of the armament was announced in a proclamation, dated the 22nd of November, in which he said—"At St. Domingo, systematic arts have disturbed the national horizon. Under equivocal appearances, the government has permitted itself

to see only the ignorance which confounds names and things, which usurps when it seeks to obey; but a fleet and an army, which are preparing in the harbours of Europe, will soon dissipate these clouds, and St. Domingo will be reduced, entire, to the government of the republic." Another proclamation was sent to the island, addressed to the blacks, who were told by the first consul, that, "whatever might be their origin or their colour, they were Frenchmen, and were all alike free and equal before God and the republic. At St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, slavery no longer existed; all were free—all should remain free. At Martinique, different principles must be observed."

The expedition sent out appeared to be sufficient to command success. It comprised thirty-five ships of the line, twenty-one frigates, and eighty smaller vessels, having on board 35,000 troops. Admiral Villaret Joyeuse commanded the fleet, and general Le Clerc (who had married Pauline Bonaparte, sister to the first consul), the army. The vessels, collected at Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, sailed on the 14th of December. They had about 10,000 men on board, under the immediate command of Le Clerc; and were followed by those from the other ports. An American vessel had passed the first division, and apprised Toussaint of what he had to expect. He immediately commenced his preparations for defence; but he had scarcely 20,000 men, scattered over the island; and the conclusion of peace between England and France, prevented him from deriving assistance from general Nugent, the governor of Jamaica, as he at first expected he would be able to do. He appointed Christophe, whose name has since become celebrated in connection with the island, to command at Cape Town; before which port, the French, under Le Clerc, appeared on the 1st of February, 1802, and disembarked on the 4th; the delay being caused by the impossibility of procuring pilots. In the interim, Christophe had made preparations for burning the place. As soon as the French landed, in two divisions, one on each side of the capital, under cover of a brisk cannonade from the ships, the town was set on fire; and so well had the measures of Christophe been taken, that, out of 800 houses, scarcely sixty were left standing. All the stores and provisions in the place were either carried off or destroyed; and out of the ruins of the city, arose, we are told, "those pestilential vapours, which afterwards proved more fatal to the troops, than all the forces which Toussaint could assemble for their destruction." It was the forerunner of a similar, but more terrible, catastrophe at Moscow.

The negroes, however, were found incapable of affording effectual resistance to the whites, who soon possessed themselves of the sea-coast and the plains of the island—Toussaint's troops withdrawing themselves to the forests in the

interior, where they made a determined stand. These woody fastnesses were called the "Grand Chaos;" and it was Toussaint's plan to maintain himself there, till the Europeans were so weakened and reduced by the climate, that a successful foray might be made upon them. Le Clerc was well aware of the difficulty of forcing this position; and having brought Toussaint's two sons from France, he sent them and their preceptor, M. Coisson, to the black general, with a letter from the first consul, offering him the command of the colony if he would submit to the laws of France. He was at Ennery, thirty leagues from Cape Town; and it was with difficulty that his children reached him. Their presence had a great effect upon Toussaint, who was at first inclined to yield to the entreaties of their mother, and accept the offer of Bonaparte. Reflection, however, convinced him that that offer was a snare to effect the slavery of his country; and he sent back his children, refusing the terms. The boys were returned to him; but Le Clerc issued a proclamation, declaring him a rebel, and announcing that war would be carried on to the last extremity.

A squadron from Toulon followed closely that from Brest, and, on its arrival, Le Clerc, on the 28th of February, made an attack on the wood where Toussaint had intrenched himself. The insurgents were defeated, with the loss of 700 men. Toussaint's lieutenant, Maurepas, who at first gained a considerable success, was obliged to surrender. Dessalines was also defeated; and the blacks had to retreat towards the mountains, destroying all the plantations, and massacring all the whites who fell in their way. A body of them took possession of a fort, called Crête à Pierrot, erected by the English, at the confluence of two streams, near Port-au-Prince. They were attacked by the French on the 3rd of March; who were repulsed, losing 700 of their men. A second attempt had the same result; and when Le Clerc surrounded the fort, and attempted to batter it down with heavy artillery, the blacks cut their way through his troops, and escaped. A guerilla warfare was then kept up through March and April, in which both parties suffered great loss; but, on the 5th of May, all the black chiefs, except Toussaint, submitted, and went over to the French, with whom they retained their rank and appointments. Toussaint found it useless any longer to keep the field, and he also gave in his submission; but, instead of taking service under Le Clerc, he retired to his farm at Ennery. There he lived quiet and retired, till some insurrectionary movements that occurred amongst the negroes near his dwelling, were made the pretext for his arrest, which took place on the 5th of July. He was sent to France, and imprisoned in the dungeons of Besançon, where he died.—About this time an insurrection

broke out at Guadaloupe, and Richepanse's division was sent to subdue it. This caused the blacks in St. Domingo to rise again; and the chiefs—Christophe, Dessalines, and others, who had joined the French, after a time, placed themselves at the head of the insurgents. The French were soon reduced to great straits. Le Clerc, out of the force he brought with him, had not more than 13,000 men under his command, and of them 5,000 were in hospitals. He concentrated his small force at Cape Town and Port-au-Prince; and, whilst the operations were going on, he caught the yellow-fever, of which he died on the 2nd of November. Rochambeau succeeded to the command; but he was unable to make head against the blacks in the field; and, on the 17th of February, 1803, Christophe and Dessalines made a nocturnal attack on Cape Town, surprising Fort Belair, and putting the garrison to the sword: they were only driven off in an assault on the town itself, by a most desperate exertion on the part of the garrison. After this, disaster followed upon disaster. Rochambeau, having been reinforced with 1,200 fresh troops from France, sailed to Port-au-Prince, and marched from that town to attack the blacks in the open field. He fell into an ambush, and was driven back with great loss. Soon after news was received of war having again broken out between England and France. English cruisers arrived off the coast, and supplied the blacks with arms and ammunition (the only things they wanted), which enabled them to push on their operations with renewed vigour. All the fortified places in the south and west fell into their hands in a short space of time; Port-au-Prince capitulated with its garrison, which,

under the command of Lavalette, was suffered to leave the island, and reached the Havannah in safety. Rochambeau was blockaded in Cape Town by the blacks on shore and the English at sea. The want of provisions compelled him at last to surrender to the latter at discretion, and he and his men were conveyed to Jamaica. The last officer who remained on the island, the viscount de Noailles, succeeded in getting, with a few men, on board a vessel off the coast; but though he escaped the English squadron, he was wrecked on the coast of Cuba.

Thus ended the expedition to St. Domingo, and that island has never since come under the French rule. The fate of the fine army which was sent to subdue the blacks, was indeed lamentable. Out of the 35,000 troops originally dispatched from France, and the 1,200 which followed, scarcely 7,000 returned to their native country; and, till the expedition to Russia took place, a few years after, there is scarcely an instance recorded in the history of Europe, of such a disastrous result to an expedition so well fitted out in every respect, composed of such splendid troops, and so well officered. The result was a great mortification to Bonaparte, who subsequently said, he had "to reproach himself for that expedition; it was a great fault." But he threw the blame on others. "It was undertaken," he said to Las Casas, "against my opinion, in conformity to the wishes of the council of state, who were carried away by the cries of the colonists." This may have been the case; but, at the time, he got all the blame; and his treatment of Toussaint—confining him in an unhealthy dungeon till he died—is one of those blots which time will not remove from his name.

CHAPTER VI.

MILITARY PREPARATIONS OF FRANCE; FIRST OPERATIONS OF THE WAR; PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND; CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE FIRST CONSUL; ARREST, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN; TRIAL OF THE CONSPIRATORS; THE CODE CIVIL DES FRANCAIS; THE CONSULATE CHANGED TO AN EMPIRE; NAPOLEON BONAPARTE CROWNED BY THE POPE; EVENTS OF THE WAR; RELATIONS OF EUROPE WITH FRANCE AT THE CLOSE OF 1804.

It has been asserted by one of Napoleon's eulogists, that "France was totally unprepared for the sudden declaration of war—a proof sufficient to show that the first consul had not desired the termination of peace." This is not exactly conformable to truth; for it was the military preparations in France and Holland which led to the calling out the militia, and the augmenting the number of seamen, in England. Those measures were the cause of increased activity on the part of France; and Talleyrand

addressed a note to London, stating, that if the armaments in England took place, the first consul would march 20,000 men through Holland, and encamp them on the borders of Hanover; that camps would be formed at Calais, and on different parts of the coast; that the French army would be continued in Switzerland; and that a fresh force would be sent into Italy, to occupy Tarentum if necessary. Twenty thousand men were immediately put on the road towards Hanover, and another army

was organised, ready to march into Italy. On the night of the 13th of March, after Bonaparte had addressed such intemperate language to lord Whitworth at the diplomatic *levée*, he not only sent couriers to the different European courts, to warn them that war might be again expected; but special envoys, general Duroc and colonel Colbert, were dispatched to Berlin and St. Petersburg, their mission being to engage Prussia and Russia in a league with France, and to revive the "armed neutrality" of the north. The mission failed; but Bonaparte most energetically carried out his measures of preparation in other directions. The army was put on a war footing—a *senatus consultum*, of the 25th of March, placing at his disposal 120,000 conscripts; Flushing and Antwerp were declared to be in a state of siege; orders were issued for the formation of those great arsenals, which subsequently were erected in the Scheldt; and *corps d'armée* were set in motion, by various routes, to the coast. The rapidity with which these orders were issued, and the facility with which they were executed, is the best reply to the assertion that France was unprepared. In that country, as in England, the war was very popular with all classes of the people; and large sums of money were, at the request of the war minister, voluntarily subscribed, to enable the government to build ships. That minister promised, that "every vessel should bear the name of the town or district which had contributed to its formation."

Soon after lord Whitworth had demanded his passports, the differences between France and England were taken up in the legislative bodies. On the 23rd of May, M. Daru presented a report on the subject to the tribunate; and it was resolved, that the following message should be carried to the first consul, by all the members:—"The tribunate expresses a wish, that the most energetic measures be immediately taken to cause the faith of treaties to be respected, and also the dignity of the French people." The senate and the legislative body followed this example, and carried up similar addresses to the Tuileries. They were very acceptable to the first consul, who acknowledged them in an appropriate reply. He then issued instructions to the bishops to offer up prayers for the success of the war.

On the 26th of May, the French force, 20,000 strong, which, under Mortier, had advanced from Holland to the frontiers of Hanover, received orders to occupy the latter territory; though the king of England, as elector of Hanover, had a separate treaty with Bonaparte, and that electorate was bound to observe neutrality, and could have taken no part in hostilities unless Germany had joined in the war. The duke of Cambridge was at that time viceroy of Hanover, and he had an army of about

16,000 men. General Walmoden commanded on the frontiers, and made a gallant stand against the invaders at Borstell, when they crossed the Weser, on the 2nd of June. As a large number of troops were preparing to follow Mortier, and there was no time for succour to arrive from England, it was resolved not to prolong what appeared to be, and no doubt would have been, a useless resistance to an overwhelming force—a resistance which must have entailed great sufferings on the inhabitants. On the 5th of June, therefore, a convention was signed between general Walmoden and Mortier, at Sühlingen, by which the Hanoverian troops were to retire, with their arms and artillery, behind the Elbe, and not to serve against France till they had been exchanged. The French troops were immediately put in possession of the arsenals, &c., where they found 400 cannon and 30,000 muskets, besides various colours and standards (thirty-five in all), which were taken by prince Ferdinand in the Seven Years' War. The British government refused to ratify this convention; and hostilities recommenced on the 27th; however, they were not prolonged. The contest was too unequal for the Hanoverians to hope for success; and the French, instead of requiring the troops not to serve till formally exchanged, permitted them, by another convention, signed on the 5th of July, to return to their homes. They soon re-entered the service; and formed the nucleus of the king's German legion, which rendered such good service till the conclusion of the war.

Mortier followed up his successes in Hanover by occupying and levying contributions upon Hamburg, Cuxhaven, and Bremen. The Elbe and the Weser were closed against British merchandise; and the foundation was laid of that crusade against the commerce of England, in which, under the name of the "continental system," Bonaparte laboured so strenuously to engage all the powers of Europe. These steps, clearly in violation of all international law, alarmed the northern powers; but Russia, Austria, and Prussia contented themselves with diplomatic remonstrances, while little Denmark gallantly assembled an army of 30,000 men to protect her territory from invasion. Unsupported, however, these troops were obliged to retire into cantonments; and, though Hamburg was evacuated, troops were left at Cuxhaven; and Northern Germany, for the time, submitted to the controlling hand of the first consul. England—her ships being excluded from the Elbe and the Weser—declared the mouths and ports of those rivers in a state of blockade. In his note to the British government (as before mentioned), Talleyrand had said, that a fresh force would be sent into Italy. That force was immediately organised. It was ready to march when lord Whitworth left Paris; and on the 14th of May,

general St. Cyr, the officer in command, addressed the following proclamation to the Neapolitan people:—"The king of England has refused to execute the treaty of Amiens. The French army is obliged to reoccupy the positions which it quitted in virtue of that treaty—positions which we will maintain, so long as the English shall persist in retaining Malta." This proclamation preceded the entry of the French troops, who soon after crossed the frontiers, and, advancing to Tarentum, took possession of that important post. At the same time troops were sent to Tuscany, and all the English merchandise in the port of Leghorn was seized—the town being declared in a state of siege; and the protest of the king of Etruria, against the violation of his territory, was disregarded. Simultaneously with these movements of troops to the north and to the south, vast numbers of workmen were set at work to fortify Alessandria, the islands of Elba and Corsica, and the entire coast from Otranto to the Texel; extensive preparations were also commenced on the coast of France, nearest Great Britain, for the invasion of this country. On the 14th of June, the first consul addressed a rescript to the minister of war, in which the organisation of the army destined for that purpose was fixed. It was to consist of six divisions, encamped in different positions, as follows:—1st, in Holland; 2nd, at Ghent; 3rd, at St. Omer; 4th, at Compiègne; 5th, at St. Malo; and the 6th at Bayonne. Thus it extended along the whole coast from the Texel to the Pyrenees. These divisions were commanded by Marmont, Mortier, Soult, Davoust, Ney, and Junot. The force was termed, collectively, "The army of England;" and Boulogne was fixed upon as a central point for the concentration of vessels for its embarkation. All the dockyards in the kingdom were employed in the construction of gun-boats and transports, which, as fast as they were finished, were removed to Cherbourg, Calais, Boulogne, and Dunkirk. The British blockaded all these ports; and the vessels could only move from one port to another, by creeping along the shore when the wind blew the blockading fleets off their appointed stations.

On the 23rd of June, Bonaparte issued the first of his formal decrees against the commerce of the United Kingdom. By this document it was ordered, "that no colonial produce and no merchandise coming directly from England, should be received into the ports of France, and that all such produce or merchandise should be confiscated." This step was not contrary to international law, and afforded no ground for complaint; but, by the same decree, regulations much more vexatious were imposed upon neutral vessels than those which England enforced, and which were made the pretext for the "armed neutrality." The object was, to discover from

whence the vessel had come, or where she was bound. If she was going to, or coming from, the United Kingdom, or, under any circumstances, had touched at any of its ports, it was liable to seizure and confiscation. At this period, the foreign commerce of the continent was almost entirely arrested. The English were now excluded from every port under French influence, and, in consequence, all those ports were blockaded by English ships. The plan of the French government was, by every means, to cripple the power, and exhaust the resources, of its enemy; but the large fleet of England enabled her to inflict much greater injury upon France and her allies than she received; and she carried on an extensive and increasing trade with the east and the west, which the first consul felt himself powerless to interrupt.

To inspirit both his troops and the workmen, and to hasten the warlike preparations against England, Bonaparte, accompanied by Josephine, and attended by a splendid suite, left Paris on the 23rd of June, for the purpose of making a tour of the departments. He visited Montreuil, Etaples, Boulogne, Ambleteuse, Vimereux, Calais, Dunkirk, and many other places. His progress was a continued ovation. When he entered a town, he passed under triumphal arches; the keys of the place, and addresses, were presented to him; the clergy chanted *Te Deums*, and splendid *fêtes* were given. He proceeded from Dunkirk to Flushing and Antwerp; and he appears, from his inspection of the latter port, to have been strongly impressed with its importance as a naval station to France. He ordered it to be converted into a maritime arsenal of first-rate importance; and caused it to be defended by fortifications of immense strength. The first consul returned to St. Cloud on the 11th of August; having visited, during his absence of forty-eight days, eighty towns and seventeen departments. As soon as he arrived, the authorities went to congratulate him; and M. Séguier, president of the court of appeal, in introducing his colleagues, said—"The magistrates, sire, are proud to lay at your feet the tribute of their hearts."

No doubt, the presence and approval of Bonaparte greatly stimulated both the military and naval preparations; and an immense flotilla was, before the year closed, collected at Boulogne. It consisted of upwards of 1,300 vessels, of four classes. The first was intended to protect the transports; and each boat carried six 24-pounders. The second class, which were flat-bottomed, could each receive from 150 to 200 men; and were armed with one howitzer, and four 24-pounders. The third and fourth were smaller: one would carry about eighty, the other from forty to fifty men; each was armed with two pieces of artillery. This immense flotilla had not been harboured at

Boulogne without great difficulty. There were English vessels constantly off the coast, which, in the first instance, approached very close, and greatly annoyed the workmen, and damaged the works. Bonaparte, however, caused batteries to be thrown up, the guns of which would propel 24-pound shot and shell an immense distance; and this prevented the vessels from coming very near the shore. Corps of horse artillery also constantly watched the coast. When the light vessels moved from one port to the other, they crept along the shores, being rowed by the troops; and although often fired on by the English, no great damage was done. Only three or four vessels were captured, and from ten to twelve destroyed.

Besides this flotilla of praams and flat-bottomed boats, large ships were building in several ports; and Spain had some fine men-of-war, both in Europe and the West Indies; which Bonaparte calculated upon as his own. His original plan was, to assemble a fleet at Martinique, composed of all the Spanish ships, which, as Spain was not at war, he expected could be brought together without difficulty; and some large vessels he was building at Toulon. The combined squadron was to raise the blockade of Rochefort and Brest, enter the channel, and convoy 150,000 men from Boulogne to the English coast. In November he again visited Boulogne, arriving there on the 3rd of the month. Then the harbour was literally alive with vessels, and the surrounding country was covered with troops. He reviewed the army on the 16th, and saw the troops practised in the manœuvres of embarking and disembarking. Many thought the decisive moment had arrived; but the first consul knew better than to venture. The English coast was defended by strong walls and stout hearts, and the English fleet commanded the channel. No attempt at invasion was made, therefore, if it was even contemplated at that period. On the 18th, Bonaparte returned to Paris; and it was known that the expedition would not take place that year. Thiers intimates, that the reason for the delay was, that the Batavian flotilla was not ready; nor the Brest and Texel squadrons, the former of which was to have conveyed Augereau to Ireland. These divisions would have raised the invading army to 160,000 men, exclusive of sailors. The first consul, according to Thiers, hoped to have all in readiness by February, 1804.

The naval operations of 1803 were very inconsiderable. France had scarcely any ships at sea, for her fleets were not in a sufficient state of forwardness to allow them to leave the harbour. The English fleet blockaded the entire coast, from Dunkirk to the mouth of the Seine; and a squadron was sent to the West Indies,

which captured, in July, St. Lucia and Tobago; and in September, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. Thus the first few months of the war were not particularly advantageous to France.

The French army, at this time, was estimated to consist of 427,910 men; and the Helvetic confederation had been induced, or compelled, to agree to furnish 24,000 auxiliary troops. The expense of maintaining this army, and of carrying on the preparations for invading England, pressed heavily upon the resources of France, whose revenue, in 1803, was estimated at 570,961,000 francs (£22,832,000). To increase his finances, the first consul induced Spain and Portugal, under the threat of invasion, to enter into subsidiary treaties, by which the first agreed to pay him £2,880,000, and the latter £640,000, per annum, to exempt them from actual hostilities. He also sold Louisiana to the United States, for 80,000,000 francs (£3,200,000). All these sums were employed in defraying the charges of the enormous naval and military armaments, which were upon a scale never equalled under the old monarchy.*

The continental powers had not viewed these enormous preparations without alarm; and attempts had been made to bring the two belligerents to an agreement. If the first consul would have evacuated Hanover and the north of Germany, England would have left all differences to be decided by the mediation of the emperor Alexander of Russia, and would have agreed to abide by his award; but Bonaparte would not assent to this mode of settling the differences. When the first consul had refused to accede to these preliminaries, and when it was found that the French had taken up what appeared to be a permanent position in Northern Germany—threatening to extinguish its trade, as they had its independence—Russia, Prussia, and Austria all showed signs of resistance; and a new coalition was threatened. But Prussia was bought off by the prospect held out to her, of the future possession of Hanover; and Austria was not yet sufficiently recovered from her recent losses to plunge into another war. Russia alone continued to remonstrate warmly against the occupation of Cuxhaven by French troops; the closing of the Elbe and the Weser to British vessels, by which Germany was made a party to the war; the continued occupation of Tarentum; and the neglect to provide the king of Sardinia with an indemnity. The interchange of despatches on these subjects, and the firm tone assumed by Russia, so enraged the first consul, that he treated M. Markoff, the Russian ambassador, in a somewhat similar style to that in which he attacked lord Whitworth. The consequence was, that, in December, M. Markoff was recalled; and M. d'Oubril

* At this time, the military force of the United Kingdom amounted to 718,046 men; comprising 191,099 in

the regular army; 109,947 in the militia; and 417,000 volunteers.—The number of seamen was 100,000.

remained at the French capital as *chargé d'affaires*.

Whilst Bonaparte was eagerly devising his plans for the invasion of England, and superintending their execution, the emigrants had availed themselves of the displeasure felt by many of his high officers and others, at his being elevated to the dignity of first consul for life, to renew their plots against his authority. Bernadotte and Moreau, both republicans in principle and not merely in theory, as well as Lafayette, had voted against his assuming that dignity. Moreau was looked upon as the head of a large malcontent party in France: he was encouraged in his coolness towards the first consul, and his opposition to many of his measures, by his mother, madame Mulot, and his wife, both of whom were royalists; and the latter could not brook the submission which, whenever they met in public, she was obliged to show to Josephine. The discontented met at the brilliant *réunions* of madame de Stäel; and the manifestation made by Camille Jourdain, in favour of the liberty of the press, increased their number. Communications were opened between them, the royal princes, the other emigrants, and the following agents of the British government—Mr. Drake, the minister at the court of Bavaria; Mr. Taylor, envoy to the elector of Hesse; and Mr. Spenser Smith, the *chargé d'affaires* at the electoral court of Würtemberg. The result was, a “conspiracy” against the power of Bonaparte; to promote which, Georges Cadoudal, the Vendean chief, MM. Armand and Jules de Polignac, and M. Charles de Riviere (the three latter aides-de-camp to the comte d’Artois), repaired to Paris in August, 1803, being conveyed from London in a British brig of war, commanded by captain Wright. It has been asserted that this conspiracy was the work of Fouché, who longed to be restored to his office of minister of police, and who recollected well the words of the *senatus consultum*, by which he was displaced—that, “if difficult circumstances should again arise, there was no one to whom that ministry might so fitly be entrusted.” He is said to have sent general Lajolais to London, to inform the royalists there that they might rely upon the aid of Moreau; and Meheé de la Touche, an old Jacobin, and afterwards an emigrant, was dispatched to Germany, to open communications with the English ministers. It is certain that the emigrants went to Paris, firmly anticipating that they would be joined by Moreau, in which they were deceived; that De la Touche acted under written instructions from Fouché and Bonaparte himself, who told him what he was to learn, and what he was to say in order to mislead those with whom he had opened an intercourse; and that all the correspondence between the emigrants and their friends in France, was placed in the hands of the French authorities.

Amongst these papers were instructions given by Mr. Drake to various emissaries, whom he employed to act on the continent. These persons received minute directions as to how they were to conduct themselves, with a view to ascertain the plans of Bonaparte; to win over various parties whose aid would be essential; and to gain partisans among the army.

Towards the close of 1803, general Pichegru, who had been banished to Sinnamary by the faction of the 4th of September (18th of Fructidor), 1797, had made his escape and got to London, where he was found by Lajolais, and induced to join in the plot, which had the support of the count d’Artois; but Louis XVIII., who was then living at Warsaw, and to whom it was communicated, refused to give it his sanction. Cadoudal and his friends, according to the report of Regnier (the minister of justice and police), were received, on their landing, by men paid to guide them, by whom they were taken from one station to another, as far as Paris; where “they found rooms hired for them, by trusty guardians, in different quarters—at Chaillot, in the Rue de Bac, in the Faubourg St. Marceau, and in the Marais.” Here they appear to have employed themselves in concerting their plans. Pichegru did not arrive till January, 1804. He was also landed by captain Wright, whose vessel was, soon after, shipwrecked on the coast of Morbihan. The gallant captain, and all his crew, were brought prisoners to Paris, where the former was lodged in a cell in the Temple, from which he never emerged. Pichegru, on landing, immediately repaired to Paris, where he had several interviews with Moreau; with whom, however, no agreement was concluded. The general still wished for a republic; whilst Pichegru and Georges would undertake nothing, except for the restoration of the Bourbons. Georges’ plan (which appears to have been embraced by Pichegru) was, to collect a certain number of the bravest Vendéans in Paris, and, at their head, to attack Bonaparte in the midst of his guards; relying on the other members of the conspiracy to take advantage of the confusion which would ensue when the head of the republic was dead or a prisoner. The emigrants, generally, agreed to the plan of Georges; but, after six months had been spent by the latter and his immediate friends, in personal intercourse with those parties in Paris from whom, they were told, when in London, they might expect prompt and effective aid—the result was so disheartening, that it would appear the plan of any active movement was abandoned, and that the De Polignacs and others were preparing to leave France, when a number of arrests took place.

The French authorities professed to have known nothing positive about Georges and Pichegru till the arrest, on suspicion, of a man

named Querelle, in January, 1804; who, to save his own life, betrayed his friends. The published letters, however, of the first consul, to Meheé de la Touche, and the evidence given by other agents, show that those authorities were aware of all that was transpiring. Fouché, whether he originated the movement or not, was possessed of more information respecting it than anyone else; and, having previously told Bonaparte, that "the air was full of poniards," just about the time when, according to Jules de Polignac, the conspiracy was really given up, he communicated to the first consul numerous details respecting it, with which he had been furnished by the double spies, who are affirmed to have been his own agents. Of many of these facts (particularly of the presence of Pichegru in Paris), Regnier was found to be ignorant. As a consequence, the first consul was induced to change his police minister, along with the measures necessary to suppress the movement. Orders were in consequence given, early in February, to arrest all those whose names were on Fouché's list; and forty-five persons were taken into custody. Pichegru and Georges, however, and many others, escaped at the time. On the 17th of February, the following order of the day was, to their surprise, as well as that of the inhabitants, addressed to the garrison of Paris:—"Soldiers! Fifty brigands have penetrated into the capital. Georges and general Pichegru are at their head. Their coming was occasioned by a man who is yet numbered among our defenders—by general Moreau, who was yesterday consigned to the hands of the national justice. Their design was, after having assassinated the first consul, to have delivered over France to the horrors of a civil war, and all the terrible revolutions of a counter-revolution."

These arrests threw Paris and the army into the utmost consternation. The soldiers were, generally, indignant at the imprisonment of Moreau, who, many declared, was only a victim to the ambition of the first consul; and had Richepanse and his brigade been in France, instead of St. Domingo, the consequences might have been serious. "The crisis," said Bonaparte, many years after, to Las Casas, "was of the most violent kind. Public opinion was in a state of fermentation. The sincerity of the government, the reality of the conspiracy, were incessantly called in question. All the violent passions were awakened; the rumours of change were incessant; the storm was tremendous." In the midst of it, the legislative assembly passed a law the same day that the first consul submitted it to them, decreeing death against any person who should shelter Georges, Pichegru, or any of sixty of their accomplices whose names were mentioned. Any one who was aware of their hiding-place, and did not reveal it, was sentenced to the galleys, to work in fetters, for six

years. Paris was also ordered to be carefully watched: all might enter who pleased; but no one was allowed to leave it. These measures were successful. On the 28th of February, Pichegru was arrested, having been betrayed by an old friend, named Leblanc, in whose house he was concealed, and who was not proof against the reward of 100,000 crowns offered for his apprehension. He was seized in his bed at night, but was not captured till after a severe struggle, when he was conveyed to the Temple in his night-dress. A day or two after, M. Armand de Polignac, M. Jules de Polignac, and M. de Riviere, also fell into the hands of the police. Georges was captured on the 9th of March, as he was crossing the Place of the Odéon in a cabriolet, but not till he had shot one of the agents of the police (who stopped his carriage), and wounded another. All the known conspirators were now in custody.

The day after the arrest of Cadoudal, the first consul held a state council, to whom he communicated his belief, that the duc d'Enghien was implicated in the conspiracy. On previous occasions he had vented his indignation more against the Jacobins than the royalists; on this, the latter seemed destined to be the objects of his vengeance. He would have pardoned Moreau, if the latter had declared his cognizance of the plot, and thrown himself on his mercy; but he was embittered against the adherents of the Bourbons, and also against the Bourbons themselves; some of the prisoners having stated that they were to be joined by a prince of that house. "These Bourbons," he said, according to M. Thiers, "fancy that they may shed my blood like some vile animal, and yet my blood is quite as precious as theirs. I will repay them the alarm with which they seek to inspire me. I pardon Moreau the weakness and the errors to which he is urged by a stupid jealousy; but I will pitilessly shoot the very first of these princes who shall fall into my hands. I will teach them with what sort of a man they have to deal." He was supported in these sentiments and intentions by Fouché; and, notwithstanding the opposition of his colleagues, Le Brun and Cambacérès, he resolved to give effect to them on the very first opportunity that offered.

The declaration made by some of the prisoners, that they expected to be joined by a prince of the house of Bourbon (the duc de Berri, as they supposed), led the first consul to dispatch Savary to watch for his arrival, and to arrest him. Some papers found during the examinations, led this officer to conclude, that Biville cliff, on the Normandy coast, would be the spot where the prince would arrive; and he went there secretly, with a body of fifty men. There he obtained such information as led him to ascertain how the emigrants had landed unobserved; which was, by making use of a rope

and apparatus, placed to facilitate the arrangements of the smugglers on the coast. He also traced their route to Paris; but, to the great annoyance of Bonaparte, he could hear nothing of the expected prince. The first consul then made inquiries as to the residences of the members of the Bourbon family; and ascertained, that Louis XVIII. and the duc de Angoulême were at Warsaw; the comte d'Artois, the duc de Berri, the prince de Condé and his son, at London; and that the duke d'Enghien, the grandson of the prince de Condé, was at Ettenheim, very near Strasburg. Two of the prisoners, arrested on the 17th of February, had deposed, that Georges and the royalist chiefs had been visited, while at Paris, by a person to whom they showed great deference. "He appeared to be about thirty-six years of age. His hair was light; his height and size of ordinary dimensions; his dress elegant. He was always received with great respect. When he entered the apartment, all present rose." On this information, an officer was dispatched to Strasburg, to make inquiries respecting the duke d'Enghien. He assumed a disguise which enabled him to penetrate into the household of his royal highness; and there he learned that, though living quietly upon the whole, the duke attended the theatre at Strasburg, and joined hunting parties, and that he was sometimes absent ten or twelve days together. A person in his suite, from the name given to him by the Germans, and who was in reality the marquis de Thumery, was suspected to be general Dumouriez. The report of this officer reached the first consul on the 10th of March; and he at once drew the conclusion, that, as no young prince could have arrived from London, so closely had Biville been watched—the mysterious personage who visited the emigrants, and who was treated with so much respect, must be the duke d'Enghien, who was accompanied by Dumouriez; who, Bonaparte supposed, had, like Pichegru, been seduced from his duty. He communicated the above circumstances, and his conclusions, to the council of state, on the same day that the report from Ettenheim arrived; and, on no other evidence, he himself drew up an order for the arrest of the prince, which he laid before the council. Lebrun was alarmed at the effect which such a step would produce in Europe; and Cambacérès warmly opposed it, but in vain. The council supported the first consul, and the order to arrest the unfortunate duke was agreed to by that body.

Colonels Ordener and Caulaincourt were entrusted with its execution, to the great grief of the latter, who was attached to the ex-royal family by consanguinity. Ordener was to conduct the arrest; and Caulaincourt was to proceed to Baden, with a letter to the grand-duke, explaining the reasons for that violation of his

territory which was about to be committed. A force of 300 dragoons, four pieces of light cannon, several brigades of *gendarmérie*, and some pontoniers, with three days' provisions, and a considerable sum of money, was put under the charge of Ordener, who immediately proceeded to Schelestadt, on the Rhine. That river was crossed by the dragoons on the 15th of March, who surprised and surrounded the little town of Ettenheim, before any steps could have been taken to prevent them. A detachment proceeded to the residence of the duke d'Enghien, who finding resistance useless, surrendered to the lawless attack made upon him. No papers implicating him in the least were found; the marquis de Thumery was in attendance, but Dumouriez was neither seen nor heard of; and there was nothing whatever discovered to justify, in the slightest degree, the step that had been taken, even if the right of jurisdiction had not been violated in taking it. The duke was removed to Strasburg, and a courier dispatched with the intelligence of his arrest, to Paris. When the first consul received it, he exclaimed—"The royalists are incorrigible; they must be intimidated." Orders were sent that the captive should be taken to Paris, "to be tried before a military court, on the charge of having sought to excite to civil war, and of having borne arms against France."

The prince and his captors left Strasburg on the 18th of March—Palm-Sunday; a day spent by Bonaparte in the retirement of Malmaison, where Josephine in vain entreated him not to pursue any further his schemes of vengeance. Unable to reply to her, and feeling the truth of the remonstrances she addressed to his better feelings, whilst he refused to yield to them, he at last exclaimed—"You are a woman, and know nothing about politics; your proper part is to hold your tongue."

His royal highness was brought to Paris about noon on the 20th of March; and Murat, the governor of the capital, and the military commandant of the district, should have assembled the commission which was to try him. He, however, expressed his reluctance to do so, to the first consul, who signed all the necessary orders with his own hand; and giving them to Savary to execute, he took them to Murat to countersign, and then proceeded to Vincennes, where the trial was to take place. The orders, says Thiers, were very full and precise. "They provided for the formation of the commission; named the colonels who were to be members; appointed general Hullin president; and enjoined its immediate assemblage, that all might be settled in the course of the night—the execution being to take place immediately, if, as was not doubted, the verdict should be one of guilty." Vincennes is an ancient castellated fortress, about a mile and a-half beyond the

faubourg of St. Antoine. It had been long used as a state prison; and when the duke arrived, M. Harel, the governor, was ordered to prepare a room for him; and to dig a grave in the court. He replied, that that would not be easy, as the court was paved; and he was then told, he must find another place. Ultimately the ditch was fixed upon; and there, at the foot of the rampart, the place of interment was prepared. When "the prince arrived, at seven in the evening," says M. Harel, "he was dying of cold and hunger, but his air was by no means melancholy." The governor, as his room was not ready, received him in his own; where he sat down to table, and invited M. Harel to partake of the refreshments placed before him. He repeatedly asked, "What do they want with me?" "What are they going to do with me?" But we are told, by the same authority, "these questions made no alteration in his tranquillity, and indicated no disquietude." He retired to bed after his repast, but was soon roused, and conducted to the council-chamber. There he found general Hullin and the six other members of the court; Savary shortly after entered, and took his place behind the general's chair. The act of accusation was instantly read. It charged the duke "with having borne arms against the republic; with having offered his services to the English government, the enemies of the French people; with having received and accredited the agents of that government, furnished them with the means of obtaining intelligence, and conspired with them against the exterior and interior security of the state; with having put himself at the head of an assemblage of emigrants and others, in the pay of England, formed on the frontiers of France, in the territories of Baden; with having carried on communications in Strasbourg, calculated to disturb the peace of the adjoining departments, and favour the views of England; with being engaged in the conspiracy set on foot at Paris against the life of the first consul; and being about, in case of its success, to enter France."

By law, the accused should have had counsel to defend him; by law, there should have been witnesses to sustain the charges. The duke had, however, to conduct his own defence; and there was not even a scrap of paper put in evidence in support of the accusation. He was questioned upon them, and his answers formed the whole case against him. In these answers, says general Hullin, the president, "he indignantly repelled the assertion, of having been, directly or indirectly, engaged in any conspiracy against the life of the first consul, but admitted having borne arms against France; saying, with a courage and resolution that forbade us, even for his own sake, to make him vary on that point, 'that he had maintained the rights of his family, and that a Condé could never

re-enter France without his arms in his hand. His birth, his opinions,' he said, 'rendered him for ever the enemy of the government.'" It is somewhat surprising, that, under such convictions, general Hullin could join in the verdict of "guilty," which the court pronounced; though, as even Savary admits, there were "neither documents, proofs, nor witnesses against the prince;" and "his connexion with England, in the rank in which he was born, or his correspondence with his grandfather, the prince of Condé, could not be considered as proofs of a conspiracy." Before sentence was pronounced, the prince wished to have a private audience of the first consul. The president would have forwarded his request to Bonaparte, but Savary said, that was his business; in fact, he had, according to his own statement, been forbidden to forward such recommendation to the government. The president, therefore, pronounced the sentence, which was immediately carried into execution. The duke was taken to the ditch by torchlight. Refused the presence of a priest, he offered up a brief prayer himself, cut off locks of his hair, which he delivered with his watch and a ring, to be forwarded to the princess de Rohan and his father; and then turning to the soldiers drawn up to execute the sentence, he exclaimed, as the signal for firing, "I die for my king, and for France!" He almost immediately fell dead, pierced with seven balls: and his corpse was thrown into the grave that had been dug, dressed as it was, and buried in the mould! Savary, who had orders from the first consul to see the trial take place, and the sentence executed—when all was over, returned to Paris, to communicate particulars to him who had been the main mover in the catastrophe.

Few events ever occurred, of which those engaged in them were so heartily ashamed, as this arrest, mock trial, and abrupt execution of the duke d'Enghien. Savary, Hullin, Murat—even Napoleon himself—all endeavoured to exculpate themselves from the weight of guilt which pressed upon them, and to throw it upon others. Upon Murat, certainly, only a very small share of the responsibility rested. He merely countersigned the orders drawn up by Bonaparte; and almost the last words he uttered before his death, were—"I took no part in the tragedy of the duke d'Enghien: I swear it before that God in whose presence I am about to appear." Napoleon attempted to shift the blame to Talleyrand. He said the duke wrote a letter, and sent it to Talleyrand, "which was not delivered (God knows for what reason) until he was no more. If I had seen it, I would most certainly have pardoned him." This letter, he told O'Meara, "was written to him from Strasbourg, and not delivered till two days after the duke's death." Bourrienne affirms that no such letter was written; and that the whole story was a fabrication.

However this may be, it was ascertained, very shortly after the tragedy at Vincennes, that the duke had not visited Paris as suspected; that the mysterious personage who called upon the emigrants was Pichegru; and that the duke's absence from Ettenheim at various times, was occasioned by his visits to the princess de Rohan, an emigrant lady of distinction, residing in the neighbourhood, of whom he was enamoured. Had he been guilty, his forcible arrest was a gross violation of international law; but, under the circumstances, a more atrocious crime does not stain the annals of history. Its effects in Paris, we have the authority of Thiers in stating, were most unfavourable. "Indignation had been aroused against all who had joined the Chouans in threatening his (Bonaparte's) life. This indignation extended to Moreau, whose guilt, though less conclusively proved as yet, was, nevertheless, beginning to seem very probable; and the most ardent wishes were expressed for the preservation of the man upon whom all looked as the tutelar genius of France. The sanguinary execution at Vincennes produced a sudden reaction. The royalists were much irritated, and still more alarmed; whilst worthy and reasonable men were filled with regret at seeing a government, hitherto so admirable, imbruing its hands in blood, like those who had put Louis XVI. to death; and imitating them too, it must be confessed, without the excuse of the revolutionary passions which, in 1793, had perverted the coolest heads and the kindest hearts."*

The execution of the duke d'Enghien was succeeded by several important events. The next day, the celebrated Chateaubriand was to leave Paris for the republic of the Valais, as ambassador from France. He waited on the first consul to take leave, and noticed his constrained demeanour, without knowing the cause. He learnt it soon after quitting the Tuileries, and immediately threw up his appointment—a proceeding which elicited a violent burst of anger from Bonaparte, who never forgave him. The ministers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, all sent in remonstrances against the trial and execution. Prussia protested against the violation of the territories of the elector of Baden; and the emperor of Russia ordered his court, and all his ambassadors at foreign courts, to go into mourning for the duke. On the morning of the 6th of April, Pichegru—who had been several times examined, without eliciting anything from his answers to inculpate himself or anyone else—was found strangled in his prison; a black silk handkerchief being twisted tightly

round his neck, by means of a small stick about five inches long. Whether the act was suicide or murder, has never been cleared up; and, in all probability, it never will be. Bonaparte, when at St. Helena, expressed his opinion that it was the former. "Pichegru," he said, "saw that his situation was desperate. His daring mind could not endure the infamy of punishment: he despaired of my clemency, or despised it, and put himself to death. Had I been inclined to commit a crime, it is not Pichegru, but Moreau, I would have struck." Pichegru's accomplices, or supposed accomplices, were not brought to trial till the 28th of May. Forty-five were placed at the bar; Moreau, the two Polignacs, Lajolais, De Riviere, and Georges being amongst them. The trial continued for twelve days: nothing was elicited to implicate Moreau in the conspiracy, and he was treated with the greatest respect by soldiers and people during the whole of the proceedings. He was ultimately tried under a law passed after he was imprisoned; which made the concealment of proclaimed conspirators an offence punishable by six years' labour at the galleys. The trials ended in a verdict of guilty of conspiracy against Georges Cadoudal and fifteen others, including Armand de Polignac; Moreau (whom some of his judges would have acquitted entirely), Jules de Polignac, and three others, were found guilty of a minor offence: twenty-four were acquitted. The police seized them, however, as they left the court, and they were recommitted to prison by command of Bonaparte. Georges, and those condemned with him, were sentenced to death; Moreau, and those in his category, to two years' imprisonment. Some months after these trials, captain Wright was found, in his cell in the Temple, with his throat cut. The same mystery hangs over his fate as envelopes that of Pichegru.

Some French writers—and we regret to say that some Englishmen have followed them—have endeavoured to implicate the English government in the plots against the life of Bonaparte. There is not the slightest evidence of the fact. If they sanctioned the proceedings of Messrs. Drake, Taylor, and Smith, and the connection of those gentlemen with the conspiracy of the emigrants, it was for no other object than to overthrow what they considered the government of a usurper, and to restore the Bourbons. Bourrienne, who was secretary to the first consul, positively affirms, and he had all the sources of information at his command, that, "neither in his public character nor private relations, had he ever discovered the smallest evidence to warrant the assertion that the English government was ever engaged in any plots of a dishonourable character." Elsewhere he says, that "he could affirm, with perfect confidence, that the British government had constantly rejected with indignation, not, indeed,

* It is now known that Talleyrand had apprised the duke of his danger, if he continued to reside at Ettenheim; and that the emissaries of Bonaparte would not have found him there, but for the tardiness of the Austrian government in preparing his passports.

the proposals made to them for overturning the consular or imperial governments, but all designs of assassination or personal violence against the first consul or emperor." There is now a better understanding as to the rights of nations; and no British ministry would sanction attempts of conspirators to overturn a government with whom they had unfriendly relations. But their conduct, in 1804, was not contrary to public law; it was prompted by an honest desire to restore a king, princes, nobles, and people, to rights which revolution had wrested from them; and it was a proceeding of which the first consul was not the man to complain. When his brother Joseph was ambassador at Rome, in 1797, he wrote to him—"Should the pope die, you must exert yourself to the utmost to prevent another from being appointed, and to bring about a revolution." The man who could give such instructions to an ambassador at the court of a friendly power, had no right to complain of an attempt made by an enemy to revolutionise France under his government, for the purpose of restoring the family whom a previous revolution had deprived of the throne, and exiled from the country. Besides, "from the commencement of the war," as lord Hawkesbury stated, in a manifesto on the subject of the conspiracy, the French government "had constantly kept up a communication with the disaffected in the territories of his majesty, and had assembled at that very moment, on the coast of France, a corps of Irish rebels, destined to second them in their designs against that part of the United Kingdom."

In the midst of the complications, and the various unpleasant circumstances, which sprang out of the conspiracies of 1804, one most important "reform" was brought to perfection, under the superintendence of Bonaparte; which, if there were not other circumstances of a disparaging nature connected with his career, would warrant the historian in handing him down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of the people over whom he ruled. Previous to the period of the consulate, the state of the law in France had been, as it is now in England, most unsatisfactory. As with us, there were two systems—the written and the unwritten law; each system branching out into divisions, almost innumerable. There were, also, many local and provincial customs; and the commentators, whose name was "legion," tended rather still more to confound what was sufficiently complex, than to explain it. Some idea of the state of the law in France may be formed from the statement of Voltaire, which, those acquainted with the subject assure us, is not at all an exaggeration. "Besides the 40,000 Roman laws, of which some one is always cited at random," says our authority, "we have 500 different customs, reckoning the small towns and burghs, which derogate from the

usages of the principal jurisdiction; so that a person travelling post in France, changes laws oftener than he changes horses; and an advocate, who is very learned in one city, is no better than an ignoramus in the next." In the year VIII. of the revolution, a commission was appointed to reduce these numerous and complex laws into a code. This work was carried on till the close of 1803; the council of state taking its share in the labour with the most eminent jurisconsults, Napoleon himself aiding them with his suggestions and his advice. The result of the conjoint labours of so many eminent men, was promulgated on the 31st of March, 1804, under the title of *Code Civil des Français*. It comprised, in fact, five codes.—1st. The *Code Civil*, which defines the rights and the relations of persons and of property.—2nd. The *Code de Procédure Civile*, by which all judicial proceedings are regulated.—3rd. The *Code Commerce*, defining the duties and relations of principals, agents, and purchasers, in commercial and trading transactions, and detailing the laws of exchange, partnership, insurance, shipping, &c.—4th. The *Code d'Instruction Criminelle*, by which the duties of municipal and police officers, as well as those of the people in their social relations, are prescribed; and the mode of proceeding in all courts of justice in criminal matters.—5th. The *Code Penal* defines the punishments awarded for offences.—This code, often called the *Code Napoleon*, being the title given to it under the empire, gave the jurisprudence and the judicial system of France the form they now bear: it has been found to work so well, that Belgium, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and Italy have adopted it; and having received some amendments and additions, it remains, and will long remain, as the most beneficial memento of the consulate, next to the re-establishment of christianity as the law and practice of the land.

The promulgation of this code was followed by the completion of that scheme of ambitious aggrandisement which Bonaparte had, from his first accession to power, contemplated; and towards which, his being declared first consul, the extension of his tenure of office for ten years, and its further extension for the term of his life, were all steps. His views and wishes were known to his friends; and when an address of congratulation, on his escape from the conspiracy of Georges, was under consideration in the senate, Fouché said, "that, in order to destroy the hopes of the conspirators, and to secure the permanent existence of the government after the death of the reigning chief, other institutions were indispensable." The senate assented, and incorporated the substance of Fouché's remark into the address. Bonaparte, in his reply, said, "that the subject they had suggested required the greatest consideration. For himself, he wanted nothing; but it was his duty to consider

the lot of France, and what the future was likely to produce. But he would accept no new title, or any fresh arrangements, without their being submitted to the people for their sanction."

The subject thus broached, through the instrumentality of Fouché, Bonaparte submitted to the council of state three questions. 1st. Is the hereditary form of government preferable to the elective? 2. If so, is it expedient now to establish the hereditary form? 3. In what manner ought it to be established? A report on these questions was drawn up, which the council could not agree to; but the members declared their opinions separately to the first consul, and they predominated in favour of the hereditary form; twenty councillors declaring for it, to seven opponents. The council held four sittings before they came to this conclusion; and, during the time, Lucien Bonaparte had repeated interviews with members of the tribunate, senate, and legislative body, urging them to forward the wishes of the first consul. In compliance with the views expressed by Lucien, a resolution, which, in substance, declared that it was advisable "that Napoleon Bonaparte, at present first consul, should be declared emperor of the French; and that the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family," was laid on the table of the tribunate, on the 23rd of April, by M. Curée, who had been a member of the convention, and was a man of no mark or note. It was debated on the 30th, and on the 1st of May; being opposed, on the latter day, by M. Carnot, in an admirable speech. He alone voted against it; the other members were unanimous in its favour. Six orators were deputed to explain the wishes and objects of the tribunate to the senate; which body, on the 16th of May, adopted a *senatus consultum*, declaring Bonaparte emperor. The votes were taken by ballot. Except five, all were affirmatives. Of the five, three were negatives and two blanks. The legislative body was not in session; but the president, Fontanes, assembled the members who were in Paris, and they voted an address to the first consul, conveying the same sentiments as were expressed by the tribunate and senate. While these discussions were taking place, the members of the different bodies were endeavouring to make interest with the first consul for themselves. The senate wanted to have the appointments made for life; all the members of the tribunate and the legislative body had some request to prefer. "These base men," says an historian (and his assertion appears to be fully warranted), "sold a nation into bondage for a mess of pottage."

The senate couched their "decree," declaring "Napoleon Bonaparte emperor of France"—the office to "be hereditary in his family"—in absolute terms, without any reference to the voice of the people. An appeal to that source did not,

indeed, appear to be very necessary. As soon as it was known that the question was mooted in the legislative bodies, the public voice appeared to be in favour of the empire; and it was with difficulty that the army was prevented from proclaiming Bonaparte emperor before the decision of those bodies was known. He, however, was not disposed to dispense with an appeal to that popular voice which had on all occasions pronounced in his favour. The decree of the senate was presented to him at St. Cloud, on the 18th of May, when, in accepting the new dignity—which in fact did not give him, personally, more power, it only exalted his rank—he said, he "should submit the law concerning the succession to the throne, to the sanction of the people." This was done, and 3,572,329 votes were given in the affirmative, the negatives only amounting to 2,569. Besides declaring the government hereditary, the senate, by another decree, on the 19th of May, created all the members of the Bonaparte family princes of the blood. It was also ordered, that the tribunate should be divided into three sections—the legislative, the interior, and the financial—each of which was to discuss the draft of laws presented to it by the legislative body. That body and the senate retained their old form, but the members were to be elected as follows:—The "domiciliated" citizens (*i. e.*, the householders) in each canton, formed cantonal assemblies, who chose the electoral colleges, the members of which were to be possessed of a certain amount of property, or be members of the Legion of Honour. When a vacancy occurred in the senate or legislative body, the electoral college nominated two of its own members, one of whom the head of the state selected to fill it. Under this constitution Napoleon was absolute. He could, either directly or indirectly, control the legislative bodies, which were powerless against his will.

The same day that the senate decreed the modifications in the constitution, Napoleon instituted a grand council, consisting of—Joseph Bonaparte, *grand elector*; Louis Bonaparte, *high constable*; Cambacérès, *arch-chancellor*; and Lebrun, *arch-treasurer*. He thus provided for two of his brothers (Lucien and Jerome had offended him by marrying contrary to his wishes) and his two late colleagues. At the same time, he created the following generals field-marshal of the empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdain, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Pérignon, and Serurier. He also appointed Duroc grand marshal of the palace; Caulaincourt, master of the horse; Berthier, grand huntsman; and the count Ségur, master of the ceremonies of his court. Maret, who had been his secretary since his appointment as consul for life, continued in that office;

but the emperor summoned Bourrienne to the Tuileries, and resumed his communications with him.

On the 27th of May, Napoleon, as emperor, received the oaths of the senate and the various public bodies; and, soon after, he pardoned eight of the conspirators who had been condemned with Georges, including M. Armand de Polignac and Lajolais, the latter of whom had been a spy of Fouché's; and, probably, his trial and sentence were only nominal. Moreau asked, and obtained, permission to retire to America; the emperor purchasing his estate at Gros Bois, near Paris, and paying the expenses of his journey to Barcelona—where he embarked for the United States—out of the public treasury. The estate he conferred on Berthier. Early in July he received the copy of a protest, which Louis XVIII. had addressed, on the 6th of June, to the sovereigns of Europe, against his "usurpation" of the sovereignty of France. The only notice taken of this document was to publish it in the columns of the *Moniteur*. This protest had little effect, either upon the European powers or the French people, who seemed most heartily to rejoice at what they considered as the establishment of a permanent government, in lieu of the uncertain and changeable system which had prevailed since the revolution first broke out; and addresses and congratulations flowed in to the Tuileries from all quarters. The Paris people, too, liked the "pomp and ceremony" of royalty, which Napoleon re-established in all their splendour. On the 14th of July he delighted them with an imposing spectacle at the Invalides, where he made the first distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour. The second took place at Boulogne. On the 16th he left Paris for that town, where he had his tent pitched in the midst of a large plain, on which he assembled his troops, selected from them those who were to be admitted to the legion, and, after 2,000 drums had beat the charge, repeated to them the oath in a loud voice, which they took amidst the general and enthusiastic acclaim of the soldiers. On this occasion Napoleon remodelled the Polytechnic school, which he placed entirely under military regulations, and instituted nine decennial prizes for the scholars, of the value of 400 francs each, to be awarded for the best inventions, and the best works in science, literature, and art. It was expected, at Boulogne, from this visit, that the time for the threatened invasion was come, the preparations for which had never been intermitted. But though the small vessels still contrived to pass from other ports to Boulogne, by creeping along the shore, the English fleet in the channel was much too powerful to admit of ships of war being brought round from Toulon, and other ports, to cover the landing. The design, however, was not abandoned; and the state of alarm in which it kept England, answered the

purposes of the new emperor of France in more ways than one.

When he left Boulogne, Napoleon met Josephine at the castle of Lacken, and they proceeded together to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he received the congratulations of the ambassadors of Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Naples—all those powers having recognised him as emperor; and several of the German princes paid their respects in person. While on his journey, he read madame de Staël's *Delphine*, which so displeased him, that he banished her from Paris. It is thought that this step was taken principally on account of her attacks on the Roman catholic religion, as he was most desirous, at that time, of conciliating the pope, to whom he dispatched an embassy from Mayence, on the 15th of September, with a request that his holiness would visit Paris to perform the ceremony of coronation. During his stay at Mayence, he laid the foundation for that change in Germany which was afterwards inaugurated as the Confederation of the Rhine; and he also issued a decree (on the 21st of September), organising the establishment of twelve colleges, in the principal cities of France, for the study of the law. He returned to Paris in October, after an absence of three months.

In November, Pius VII., having acceded to the request of Napoleon, left Rome for the French capital. On his arrival he was received by the emperor at a short distance from Fontainebleau. They drove together to that palace; but the pope proceeded alone to Paris, where he was welcomed with every demonstration of respect, and lodged sumptuously in the Tuileries. On the 1st of December, the senate and tribunate presented to Napoleon, with great pomp, the result of the appeal to the people on the hereditary succession; and, on the 2nd, the coronation took place in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame. Nothing could exceed the splendour and magnificence of the ceremony, nor the brilliance of the assembly by whom the emperor and empress were accompanied and surrounded. After the crown had been placed on his own head, and that of Josephine, Napoleon took the following oath:—"I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the empire. To respect, and cause to be respected, the laws of the concordat, and the liberty of worship. To respect, and cause to be respected, equality of rights, political and civil liberty, and the irrevocability of the sale of the national domains. To impose no tax but by legal authority. To maintain the institution of the Legion of Honour; and to govern with no other views but the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." Then the heralds proclaimed—"The most glorious and august emperor Napoleon, emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned—long live the emperor!" This was followed by loud cries of,

"Long live the emperor! long live the empress!" and by the performance of the "*Te Deum*." By that time night had set in; and the *cortège*, led and surrounded by numberless torches, returned to the Tuileries.

The next day a grand military spectacle took place in the Champ-de-Mars. All the regiments in Paris and the neighbourhood were assembled; and the emperor, in the uniform of a colonel of the guard, delivered to the colonels the eagles, which were to be substituted for the old standards. The colonels having received them, he said—"Soldiers! there are your standards! These eagles will serve as your rallying-point. They will ever be seen where your emperor shall deem them necessary for the defence of his throne and of his people." These new ensigns were, shortly after, distributed to all the regiments of France.

The coronation of their emperor by the pope, diffused the greatest satisfaction throughout France; but it called forth another protest from Louis XVIII. It had not the slightest effect in damping the satisfaction either of the new emperor or of his subjects. The latter employed the last month of 1804 and the first of 1805 in a series of rejoicings, assemblies, and *fêtes*, which occasioned an enormous expenditure, and, by giving an impetus to trade, and increasing employment to the people, served still more to reconcile the masses to the change.

The war with England produced few events in 1804; but one of those events—the defeat of admiral Linois in the Indian ocean—occasioned great mortification in France. The admiral had escaped from Pondicherry with one ship of the line and three frigates; and, in February, 1804, was employed in watching for the home-bound English fleet of merchantmen from China. On the 14th of February, Linois descried this fleet; and, on the 15th, the two squadrons came to close quarters. The English were commanded by commodore Dance, who sent the weaker vessels to the rear, and, with the others, fought and defeated the men-of-war, putting them to flight, and pursuing them for two hours; thus gallantly maintaining the honour of the British flag, and preserving property to the value of £1,500,000.—In May (in which month Mr. Pitt again became prime minister of England), Surinam was taken possession of, by a combined land and sea force, under Sir Charles Green and commodore Hood. The event diffused great joy amongst the inhabitants.—During the year several attacks were made on the flotillas destined to convey the French troops across the Channel, but with little success. One by Sir Sidney Smith, on the 16th of May, was intended to prevent the junction of the flotillas of Flushing and Ostend: it failed, for want of gun-boats, as the large vessels could not approach near enough to produce any effect. On the 2nd of October, an attempt was made by lord Keith to destroy the flotilla in the

harbour of Boulogne, by the explosion of combustibles, launched in copper vessels, which obtained the name of "catamarans." Twelve of these vessels were floated into the harbour; but the flotilla opened a passage for them, and they passed into the rear, where they blew up, doing no damage.—With Spain, the relations with England became disturbed during the year, when it was known that she had agreed to pay nearly £3,000,000 per annum to France—a sum which was applied to the fitting-out the armament intended to invade this country. The great partiality shown to French vessels over those of Britain, and the naval preparations in the Spanish ports, were other sources of disputes and jealousies, and the greater part of the year was spent in the interchange of notes of an angry nature. At length, in September, there was an accumulation of circumstances, any one of which afforded ground for serious remonstrance. About 1,500 French troops were received at Ferrol, where four French ships of the line were lying. The Spanish government, after promising to cease her naval preparations, had ordered the arming of three ships of the line, two frigates, and several small vessels at that port. Similar instructions had been sent to Carthagena and Cadiz: three ships of the line were ordered from Cadiz to Ferrol; the packet-ships were authorised to arm, as in time of war; and it was announced, that, within a month, eleven ships would be ready for sea at Ferrol; whilst the arrival of the treasure-ships from America was the only thing waited for, as it was generally reported, to induce the Spanish government to declare for France. In consequence of these numerous acts, which appeared to evince decided hostility on the part of that government, the English ambassador, Mr. Frere, addressed, on the 27th of September, a very strong note to the court of Spain; in which it was stated, that "the discontinuance of naval preparations was the principal condition insisted upon by England, and agreed to by Spain, as the price of the forbearance of the former;" and that the violation of that condition "could be considered in no other light than as a hostile demonstration, and a defiance given to England." The prince of Peace replied, that the king of Spain had never thought of violating his agreement with the British government, and that the cessation of all naval armaments against Great Britain would be observed. However, the British government was not satisfied with mere words—they desired acts: and instructions were sent to lord Nelson, in the Mediterranean; lord Cochrane, on the Ferrol; and lord Cornwallis, on the Brest stations, ordering them not only to prevent the sailing of the French or Spanish fleets, but to intercept the homeward-bound treasure-ships of Spain. On the 5th of October, captain Moore, in the *Indefatigable*, with three other frigates,

fell-in with four Spanish frigates having treasure on board. As the commanders would not surrender without fighting, they were captured, with treasure amounting to above £2,000,000; but more than a hundred Spaniards were killed or wounded, and upwards of 240 lost in one of the frigates which exploded. This led to a declaration of war, by Spain, against England, which appeared on the 12th of December; and, at the same time, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, was signed at Madrid. The conduct of the British government, in this instance, cannot be justified. No doubt Great Britain was fighting for her existence; and the overt acts of Spain were most unfriendly, and amply sufficient to have justified a declaration of war. In the absence of that declaration, however, the treasure-ships ought not to have been interrupted; and Napoleon was enabled to set-off this violation of international law against his arrest of the duke d'Enghien, at Ettenheim.

The foreign relations of France were not quite so favourable when the year 1804 closed, as they were when it commenced. Notwithstanding the affair of the duke d'Enghien, Austria and Prussia had not hesitated to acknowledge Napoleon Bonaparte as emperor; but several events had occurred subsequent to that period, to produce a coldness with both those powers, the most important being the development which was made, during the emperor's residence at Mayence, of his designs with respect to a fresh organisation of Germany, which could not be otherwise than detrimental to the interest of Austria in that quarter. In October, an outrage took place, of a similar character to the arrest of the duke d'Enghien, in which Prussia, as the protector of the circle of Lower Saxony, was peculiarly interested. In the night of the 25th of that month, in consequence of an order signed by the French minister of police, at Paris, Sir George Rumboldt, the British minister at Hamburg, was taken prisoner at his villa near that city, and conveyed, with all his papers, to Paris, where he was lodged in the Temple. The king himself, and his ambassador at Paris, remonstrated warmly with Napoleon upon this fresh violation of international law, which had not such a tragic termination as attended the violation of the territories of the elector of Baden.

There was nothing found in the papers of Sir George Rumboldt to implicate either him or his government in any improper transaction; and he was liberated, being sent to Cherbourg, and put on board the first British cruiser seen off that port. The event, however, strengthened the anti-Gallican party in Prussia, which was then making head, under Charles Auguste, baron Hardenberg, who had just become a minister of the Prussian crown.—With Russia, an interchange of notes, not in the most friendly tone, had been carried on during the year. M. d'Oubril enforced the demands which M. Markoff had made in the previous year; and the remonstrances of Russia after the execution of the duke d'Enghien, were more decided than those of any other power. The correspondence ended in Napoleon ordering his ambassador to quit St. Petersburg in forty-eight hours, leaving there only a *chargé d'affaires*. This step was followed by the appearance of Russian squadrons in the Black Sea and in the Mediterranean; and whilst troops were landed in the Ionian Islands, Italy was menaced. Under the influence of the czar, Turkey refused to recognise the emperor; and the French ambassador left Constantinople.—Another breach was with Sweden. The remonstrances of that power on the seizure, trial, and execution of the duke d'Enghien, were received in such a haughty manner, and answered in so rude a tone, that, on the 7th of September, Sweden terminated all confidential communications between the two governments; and, on the 3rd of December, concluded an alliance with England; by which, in consideration of a subsidy of £80,000 to enable Sweden to fortify Stralsund, Great Britain was allowed to establish a dépôt for her German legion at that city, or in the isle of Rügen; and to convert one or other of those places into an entrepôt for British produce and manufactures. To counterbalance these fallings-off in Germany and in the north, there was the active alliance with Spain, substituted for the passive assistance that country had hitherto afforded; and by a treaty with the Ligurian republic, concluded on the 20th of October, all the resources of Genoa were placed at the disposal of France; and Napoleon was permitted to make a naval station of the magnificent harbour—the finest in the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER VII.

NAPOLEON AGAIN ATTEMPTS TO CONCLUDE PEACE WITH ENGLAND; ALTERATION IN THE CONSTITUTION OF HOLLAND; NAPOLEON CROWNED KING OF ITALY; COALITION OF ENGLAND, RUSSIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWEDEN, AGAINST FRANCE; THE ARMAMENT AT BOULOGNE; DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH FLEET BY SIR R. CALDER; PLANS OF THE COALITION; PLAN OF NAPOLEON'S GERMAN CAMPAIGN; FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL STATE OF FRANCE; THE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY; THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR; ALLIANCE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA; OCCUPATION OF VIENNA BY THE FRENCH; CAMPAIGN IN ITALY AND THE TYROL; BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ; TREATIES WITH BADEN, WURTEMBERG, BAVARIA, AND PRUSSIA; TREATY OF PRESEURG.

THE emperor closed the year 1804 by opening the session of the legislative body on the 25th of December. In this session a system of indirect taxation was organised, under the name of *Droits Reunis*, with a view to relieve the pressure upon the land, which was become almost unbearable: these *droits* soon formed an important part of the revenue. A civil-list was also granted to Napoleon, of 25,000,000 francs per annum, besides his domains and residences; and the entire expenses of the financial year (from September to September), were fixed at 684,000,000 francs, those of the previous year having amounted to 762,000,000 francs.

The year opened gloomily, as there were evident signs of another continental coalition being formed against France. From a sense of the difficulties which were gathering around him, or from a real desire for peace, Napoleon resolved, once more, to address the king of Great Britain, and express his wish that the hostilities between the two countries should be suspended, with a view to a treaty of alliance being entered into between them. The letter was dated on the 2nd of January; and was an autograph. He addressed the king as "Monsieur, mon frere;" and proceeded to say, that "France and England abused their prosperity. They might struggle for ages; but would their governments thus fulfil the most sacred of their duties? And so much blood, uselessly shed, would it not rise up in accusation against them? He attached no dishonour to taking the first step in this matter, as he had sufficiently, he thought, proved to the world, that he feared none of the chances of war:" and he concluded by declaring his hope, that "the king would believe in the sincerity of the sentiments he had expressed; and in his desire to give proofs of that sincerity." The then foreign secretary of England, the earl of Mulgrave, replied to this note by a despatch, addressed to M. Talleyrand, dated the 14th of January. This despatch acknowledged the receipt of the letter addressed to the king, by the "head of the French government;" and declared, that "there was nothing his majesty had more at heart, than to seize the first opportunity of restoring to his people the blessings of peace, provided that peace was founded on a basis not incompatible with the

permanent interests and security of his dominions." But "the object of peace could only be secured by engagements calculated to provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and to prevent a renewal of the dangers and misfortunes in which it had been involved. His majesty, therefore, felt it impossible to reply more particularly to the overture which had been made to him, until he had time to communicate with the powers of the continent, to whom he was united in the most confidential manner; and particularly the emperor of Russia." This despatch was not answered; and the attempt to restore peace was not persisted in.

The early events of the year appeared to justify all the suspicions of those who thought that Napoleon was aiming at nothing so much as extending the power and the dominion of France. One of the first changes was in the government of Holland. Having assumed the dignity of emperor himself, Napoleon appears to have considered that republican institutions were not to be tolerated in any country which was under the control or the influence of France. A new constitution was therefore given to Holland, by which all the executive, and much of the legislative, power was vested in a chief magistrate, called the "grand pensionary." The office was conferred upon M. Schimmelpennick, who had returned to his ambassadorial post at Paris; and the new constitution, accepted by the legislative body on the 22nd of March, received, on the 30th of April following, the sanction of the great majority of the inhabitants.

Simultaneously with the changes in Holland, others were preparing in Italy. The pope had continued at Paris, after the ceremony of the coronation was performed, with the view of obtaining, through the intervention of the emperor, the restoration of the Legations, which had been detached, in the first Italian war, from the papal territory. Before he left the French capital, disappointed in his expectations, he performed, at St. Cloud, on the 24th of March, the ceremony of baptism upon the infant son of Louis Bonaparte, who received the name of Louis Napoleon, and is the present (1860) emperor of France. Instead of restoring any part of Italy to the pope, it was the aim of the emperor to centre the ruling power over the peninsula in

himself, or in members of his family. As soon as he felt secure on the imperial throne of France, intrigue was actively employed in Italy, to induce the popular voice in that country to declare in favour of monarchy; the emperor's original intention being, to convert the republic into a kingdom, and to make his brother Joseph the first king. Joseph, however, refused to accept the sovereignty, as he apprehended it would interfere with his right of succession to the empire; and Napoleon then resolved to place the crown upon his own head, and to make Eugene Beauharnais, the son of Josephine, viceroy. To effect this change without any appearance of force, many agents were at work; and they were so far successful, that, on the 17th of March, Melzi, the vice-president of the Italian republic, with a deputation from the Italian *consulta*, or senate, appeared before the emperor, seated upon his throne, and conveyed to him the wish of the Italians to revive the kingdom of Italy; and that he who had been the founder of their republic, should be their first king. Of course he complied most graciously with the request; and, on the 18th, he appeared in the senate, when the members of the deputation took the oath of fidelity to him as king of Italy. On this occasion he addressed the senate, and said, that "it was necessary to maintain France in the rank among nations which she had always enjoyed. The partition of Poland, the provinces torn from Turkey, the conquest of India, and of almost all the European colonies, had, in a manner, turned the balance against her." Therefore he accepted the crown of Italy, whose permanent annexation to France would be a great addition to the wealth and resources of the French territory. But it was to be united to the empire only for a time; and its "ultimate separation from the crown of France would be only deferred till it could take place without danger to Italian independence." After this ceremony, Eugene Beauharnais immediately assumed the command of the Italian army; and, on the 31st, the establishment of the Italian kingdom was proclaimed at Milan.

On the 2nd of April—having placed his brother Joseph at the head of affairs during his absence—the emperor left Paris for Milan, accompanied by the empress, for the purpose of being invested with the iron crown. He took the road, by Lyons, over Mont Cenis—passing through Turin, Asti, and Alessandria; and joining, on the 5th of May, in a gorgeous pageant on the field of Marengo. His triumphal entry into Milan took place on the 8th of May; and, on the 26th, the ceremony of coronation was performed in the cathedral of that city, by the archbishop. Napoleon took the iron crown, and placed it on his own head, saying—"God has given it to me. Woe to him who shall attempt to lay hands upon it!" After the coronation, numerous con-

gratulatory addresses were presented, not the least flattering of which came from the king of Naples, who, at the same time, was holding a correspondence with the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, inimical to the interests of France. A deputation from the senate of Genoa soon after arrived, to request that that republic might be added to France—"the changes which had taken place around it, having rendered its insulated situation a source of perpetual inquietude." On the 7th of June, Napoleon opened the first session of the Italian legislative body; which, before it separated, fixed the annual expenses of the kingdom at 100,000,000 francs; ordered the Code Napoleon (as the Code Civil des Français was then called) to be introduced; and instituted the order of the Iron Crown. On the 9th a decree appeared, formally uniting the Ligurian republic to France, and dividing it into the departments of Genoa, Montenotte, and the Apennines. Thus, having completed his objects, the emperor left Milan, and visited several other cities of Italy, arriving at Genoa on the 30th of June. There he issued a decree, creating signor Buciocchi and his wife (Eliza Bonaparte) prince and princess of Piombino, and investing them with the republic of Lucca. Parma and Placentia were, shortly after, incorporated with the French empire. After his progress through Italy, and having invested Eugene Beauharnais with the authority of viceroy, the emperor recrossed the Alps on the 12th of July, and proceeded to Paris, from whence he went to Boulogne.

The establishment of the Italian kingdom did not make the continental sovereigns less desirous of arresting the further progress of France. In January, England and Russia had agreed that no secure peace could be made with Napoleon, unless some limit could be placed to his apparent craving for more and more territory. After his acceptance of the crown of Italy, the negotiations between these powers were brought to a close, by the signing of a treaty on the 11th of April, by which the contracting parties, disclaiming all intention of controlling public opinion in France, or in any other country, with respect to the form of government it might be thought proper to adopt—engaged to "employ the most speedy and efficacious means to form a general league of the states of Europe," to effect the following objects:—1. The evacuation of Hanover and the north of Germany. 2. The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland. 3. The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont. 4. The future security of Naples; and the evacuation of Italy and the island of Elba by the French forces. 5. The introduction of an order of things into Europe, which would effectually guarantee the security and independence of the several states, and present a solid barrier against

future usurpations. Austria would not join the league at first; but the events in Italy, and particularly the union of Genoa with France, convinced her statesmen that the time was come when a barrier must be erected against French aggression; and in August that power acceded to the coalition; as did Sweden, a few days afterwards. Prussia still adhered to France; though the anti-Gallican party, which, as we have already stated, had been formed in that country, so far from dying away, was constantly increasing in numbers, being supported by the influence of the queen, and of the young prince Louis. At first the king endeavoured to mediate between France and Russia; but, as the czar insisted upon the abandonment of the late acquisitions of territory made by France—and Napoleon positively refused to give up a single foot of ground, maintaining, that what the empire had gained was necessary as a counterpoise to the acquisitions in the East made by Russia, and in India by England—the mediation failed. Prussia was then threatened by France on the one side, and by Russia on the other; till at last the king ordered a levy of 84,000 men, neither party knowing which he would join. This step led to an assurance from Alexander that he never intended to coerce the will of the king, and that his army had orders to halt on the Prussian frontier. In the meantime the French ambassador continued to push the interests of his imperial master; and the result was, that Prussia remained neutral, taking no active part in the struggle that ensued, though, as will be seen, she shared in the spoil.

All this time, the preparations at Boulogne, for the invasion of England, had not been interrupted. They had been continued with unremitting activity; and, during his absence from Paris, the emperor was in daily correspondence with the minister of marine on this important subject. Notwithstanding the constant occupation in which he was involved in Italy—the cares of business, and the temptations of pleasure with which he was there surrounded—it appears, from the published correspondence, that not the minutest detail connected with the great armament escaped him; and Sir A. Alison aptly remarks, that “nothing leaves so strong an impression of the vast ability and indefatigable activity of his mind, as the study of the numerous minute and lucid orders, which he addressed, during every day of this journey, to the minister of marine; and the admirable sagacity with which almost all the conceivable chances of those numerous squadrons,” which he was collecting in every harbour, from the Texel to Cadiz, and from Brest to Venice, “were calculated and provided for by his all-seeing intellect.”

When Napoleon arrived at Boulogne, he must have been surprised at the enormous military and naval armaments which were collected in

that port. General Mathieu Dumas, in his narrative of the events of this period, has inserted a series of tables, from official documents, which give us some idea of the extent of the preparations. The army consisted of 76,798 infantry, 11,640 cavalry, 3,780 artillerymen, 3,780 waggoners, and 17,476 described as “non-combatants;” total, 113,474. Besides these men, there were 12,000 in the Texel and at Helvoetsluys; 10,000 on board the French and Spanish fleet, and 10,000 at Brest; making a grand total of about 145,500 men, with whom were 432 pieces of cannon. We extract from Dumas the various details of the stock in the arsenals and provision depôts; the whole of that historian’s tables being described as “one of the most curious records of the age of Napoleon.”

Fusils (spare)	32,837	Horses	7,394
Cartridges . .	13,000,000	Sheep	4,924
Flints	1,268,400	Biscuits (rations)	1,434,800
Rounds of ammu-		Bottles of brandy	236,230
nition . . . }	86,400	Loads of hay . .	70,370
Tools	30,375	„ „ oats . . .	70,370
Saddles	10,560		

In the harbour, were 1,329 gun-boats; 954 transport vessels, which would carry 161,215 men, and 6,059 horses; about 3,500 guns were mounted on the armed vessels. This vast collection of men and *matériel* was organised in the most effective manner. Soldiers and sailors were incessantly drilled and practised in the various evolutions they would have to perform: and probably there never was collected together so many men, in every respect so well disciplined; and so well calculated to make that attempt on England, to secure the success of which, all the resources of the emperor’s intelligent and ever-active mind were directed.

Though Napoleon had built and armed so many praams and gun-boats, it was not his intention to employ them in protecting the transports. They were solely intended to divert the attention of England from what was his real object; which was, as we learn from published documents—one of them an autograph note on the subject, written at the time when he left the camp at Boulogne, in September, 1805—“to assemble forty or fifty ships of the line in the harbour of Martinique, by operations combined in the harbours of Toulon, Cadiz, Ferrol, and Brest; to bring them suddenly back to Boulogne; to find himself, in this way, during fifteen days, the master of the sea; to have 150,000 men encamped on the coast; 3,000 or 4,000 vessels in the flotilla; and to set sail the moment the signal was given of the arrival of the combined fleet.” Besides his own naval force, it is quite evident that Napoleon, all along, reckoned upon the assistance of Spain; because he had not half the number of ships he wanted. Towards the close of 1804, he had twenty-one ships of the line, and several frigates, at Brest; six ships

of the line, and four frigates, at Rochefort; and eleven ships of the line, and eight frigates, at Toulon. In January, 1805, Spain agreed to furnish thirty ships of the line, to be stationed in the harbours of Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthage, and to have 5,000 men ready to embark, to be provisioned for six months.

In January, Napoleon ordered the Toulon and Rochefort squadron to put to sea. The former was driven back by rough weather, four days after it had left the harbour. The latter sailed on the 11th of January, evaded the blockading squadron, and reached the West Indies, where it landed troops and ammunition at Martinique; made depredatory descents on Dominica, St. Kitt's, and Nevis; threw 1,000 men into St. Domingo; and, on the arrival of the British admiral, Cochrane, with six ships of the line, returned to France, and regained the harbour of Rochefort with little loss. The emperor was not at all satisfied with the result of this expedition, as he expected that admiral Missiessy, who commanded it, would have retaken the French and Dutch colonies, which the English had captured in the previous year, and also taken possession of St. Helena.—On the 25th of March, the Toulon squadron, under admiral Villeneuve, again put to sea; Nelson, who then commanded the British fleet in that quarter, having withdrawn, in order to entice the French ships from port. Villeneuve made first for Carthage, where he found the Spanish ships were not in a state to join him; and then to Cadiz, which port Sir John Orde blockaded with only five ships of the line. He retired before the force of Villeneuve, more than treble his number; and the French admiral, being joined by seven ships of the line and two frigates, making his whole force eighteen of the former and ten of the latter, sailed for the West Indies on the 10th of April. He was soon after pursued by Nelson, with only ten ships of the line and three frigates; but, misled by false information, the English admiral never came up with the enemy; who, notwithstanding his great force, effected nothing in the West Indies but the capture of the Diamond Rock, near Martinique; and having been reinforced at that island by admiral Magon, with two ships of the line, Villeneuve sailed for the north on the 28th of May. Admiral Magon had taken out the last instructions from Napoleon, sent from Pavia. They ordered the admiral to return to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol, where there were fifteen ships of the line, five French and ten Spanish; and, having effected a junction with them, to go to Rochefort, and join admiral Missiessy, with his five ships of the line: from thence he was to proceed to Brest, where admiral Gantheaume had twenty-one ships; and the combined fleets would then have amounted to sixty-three ships of the line and ten frigates—a force amply sufficient to effect what Napoleon

described as “the grand object of the whole operation;” which was, to procure a superiority before Boulogne. “Masters of the Channel,” said he, “for a few days, 150,000 men will embark in the 2,000 vessels which are there assembled; and the expedition is concluded.”

Napoleon's scheme was admirably planned; but Providence willed that it should not be carried out: the continental coalition, we believe, interrupted it, though Napoleon attributed its failure to the conduct of Villeneuve. Nelson, who had been misled by erroneous, if not decidedly false, information, did not arrive at Antigua, after a cruise to the mouths of the Orinoco, in pursuit of the French, till the 13th of June. There he learnt that the combined fleet had returned to Europe; and, whilst the West India merchants were rejoicing at its departure, at the escape of the isles from pillage, and at the preservation of about 200 sail of valuably-laden merchantmen—all of which they ascribed to the magic of Nelson's name—he, more accurately, imagined that the sudden return of Villeneuve was in consequence of some ulterior object to be achieved nearer home. As soon as his lordship was informed of his having left the Caribbean sea, he dispatched two fast-sailing vessels, with an account of his unsuccessful cruise, and his apprehensions that the French fleet had returned to Europe with a view to some attack upon England. The admiral himself made all sail in the same direction, and reached Gibraltar on the 12th of July. His messengers had arrived in England some days earlier; and the British government had, on the receipt of his despatches, sent admiral Collingwood to Gibraltar, with five ships of the line; and ordered admiral Stirling to raise the blockade of Rochefort, to join Sir Robert Calder off Ferrol, and to cruise off Cape Finisterre, with a view to intercept the French fleet on its return. Admiral Stirling received his orders on the 13th of July; effected his junction with Sir Robert Calder on the 15th; and the latter, taking the command, commenced his cruise at the head of fifteen ships of the line, two frigates, one cutter, and one lugger. On the 22nd, about sixty leagues to the westward of Cape Finisterre, the two squadrons met—Villeneuve having under his orders twenty ships of the line, three 50-gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs. Notwithstanding the disparity of force, Sir R. Calder, in the action which ensued, captured two of the Spanish liners, the *St. Raphael* and the *Firme*; and so disheartened Villeneuve, that he dared not renew the engagement; but, after hovering about two days, and finding that Sir R. Calder (who knew that the Rochefort squadron had put to sea) had sailed with his prizes towards the north—in hope of falling-in either with the Channel fleet or lord Nelson's, he made for the coast of Spain, entering the harbour of Ferrol on

the 2nd of August. To this movement Napoleon attributed the failure of the designs against England. In the autograph note, which we have already quoted, he said, after having detailed the plan he intended to have been carried out—"That project has failed. If admiral Villeneuve, instead of entering into the harbour of Ferrol, had contented himself with joining the Spanish squadron, and instantly made sail for Brest, and joined admiral Gantheaume, my army would have embarked, and it would have been all over with England." He *might* have embarked his troops for this island, had Villeneuve followed his instructions, and been enabled, for a short time, to ride triumphant in the Channel; but we are disposed to think that he gave up the intention after he knew of the coalition formed against him; and that he was not sorry to have this pretence for abandoning his much-vaunted plan of invasion, as enemies were threatening France on all sides; and there is every probability for imagining that the events of 1814 would have been anticipated, had the splendid "army of England" really left Boulogne for this country.*

Subsidised by England, Austria, Russia, and Sweden had lost no time in recruiting their armies; and, in August, preparations were in progress for commencing active operations in four different quarters. Sweden had armed to some extent at Stralsund, and in Pomerania; Russia at Revel—the czar having also a strong army in Poland, and another in Galicia; whilst Austria had 80,000 men in Bavaria, and 100,000 in Italy—the two armies being connected by one in the Tyrol, 25,000 or 30,000 in number. There was also a Russian force of 12,000 men at Corfu; a small English corps, 6,000 in number, at Malta; and an English naval armament in the Baltic. The attacks were to be made by English, Russians, and Swedes, from Pomerania, upon Hanover and Holland; by the Austrians and Russians united in the valley of the Danube; by the Austrians in Italy; and by the English, Russians, and Neapolitans in Naples. By their agreements with England, Austria had bound herself to embody a force of not less than 320,000 men; Russia, 180,000; and Sweden was to find 1,000 men for every £1,800 advanced monthly by England.

No doubt Napoleon, who had his spies everywhere, was informed of all these movements, which were alarming enough. Sir A. Alison imagines, that "it was to anticipate this danger,

to dissolve the confederacy by a stroke at its heart, and conquer not only England, but Russia and Austria, on the British shores, that all his measures were calculated;" that the rage which count Daru (his private secretary) tells us he displayed, when he received the intelligence that Villeneuve had gone to Ferrol, was genuine; and that the plan of his German campaign, which he dictated to Daru the same night, was then spontaneously conceived and determined upon. We, on the contrary, imagine, that he determined to abandon the English expedition as soon as he knew what forces were collecting on the continent; and that though he would have been better pleased had Villeneuve sustained triumphantly the honour of the French flag, and cleared the Channel of the English fleet, yet that he never would have embarked his army for England, and left France nearly undefended. Villeneuve's disobedience of orders, gave the emperor the opportunity of saying, that it was through him "the project failed;" but in no event, we think, would it have been undertaken in the face of the continental coalition against him.

The emperor resolved to be the first in the field, and the plan of his German campaign was skilfully devised; the directions to his generals being most specific and minute. They were all drawn up at Boulogne; and, if improvised on hearing of Villeneuve's movements, they afford a most remarkable proof of the extraordinary—almost wonderful—strategic abilities of the emperor: but we think they had been previously arranged. There was a *corps d'armée* in Hanover, under Bernadotte; and another in Holland, under Marmont. With these exceptions, and two camps at Ambleteuse and Montreuil, the bulk of his army was at Boulogne. Bernadotte's corps was ordered to march through Hesse into Franconia, upon Würzburg and the Danube; that of Marmont to advance along the Rhine, and to unite at Mayence and Würzburg, with Bernadotte's. The "army of England" was to march to Strasburg, make a feint of debouching on the Black Forest—but, leaving that forest to the right, advance, by the left, through Würtemberg; and having joined the corps from Holland and Hanover in Franconia, take the Austrians in the rear, defeat them before the Russians could form a junction, and then march on Vienna to meet the latter. In Italy, the French had 50,000 men on the Adige; and the command

* Bourrienne was of opinion, that Bonaparte at no time seriously contemplated the invasion of England. The emperor himself, when at St. Helena, had conversations with Las Casas and O'Meara on the subject. He spoke of his plans as positively designed to be carried out; and professed his belief in the complete success of the expedition, if he had landed 100,000 men on the English shores. He intended to have proclaimed to the English, that the French came "as friends, to relieve them from an ob-

noxious and despotic aristocracy, whose object was, to keep the nation eternally at war, in order to enrich themselves and their families through the blood of the people." The establishment of a republic, the abolition of the monarchy and of the nobility, and the forfeiture of the property of such of the latter as should resist, would, he told O'Meara, "have gained him the support of the *canaille*, and of all the idle, profligate, and disaffected in the kingdom."

was given to Masséna, with orders to occupy the Austrians—who were in the neighbourhood of that river, in force, under the archduke Charles—as long as possible. General St. Cyr was in Calabria with 20,000 men; and he had, at first, orders to march upon Naples, and make himself master of that capital, on the earliest symptom of hostilities. But the king of Naples, on the 21st. of September, signed a treaty with France, and agreed to remain neutral; on which St. Cyr was ordered to co-operate with Masséna. At the same time that he signed this treaty, his majesty delivered a written paper to the Russian minister, stating, that his signature had been obtained by threats, and that he should not adhere to the engagement into which he had entered.

The days when the different corps were to take their departure, and when they were to arrive at their destinations, were fixed by the emperor; the close of September being the time when it was expected that all would be ready for action. The orders were kept secret, and the movements masked as much as possible, to keep the enemy in ignorance of the breaking-up of the camps at Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and Montreuil. To the elector of Bavaria, alone, the plan of the campaign was unfolded. The emperor could rely upon his secrecy, from his hatred to Austria; and he wished to secure the aid of the Bavarian army, consisting of 25,000 fine and well-appointed men. In this he was successful. On the 24th of August, M. Otto induced the elector to sign a treaty of alliance with France; though he was at the same time professing friendship for Austria. Having reason to think that he was trifling with him, the emperor of Austria ordered general Mack to cross the Inn, which induced the elector to withdraw first to Ratisbon and then to Würzburg, where his army was ordered to concentrate. Having thus got out of the hands of the Austrians (who occupied Munich and Ulm), his minister, M. Monteglan, applied to M. Otto, to have the date of the treaty altered to the 23rd of September. The application was granted, says M. Thiers (who describes it as “far from honourable to Bavaria”), “to enable the elector to say, that he had not given himself up to France till after the violence done him by Austria.”

Whilst engaged in dispatching these orders to his troops, and in arranging for the march of those encamped at Boulogne, the emperor took great precautions for securing the flotilla in that port from attack by the English. Three entire regiments, and twelve third battalions of those which were marched to Germany, were left at Boulogne. The sailors belonging to the flotilla were formed into fifteen battalions, of 1,000 men each, and armed with muskets, to do duty, alternately, on board the vessels and

ashore; intrenchments being constructed round the harbour and coast, to protect the flotilla and the immense magazines. The entrances of the ports at Boulogne and Ambleteuse were also defended by netting, to impede the progress of fire-vessels. The command was given to marshal Brune; and the emperor, when these arrangements were concluded, called that officer and his subordinates around him, and explained the importance of the trust which he confided to their keeping. They were not to grieve, he said, at being left behind inactive; before long they would be employed in their turn; as, after punishing the continent, attention would be turned to England; and they would have the glory of joining in the expedition to that country, probably in the next spring.

The army from the Boulogne encampment commenced its march on the 29th of August. Napoleon saw all the divisions on their way, and then, on the 2nd of September, left the city, arriving at Malmaison on the 3rd. He found a decided change in the public opinion of the French capital. All his acts were not regarded with approbation; the placing the crown of Italy on his own head, the fusion of the Ligurian republic into the French empire, and the gift of Lucca to his sister and her husband, being especially censured. The people still appeared to admire the talents, the courage, and the great application to business of their emperor; but they condemned his fondness for war; and anticipated evil from the new coalition which it was now known was formed against France. Financial difficulties were also accumulating. It was found that the expenditure for the year had been 60,000,000 francs per month, making 720,000,000 for the twelve months, instead of the estimated 684,000,000 francs. To meet this outlay, the permanent revenue only produced about 600,000,000 francs, leaving 120,000,000 francs to be provided. The trade and commerce of France were also in a most depressed state; and bankruptcies were very numerous, causing general distress. Such was the change a few short months had produced, from that plenty and prosperity which appeared to prevail at the commencement of the empire. The deficit in the revenue was made up, partly by resorting to the issue of paper money, partly by taking back from the senate and the Legion of Honour the national domains bestowed upon them, allotting to them *rentes* instead, and disposing of the lands thus resumed to the highest bidder. What could not be made up in these ways, was taken from the sinking-fund, set apart for the payment of the debt; which it was a principle of Napoleon not to increase if it could be possibly avoided. The company of United Merchants, of which M. Ouvrard was the chief, and M. Desprez, formerly cashier to a banker, and M. Vanderbergh, who had been in the corn trade, were

his principal associates, did something, at the time, to relieve the pressure on the government, by providing provisions, and discounting the government paper. Having, by these means, provided the financial sinews of war, at all events for present emergencies, Napoleon proceeded to recruit the military force. Some parts of the contingent for the years IX.—XIII. had not been called out. He resolved to incorporate these men, to raise the entire levy for the year XIV.; and to reorganise the national guards under the laws of 1790, 1791, and 1798. He did not, however, adhere to the minutiae of those laws, for he named the officers himself; as in his opinion, declared at the time, "every species of force ought to emanate from the supreme authority." By these measures, the emperor obtained a reserve of at least 150,000 men, to guard the frontiers and recruit the main army. The organisation of this reserve was committed to marshals Lefebvre and Kellermann, who assembled one *corps d'armée* at Mayence, and another at Strasburg; and three flying camps of grenadiers were established at Rennes, in the Vendée, and on the field of Marengo.

These arrangements completed, the legislative body should have been assembled to sanction them. But time would thus have been lost; and, therefore, the emperor resolved that the senate should issue a *senatus consultum* for the purpose. He called the senate together on the 23rd of September. The members met in the Luxembourg; and Napoleon, on his way to that palace from the Tuileries, received so few tokens of popular sympathy, that he was seriously mortified. The senate, also, though they assented to his demands, "in the bottom of their hearts," says Thiers, "attributed the new continental wars to the incorporation of states, which had been effected in Italy;" and did not approve of that part of Napoleon's policy.

Having obtained the required sanction of the senate, the emperor again, previous to setting out for the army, appointed the grand elector, Joseph, head of the government in his absence, he being also president of the senate. Cambacérès was president of the council of state; and to Louis Bonaparte, as constable of France, was entrusted the levying of troops, and the reorganisation of the national guards. In addition to the council of state, another council was composed of all the grand dignitaries of the empire, presided over by Joseph. All questions connected with the government were to come before this council; and couriers, with their report, and a special report from Cambacérès, giving his personal opinion on every subject, were ordered to be dispatched every day to the emperor. No steps were to be taken, in any matter, till the imperial decision was received, except in urgent cases; and then the

minister in whose department it laid, was to issue orders upon his own responsibility. Thus, when with his army in the field, Napoleon still retained the direction of affairs of state in the council in his own hands.

Diplomatic notes had been interchanged between France and Austria during the time that the preparations for war were going on—almost up to the day that Napoleon left Paris to join the army. There had, however, been no intercourse with England since the abortive effort made in January, nor with Russia since the mediation of Prussia had failed. In his despatches to Vienna, Talleyrand urged, that it was not conformable to the real interest of Austria to reduce the power of France; and he denied that the latter menaced the liberties of Europe—they were in danger from another quarter. The time was not, perhaps, far distant, when France and Austria, united, would have to fight not only for their own independence, but for the liberties of the continent, and for civilisation itself. The inconstancy and caprice of Russia were alluded to: Austria, it was said, had experienced those qualities; and, when abandoned by her, she might expect to undergo the rudest strokes of fortune. It was asked—"What does France demand of Austria?" To which M. Talleyrand replied—"Neither efforts nor sacrifices. The emperor desired only the repose of the continent. He was ever ready to make a maritime peace, as soon as England would adhere to the treaty of Amiens. As that was impossible in the present temper of England, he desired to devote himself exclusively to the maritime war; and he demanded of Austria not to divert him from that great design, and to enter into no engagement that might disturb the harmony prevailing between the two nations." The minister of Austria, in reply, declared that the cabinet of Vienna was most anxious to put an end to the danger that threatened Europe; but, "to do that with any prospect of success, it was indispensable that the faith of treaties should be religiously observed." It was shown how the treaty of Luneville, which "carefully stipulated the independence of the Italian, Helvetic, and Batavian republics," had been violated: it was stated, that "Austria armed, not with a hostile intention, but solely with a design of maintaining the existing peace with France, and the equilibrium and repose of Europe:" and it was "solemnly declared," that, "should war become inevitable, Austria and Russia had bound themselves to interfere, in no respect, in the internal affairs of France; to make no change in the established possessions or relations of Germany; and to respect the integrity of the Ottoman empire. Great Britain had the same intentions, and was desirous to be regulated by the same moderate principles, in re-establishing her pacific relations with the French empire."

These protestations were of no avail; they could not avert from Europe the scourge of war.*

Napoleon never enjoyed so little popularity as when he left Paris, on the 24th of September, to join the army which, by rapid marches, had already concentrated in Germany, on the right bank of the Rhine. His remarkable victories soon sent public opinion back into its old channel. The empress accompanied him to Strasburg, where he arrived on the 26th; marshal Berthier was also one of his suite; and Talleyrand and a few clerks were ordered to follow the headquarters. The emperor found his troops ready for action, according to the plan he had laid down; but, in reaching their destination, the corps under Bernadotte and Marmont had to march through the Prussian province of Anspach; and this violation of his neutral territory greatly offended the Prussian king. Napoleon was quite aware that this route must be taken; and his instructions to Bernadotte were—"Avoid delay. Make many protestations in favour of Prussia; show as much respect and attachment for the country as possible; then march across the territory with rapidity, alleging the impossibility of doing otherwise; for, indeed, that impossibility is real."

The coalition had not been so active, and were not so well prepared as their opponents. The Austrian general, Chastelar, had been sent to the Tyrol to organise its warlike population; and two Austrian armies had concentrated on the Adige and the Inn. Their allies were not so forward. A Russian force, of 16,000 men, under general Tolstoy, collected at Revel, and a Swedish force of 12,000, from Stralsund, were to march through Mecklenburg to Hanover, where 15,000 English, who were to ascend the Elbe, and land at Cuxhaven, were to join them. One Russian army, 60,000 strong, under general Kutusoff, with the imperial guard, of 12,000 men, under the grand-duke Constantine, was advancing through Galicia; and a second, also numbering 60,000 men, under general Buxhowden, was marching through Poland. An army of reserve, under general Michelson, was forming at Wilna. The young emperor Alexander, and prince Peter Dolgorouki, were with the first army. Both, as Napoleon anticipated, were "too late." He was enabled to get between them and the Austrians, taking the allies in detail, instead of encountering their combined forces; and to that circumstance, and the incompetence of some of the Austrian generals, his triumphant success is to be mainly attributed.

The French army was divided into seven corps, commanded by Bernadotte, Marmont,

* The chief Austrian statesmen, at this period, were count Cobentzel and count Colloredo. M. Metternich, afterwards so celebrated, was just rising into repute. Pahlen and Woronoff were the Russian councillors; but Alexander acted much for himself.

Davoust, Soult, Lannes, Ney, and Augereau; with a reserve of cavalry under Murat: the guards were commanded by Mortier and Bessières. Napoleon took the command-in-chief; and the collective force received the name of the "Grand Army," which epithet was applied, from that time, to the force which the emperor commanded in person. The Rhine was crossed on the 1st of October; and, by the 6th, Bernadotte, who had been joined by the Bavarians, under general Wrede, occupied Weissemburg; Marmont was near Neuberg; Davoust at Oettingen; Soult at Donauwörth, eight leagues to the south of Oettingen; Ney at Kessingen, three leagues from Donauwörth; Lannes at Neeresheim, about the same distance from that town; and the cavalry were on the borders of the Danube. The main Austrian army was under general Mack, who had concentrated his forces at Ulm, Memmingen, and Stockach, with advanced posts in the defiles of the Black Forest; little supposing that the French would take the route they did,—thus placing themselves in his rear, and cutting off all communication with the Russians. On the 6th and 7th of October, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th corps of the French army, with the Bavarians, making a total of nearly 100,000 men, crossed the Danube. On the 8th, the first passage of arms took place at Wertengen, between a part of the French cavalry, under Murat, supported by the infantry, under Lannes—and an Austrian division, under general Auffenburg, which Mack had dispatched to support general Keinmayer, who was near Donauwörth. In this action the Austrians were repulsed, and many prisoners taken; though the victory was for some time doubtful, and was only won by a desperate charge of grenadiers, who came up, under Oudinot. Two days after, Napoleon assembled his victorious troops, and distributed crosses and decorations to those who had distinguished themselves. It was thus he excited the enthusiasm, and won the affections, of his soldiers. This action was followed by the retreat of Keinmayer into Bavaria, pursued by Bernadotte, who speedily succeeded in establishing himself in Munich. The corps of Marmont and Davoust moved in the same direction; and the only chance of safety for Mack was to fall back on the Tyrol. He, however, thought he could, by moving his troops *en masse* to the north-east, reach the Bohemian frontier. Leaving Jellachich at Ulm, he established his own headquarters at Burgau, a town lying between Ulm and Augsburg; and placed a strong corps, under the archduke Ferdinand, on the bridge of Günzburg. This corps was attacked and defeated by Ney on the 9th of October, the bridge being carried at the point of the bayonet. The same day Soult took possession of Augsburg. These checks induced general Mack, on the 10th, to again establish his head-quarters at Ulm.

The 6th *corps d'armée*, under Ney, was advancing on that town. On the 11th of October, his advanced guard, under general Dupont, about 10,000 strong, came unexpectedly upon 20,000 Austrians, most advantageously posted at Hasslach. The French were obliged to fight, and they made a most gallant attack upon the enemy. The battle lasted all day, and was very fierce at the village of Jungingen, which was repeatedly taken and retaken. The French made 2,000 prisoners in this village, with whom Dupont retired at nightfall; but he lost his cannon and baggage, which were carried off by the imperialist cuirassiers. The same day, Soult advanced from Augsburg to Memmingen, which place he had completely invested on the 13th, when the garrison surrendered, 4,000 men laying down their arms. On the 14th, Ney carried the bridge of Elchingen, two leagues to the north-east of Ulm; Soult, Marmont, and Lannes, taking up positions at Biberach, which closed the road to Upper Suabia; whilst Napoleon established his head-quarters at Burgau. The fate of the Austrians now appeared to be sealed, 50,000 of them being isolated and shut up in Ulm, which was invested by 100,000 men, flushed with victory. Mack had, on the 14th, detached a large part of his force, under the archduke Ferdinand, to Bohemia, which that imperial prince succeeded in reaching with only a few hundred followers—the rest being either cut to pieces or taken prisoners by the French, who encountered them at various points on their march, in overwhelming numbers. Had this part of his force remained at Ulm, the result would, in all probability, not have been different, as only a most desperate sortie, by which the imperialists could have cut their way through the enemy, could have saved them. No sortie, however, was made. By the 19th, Napoleon had established himself on the heights round Ulm; and on that day, having been summoned by general Ségur, Mack first demanded a truce of eight days; when he promised to surrender, if not relieved by the Russians. Napoleon did not refuse the truce; but prince Lichtenstein had an interview with Mack, in which the little chance of the arrival of their allies, and the consequences which would result to the garrison, should they continue obstinate, were pointed out. The Austrian general appears to have become so alarmed by these representations, that, on the 20th, he signed a capitulation. By these events, 50,000 prisoners, 200 pieces of cannon, several thousand horses, and eighty standards, fell into the hands of the French. The troops marched out on the 25th, when they defiled before Napoleon, in a state of the deepest dejection. He addressed the officers, telling them he did not know for what he was at war; and calling on them to advise the emperor to make peace. "I want," he said, "nothing on

the continent. It is ships, colonies, and commerce which I desire; and their acquisition would be as advantageous to you as to me."

Napoleon, at this period, was ignorant of the terrible defeat which the combined fleets of France and Spain had sustained on the 21st of October—a defeat that scattered to the winds his hope of wresting from England the "ships, colonies, and commerce," the possession of which he so much envied her. In September, the command of a fleet destined to blockade Cadiz, had been given, by the British government, to lord Nelson. There were then forty ships of the line at Cadiz, thirty-three being ready for sea. Villeneuve commanded; and such was the terror of Nelson's name, that it was resolved, at a council of war held on board the admiral's ship, not to risk an engagement, except with a force at least one-third larger than that of England. There was no opportunity of ascertaining the exact strength of Nelson's fleet. He took his station off Cape St. Mary's, fifty or sixty miles to the west of Cadiz; but every vessel making for that port was seized; and as no magazines had been provided there, the want of provisions was sensibly felt in the French fleet, which, however, continued in Cadiz harbour till the 19th of October. Then, probably, it would not have put to sea, had not Villeneuve, who supposed Nelson's fleet not to be so powerful as it really was, resolved to try and recover his lost fame, before admiral Rosilly, who was appointed to supersede him, arrived. It was not till the 21st of October, however, that the two fleets met—Nelson having twenty-seven ships of the line and four frigates under his command; and Villeneuve thirty-three ships of the line and seven frigates—his superiority in the size of his vessels, and weight of metal in his guns, being even greater than that in the number of his ships. On that day the battle of Trafalgar was fought; and one of the greatest naval victories recorded in the history of the world, was gained by the English. Twenty ships of the combined squadron, including Villeneuve's flag-ship, and those of the two Spanish admirals, Alava, and Cisneros, struck their colours; but England lost one of her bravest, and most successful, and certainly her most popular admiral—Nelson receiving his death-wound shortly after the fighting commenced. A severe storm came on after the action, in which fifteen of the prizes were lost; and as one had blown up after she struck her colours, only four of the enemy's ships reached Gibraltar. On the 4th of November, Sir R. Strachan captured, off Cape Ortegal, four out of those which escaped; and Napoleon was never able to collect another fleet to replace that which was thus destroyed.* The battle of

* The action off Cape Trafalgar was followed by an interchange of courtesies between admiral Collingwood, who succeeded Nelson in command, and the authorities

Trafalgar closed Villeneuve's career. He was liberated early in the following year, but died soon after his return to France. His death was attributed to suicide.

Immediately after the surrender of Ulm, Napoleon issued one of his spirit-stirring proclamations to his army.—“Soldiers of the grand army!” said he, “in fifteen days we have concluded a campaign. We have kept our promise; we have chased the troops of Austria from the Bavarian territories, and re-established our ally in the possession of his states.” Having enumerated the successes and the spoils of the campaign, and the slight losses to the French with which they had been obtained, he added—“Soldiers! this astonishing success is owing to your boundless confidence in your emperor; to your patience in undergoing fatigue; to your rare intrepidity. But we will not rest here. Already I see you are burning to commence a second campaign. The gold of England has brought against us a Russian army from the extremities of the universe; we will make it undergo the same fate.” The events of the campaign were communicated in a message to the senate, couched much in the style of the proclamation; and having promulgated one document, and sent off a courier with the other, the army, with the exception of Ney's corps, to which was entrusted the conquest of the Tyrol, was put in motion, on the 21st of October, towards the Iser and the Inn. On the 24th the emperor entered Munich, where the inhabitants welcomed his presence by illuminating their city. On the 27th the Inn was crossed; the advanced guard of the Russians—which had only then approached the scene of the late short contest, and which had been joined by some of the remains of the archduke Ferdinand's and Keimayer's divisions—in vain endeavouring to stem the rapid advance of the victors. Napoleon having declined a proposal for an armistice, made at Lintz by general Giulay, on the part of the emperor of Austria, the Traun was crossed on the 31st of October; and the Ems on the 4th and 5th of November. Whilst the grand army was thus pressing on to Vienna, Napoleon received the intelligence of the destruction of his fleet at Trafalgar, and of the conclusion of a treaty between the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia at Potsdam. The former grieved him, but perhaps less than it would have done under other circumstances: for the latter he was not at all prepared. The king had never forgiven the violation of his territory by the French troops; and, after an interchange of messages, an interview between the two monarchs

took place at Berlin, on the 25th of October. Alexander soon became popular with the Prussian court; and the amiable queen, as well as the minister, count Hardenberg, being both opposed to the extension of French influence in Germany, seconded his efforts to obtain some decided manifestation on the part of Frederick William on the side of the coalition. The result was, that, on the 3rd of November, a treaty was signed at Potsdam, by which Prussia agreed again to offer her mediation to Napoleon; and, if he did not accept of the terms proposed within one month, then to take the field with Russia and Austria. After the treaty was signed, the emperor and king visited the church at Potsdam, where the remains of the great Frederick are interred, and swore eternal friendship over his tomb.

The news from Potsdam did not arrest the march of Napoleon. Indeed, the inaction of Prussia made the treaty of no avail. Haugwitz, the Prussian minister, who was to open the negotiation with the emperor, did not leave Potsdam till the 14th of November. The Prussian army was kept quiet in quarters or cantonments; and the French pursued their march unmolested. Murat, pressing on to the capital, on a side where the Russians had advanced, received a check, which occasioned him to be reproved by the emperor, as it disconcerted his plans. A few days after, that general and Lannes, by an artful but not very honest manœuvre—detaining the Austrian officers in command, and the engineers, by talking of an armistice, till the French troops came up and surrounded them—prevented the bridges which crossed the Danube, and gave access to Vienna, from being blown up; and Murat's former mishap was forgotten. On the 14th of November, the emperor established his head-quarters at the imperial palace of Schönbrunn; and, next day, Vienna was occupied. Immense stores—100,000 muskets, 2,000 pieces of cannon, and corresponding quantities of ammunition—were found in the arsenal. All might have been conveyed away, had the emperor Francis possessed the least foresight; but everything was left to become the prize of the French. Vienna in his possession, Napoleon gave the command to general Clarke, and distributed his forces in such a manner as to guard the city, and to observe the roads from the Alps, from Hungary, and from Moravia; from the two former of which the Austrians, and from the latter the Russians, might arrive.

In Italy and the Tyrol, the French arms had also been attended with success. The advantages in the strength of the hostile forces were on the side of the Austrians; the archduke Charles

of Cadiz, which deserve mention. The admiral offered to send all the wounded Spaniards on shore; and, in return, the marquis of Solano, governor of Cadiz, offered the use of the Spanish hospitals to the English; and when some prizes were driven on shore by the storm, he refused

to treat the English sailors, who had charge of them, as prisoners of war.—The loss of the English in this battle, is stated, by Thiers, to have been more than 3,000 men: it really amounted to 1,587 killed and wounded; in addition to Nelson—himself a host.

having 100,000 men under him, on the Adige; whilst Masséna, even when joined by St. Cyr, had not more than 70,000. The French general commenced operations in the night between the 17th and 18th of October, on learning that the "grand army" in Germany was in motion. The city of Verona, divided in two parts by the Adige, was occupied, on one side of the river by the French, and on the other by the Austrians. The first attempt of Masséna was, to get possession of the entire city, in which he succeeded, after fighting all the 18th, and thus obtained the command of the river. The archduke Charles seems to have remained singularly inactive, for we do not find that he made any attempt to drive back the French; but, after the news of the surrender of Mack had been received, Masséna, on the 29th of October, with three of his divisions, crossed the Adige, defeated the Austrians, and established himself on the plain of St. Michael's, between the citadel of Verona and the archduke's intrenched camp of Caldiero. On the 30th, this camp was attacked. There was very severe fighting during the entire day; and the Austrians lost 3,000 killed and wounded, and 4,000 prisoners; the French, 3,000 killed, wounded, and missing. When darkness put an end to the conflict, the battle-field presented a curious scene: both armies bivouacked together in terrible confusion; and whilst the French and the greater part of the Austrians were taking some repose after the fatigues of the day, the archduke employed a division of his army to carry off his baggage and artillery; and, the next morning, commenced a retrograde movement. To attract the attention of the French, he dispatched general Hillingen, with a corps of 5,000 men, towards Verona, in their rear; and that officer having, it is supposed, pushed too far in his demonstration, fell, with all his men, into the hands of the enemy. The archduke took the direction of Vienna, pursued by the French, who compelled the Austrians to maintain a running fight for nearly the entire route. While Masséna was engaged in this pursuit, he ordered general St. Cyr to blockade Venice. That general arrived just in time to encounter the prince de Rohan, who had made his way through the Tyrol, and fell on the rear of Masséna, when the latter was engaged in pursuit of the archduke. General St. Cyr surprised this corps, and obliged the prince to surrender: 5,000 more Austrian troops were thus made prisoners.

In the Tyrol, Ney, with 9,000 or 10,000 men, had entered the country by the *debouché* of Scharnitz; and, having passed the confines, his troops scaled the highest peaks of the Alps, stormed Scharnitz, and entered Innsprück, from whence they drove the Austrians, some into the Italian Tyrol, and others into the Vorarlberg. General Jellachich and prince de Rohan were at that time together, having retreated

into the Tyrol from Bavaria. The division of Jellachich was in advance, and first encountered the French; their march being arrested by a numerous corps under Augereau. The Austrian general, seeing no chance of escape either by fighting or flying, laid down his arms. The prince de Rohan, for that time, got off, only to fall into the hands of the enemy a little later. The archdukes Charles and John retreated on parallel lines—the one taking the route through Friule, and past the Julian Alps; the other, through Carinthia. They arranged to meet at Laybach, where they arrived on the 15th of November.

Napoleon wanted to beat the Russians before they could be joined by the archdukes. He had left Vienna, occupied Brunn, the capital of Moravia, and, on the 20th of November, established his head-quarters there. The Russians, in the meantime, were concentrating their forces in the same direction; and partial actions were of frequent occurrence; in one of which 8,000 Russians, under Bagrathion, maintained a most determined contest, near the little village of Grund, with 40,000 French, under Lannes, Oudinot, and Murat: 5,000 only effected a retreat, leaving 3,000 dead or prisoners. In another, the division of marshal Mortier received a severe check, and lost three eagles. In all the encounters, the Russians showed no want of courage or determination; but, generally, victory settled upon the banners of the French. On the 19th of November, the two Russian armies which had been advancing towards Moravia, under the emperor Alexander and Kutusoff, united at Wischau, where a small detachment of French, left by Soult, was surprised. These two armies, after their junction, formed a fine corps of 75,000 able-bodied men, commanded by the emperor Alexander in person. At this moment, the situation of the French army appeared to be one of great hazard; for the archdukes, with their united force, were advancing upon them from the south; the irruption of a body of Hungarians was apprehended from the east; in front were the Russians; 80,000 Prussians were in Silesia; Hanover was occupied by Russian and Swedish troops, and a body of the latter were in full march towards the Elbe. Napoleon was aware of what he had to contend with, and took his measures accordingly. Strong corps, under Marmont, Davoust, and Bernadotte, were placed to intercept the roads by which the Austrians and Hungarians must advance; the defence of Vienna was entrusted to Mortier; and the corps of Soult and Lannes, the imperial guard, and the cavalry, were marched on the road to Brunn, to meet the Russians, who, notwithstanding all the watchfulness and activity of the French, were joined by twenty Austrian battalions before the close of November; and the arrival

of a division of the imperial guard, under the archduke Constantine, soon after, rendered the allied force still more formidable. The emperor Francis had joined the czar at Wischau; and the two emperors were surrounded by officers eager to meet the enemy, and sanguine of success.

At this time, the financial difficulties of France had not lessened, but increased. The company of United Merchants, involved by its connection with the court of Spain, which could not keep up its engagements, had to seek assistance from the bank of France to enable them to maintain their connection with the government; and this led to such extensive advances by the bank, that that establishment was compelled to stop payment. This was followed by the failure of bankers, merchants, and traders in considerable numbers. Great distress prevailed; but the rapid successes of the "grand army" in Germany had dissipated the gloom of disapprobation and distrust that hovered round Napoleon when he left Paris; and the people appeared implicitly to rely upon him; expecting that he would, as soon as he knew the state of affairs, devise some grand project for the re-establishment of public credit. He did nothing at that time, but neither did he draw upon the resources of France to pay his army. He levied very heavy contributions on Austria, amounting to upwards of £4,000,000 sterling—a sum exceeding £8,000,000 in this country; and commenced the plan which he followed during the remainder of his career, of making the country they occupied maintain his troops.

The tactics of the allies ought to have been those of Fabian; for delay must have been ruinous to the French. But the young and ardent members of the Russian and Austrian nobility, who surrounded the two emperors, urged them to immediate action; and they resolved to fight the invaders without delay. When reconnoitring the country round Brunn, soon after he had established his head-quarters there, Napoleon had been struck with the strategic advantages which the plain and village of Austerlitz, about two leagues to the southward of Brunn, displayed; and he said to his staff—"Gentlemen, observe well your ground here; within a few days it will be your field of battle." He understood the allies intended to attack him; and he determined that there he would take his stand. But before the event, which he felt would be decisive one way or the other, came off, he thought it advisable to see if matters could be arranged without fighting. For this purpose, he sent Savary to the emperor Alexander to propose an armistice. They could not agree upon terms—the Russian emperor demanding a return to the state of things corresponding to that produced by the treaty of Lausanne, which Napoleon would not consent

to. He also contended, that the allies wanted to deprive him of his crown, and restore it to the Bourbons; which was strenuously denied.

As the allies were found to be advancing on the last days of November, Napoleon concentrated his army, and took up his ground, in a position between Brunn and Austerlitz; which is thus described by Thiers:—"The high-road of Moravia, running from Vienna to Brunn, rises, in a direct line, to the northward; then, in passing from Brunn to Olmütz, it descends abruptly to the east; forming a right angle with its first direction. In this angle is situated the position in question. It commences on the left, towards the Olmütz road, with heights studded with firs; it then runs off to the right, in an oblique direction, towards the Vienna road; and, after subsiding generally, terminates in ponds, often full of deep water in winter. Along this position, and in front of it, runs a rivulet, which has no name known in geography, but which, in part of its course, is called Goldbach by the people of the country. It runs through the little villages of Girzikowitz, Puntowitz, Kobelnitz, Sokolnitz, and Telnitz; and, sometimes forming marshes, sometimes confined in channels, terminates in the ponds above-mentioned, which are called the ponds of Satschan and Menitz." Here, on the 1st of December, the French army was drawn up—the centre being under Bernadotte; the left, under marshal Lannes and general Suchet; the right, under marshal Soult. The cavalry, and twenty-four pieces of light artillery, under Murat, supported the right wing. There was a reserve of ten battalions of grenadiers, under Oudinot, and ten battalions of imperial guards, under Junot; and a corps, under marshal Davoust, observed the left of the allies. The total force was about 80,000 men. The allies were much more numerous—the Russians alone being nearly equal to the French; and the Austrians amounting to 25,000. They arrived in the vicinity of Austerlitz on the evening of the 1st of December; and the two emperors took up their head-quarters at that village. The head-quarters of general Kutusoff were at Kresnowitz; and there the general officers were assembled, at one o'clock on the morning of the 2nd, to hear the plan of the battle of the next day read over and explained to them.

The French army bivouacked on the field of battle. Before they were dismissed for the day, a proclamation from Bonaparte was read to them, in which victory was confidently anticipated. During the night he visited the bivouacs; and, as soon as he was discerned by the men, they made torches from the straw on which they were to sleep, and lighted him through the cantonment—many, at the close of his inspection, making the combustibles around them into bonfires, to inaugurate the anniversary

of his coronation. Those who did, after all, sink into repose, were aroused, some hours before daybreak, by the discharge of cannon. As early as four o'clock the emperor was on horseback; and then the murmur of an advancing host was heard from the Russian camp. These men had been on the move for two hours; and, not long after, a brisk firing was heard. The Austrians had presented themselves before the village of Telnitz—the last post occupied on the right of the French line; and had attacked it with infantry and artillery. The “grand army” was soon up, and formed; the different corps marched from the positions occupied during the night, to the rivulet already mentioned, which separated them from the Russians; and there, enveloped in a fog, they remained, till they received the order to attack.

The plan of the allies was, to turn the right flank of the French, cut them off from Vienna, and throw them back upon the Bohemian mountains. They were divided into five columns: the first, under general Doctoroff; the second under general Langeron, a French emigrant; general Prybyszewski was at the head of the third; count Milaradovitch at that of the fourth; and prince Lichtenstein conducted the fifth. These columns formed two wings and a main body; the right wing being commanded by prince Bagrathion; the left, by general Buxhowden; the main body by Kutusoff. They occupied the fir-covered heights that commanded the French position; and the grand-duke Constantine, with the reserve, was posted on the high ground in front of Austerlitz. This position was impregnable; but the Russian commanders had an idea that Napoleon had not more than 40,000 men with him; they therefore considered their task easy, and resolved not to wait to be attacked, but to become the assailants. In pursuance of this resolution, the left wing descended from the heights to outflank the French, and prevent their escape. Their first attack was on the village of Telnitz, which, with the other four, was occupied by the French; and all were the scene of severe encounters in the early part of the day. Whilst the left wing was engaged in this direction, and making its way towards the rear of the French, Napoleon was gradually edging his men between that wing and the main body; and the latter was preparing to descend the heights, to follow and support general Buxhowden. When this body was fairly in motion, at a signal previously agreed upon, Lannes, Bernadotte, Vandamme, Tiebault, and St. Hilaire, each at the head of a column of infantry, dashed upon the enemy. One part of the force was directed upon the left wing; and the other rushed up the heights, and drove the Austrians and Russians before them, into the low grounds. Kutusoff sent for the reserve under the archduke Constantine;

which advanced to the heights of Pratzen, in order that the main body might rally behind it. The imperial guard was joined by that general and the emperor Alexander; when, before they were aware of the vicinity of an enemy, they were charged by a body of French light infantry, supported by the cavalry, and thrown into great confusion. Rallied by the emperor and Kutusoff, the guards made a desperate charge on the French, drove them back, broke through several squares formed to oppose them, and were sabring the men right and left. At that moment, general Rapp, who had been dispatched to the spot by Napoleon, at the head of the grenadiers of the imperial guard, came up, and changed the fortune of the day, which, in that part of the field, was decidedly against the French. In their turn, the Russian guard was broken and dispersed; prince Repnin, who commanded one of its regiments, was made prisoner; and the swiftness of his horse alone saved the archduke Constantine from the same fate. The defeat was complete; and the two emperors witnessed it from the heights of Austerlitz, where the emperor of Russia had joined Francis, after he had assisted Kutusoff in rallying the reserve.

The main body of the allies did not submit tamely, when they found they were out-generalled, to see the heights they had left occupied by the enemy. Several times was the attempt made to retake them, but in vain; and, at the time the Russian imperial guard was broken up and dispersed, the main body was driven back a mile from the field of battle. Then the left wing was attacked in rear by Soult, in front by Davoust. One division, 6,000 strong, was quickly broken up, and nearly half the men were made prisoners. Langeron's division shared the same fate: Langeron himself joined Buxhowden, and they succeeded in rallying what was left of this wing—the remains of the various corps constituting about 14,000 men. They debouched, with a view to gain a road between the ponds and the heights, which might have enabled them to come up with the relics of the main body. They were, however, met by the French, flushed with victory, who made a vigorous attack upon the retreating mass, and separated it into two bodies—one under Buxhowden, of only a few battalions, which appears to have got off; the other, comprising twenty-eight battalions, was assailed on all sides: not fewer than 7,000 men are said to have been taken and destroyed on the spot; and the remainder, upwards of 2,000, rushed forward to cross a frozen lake or morass, which soon began to yield to their pressure. But, whilst the ice was cracking around them, shells, thrown from the French batteries, directed by Napoleon himself, fell amongst the fugitives, and exploded. An awful shriek was heard, piercing the ears of all who were within reach

of its sound. It proceeded from those unfortunate men who were engulfed by the immediate bursting of the ice! The right wing was equally brave, and equally unfortunate with the left and centre. For five hours they defended the heights they occupied against the attacks of Lannes, Bernadotte, and Murat. At noon they began to give way; and, soon after, were collected in one column by prince Bagrathion, and commenced a retreat upon Austerlitz. This column was attacked by Suchet and Murat; all the baggage captured, numbers slain, and only a remnant reached the village, where thousands of the wounded and the flying had already taken refuge. The other survivors were in full retreat by the road to Hungary. The wounded were necessarily abandoned; but Kutusoff, in the hurry of flight, left written papers, in French, in various places, imploring compassion for his unfortunate countrymen. The same evening after the battle, the wounded French received all the attention it was possible to bestow upon them; and it is due to the conquerors to say, that they did not neglect the conquered, but extended to them the same assistance which was given to their own men.

Thus ended the battle of Austerlitz, which has been termed "the most glorious of all the victories of Napoleon." The allies lost at least 30,000 men, in killed, wounded, or prisoners; 180 guns; 500 caissons, and 45 standards; and the fine army which, on the previous day, covered the heights of Austerlitz and Pratzen, was utterly disorganised. The French lost 12,000, killed and wounded; and their situation, notwithstanding the complete victory they had gained, was not one to inspire confidence. Though the first and second Russian armies, and the remains of Mack's army which had joined them, were completely *hors de combat*, a third corps had arrived in Silesia; the inhabitants of Bohemia and Hungary were rising *en masse*; the archdukes Charles and John, at the head of not less than 80,000 men, collected on their march, were advancing on Vienna, and had already summoned Mortier to surrender; there were Russians and Swedes in Hanover; the number of Prussians, Saxons, and Hessians in arms, was estimated at 160,000; and Napoleon, with his "grand army" reduced in numbers from the events of the campaign, was far from his magazines and his resources. These facts were, however, unknown to, or unheeded by, the vanquished; and the emperors, who had great difficulty in securing their own safety, bivouacked near a mill, about three leagues from Austerlitz. There a council was held of such general officers as could be collected; and the altered position of affairs from the previous day—the effect of the most signal defeat either Russians or Austrians had ever experienced—being considered, it was resolved, by a large

majority, that it was useless to prolong hostilities; and that prince Lichtenstein should proceed to the head-quarters of the French emperor, to propose an armistice, and to express the wish of the emperor Francis for a personal interview with the conqueror. The next day the two emperors went to Holitsch.

Napoleon refused to grant the armistice till after an interview with his brother-emperor, which he fixed to take place on the 4th. They met near the mill where the two emperors had passed the night of the 2nd; and they had a private interview, which lasted two hours. Thiers professes to give some particulars of what passed between them, but it is apocryphal. All that is really known is, that an armistice was agreed to, both for Austria and Russia; that the Russian troops were to be withdrawn from Germany by regulated marches; and that a separate peace was to be negotiated between Austria and France. At separating, according to Savary, "the parties appeared to be in excellent humour. They laughed," he says (notwithstanding the lives that had been sacrificed, the families that had been made wretched, and the property that had been wasted in their quarrels); "which seemed to us all to be a good omen." They parted with a mutual embrace; and, as they separated, Savary heard the emperor Napoleon say—"I agree to it; but your majesty must promise not to make war upon me again." To which the emperor of Austria replied—"No; I promise you I will not; and I will keep my word." So they separated. The emperor of Austria soon after returned to Holitsch, where Alexander remained while the interview between Francis and Napoleon took place. That sovereign having accepted the armistice, the troops were removed into winter quarters to wait the event.

Napoleon took up his head-quarters at Brunn, till the negotiations were fairly commenced. They were conducted by M. Talleyrand on the part of France; and prince Lichtenstein and general Giulay on the part of Austria. The terms which Napoleon authorised M. Talleyrand to propose to Austria were sufficiently humiliating, as no inconsiderable part of her territory was demanded. And, after he had communicated his instructions to Talleyrand, he proceeded to conclude three treaties, with Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, which were signed on the 10th, 12th, and 20th of December, by which part of that territory was disposed of before the emperor Francis had agreed to give it up. Napoleon gave to Baden—the Ortenau, and part of the Brisgau: to Würtemberg—the rest of the Brisgau, and part of Suabia: to Bavaria—the Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, the bishoprics of Eichstädt, Passau, and Augsburg; the city of Augsburg, and all Austrian Suabia. The title of king was offered to the three electors: the elector of Baden refused to take a dignity

he considered inconsistent with his state and his revenues; those of Würtemberg and Bavaria accepted it. As one condition of the liberality (with other people's property) which Napoleon evinced to Bavaria, the hand of the young princess of Bavaria, though engaged to the heir of Baden, was claimed for Eugene Beauharnais. The court of Baden was induced to forego the fulfilment of the engagement on the part of the elector of Bavaria; and the marriage of Augusta and Eugene, much to the dissatisfaction of the electress, who disliked the French alliance, was finally arranged.

Napoleon, having seen that all care was taken of his wounded, and given the necessary directions respecting his army, left Brunn for Vienna, leaving Talleyrand to carry on the negotiations with the Austrian plenipotentiaries. He wanted to see M. Haugwitz, who had presented himself at his head-quarters just before the battle of Austerlitz, to propose that mediation which Prussia had undertaken to offer by the treaty of Potsdam. He then advised the Prussian minister to go to the Austrian capital, to confer with Talleyrand, and there he remained. It was the 13th of December, when Napoleon arrived at Vienna. He took up his residence at Schönbrunn, and sent, the same evening, for M. Haugwitz; to whom, after some conversation, he made certain propositions, to which that minister assented, opposed as they were to the treaty of Potsdam. The next day they were incorporated in a treaty, which was signed on the 15th. By this treaty, France considering Hanover her own by conquest, assigned it to Prussia, as its "protector;" that power, in return, ceded Anspach to Bavaria; Neufchâtel and the duchy of Cleves to France. The two powers mutually guaranteed each other's possessions from all attack. This treaty was never ratified. As soon as it was made known in Prussia, it became unpopular with all classes; for honourable men were sorry to see their sovereign availing himself of circumstances to secure the territory of a friendly power; the merchants dreaded the reprisals of England on Prussian commerce; the Prussians generally regretted the intimate alliance contracted with a sovereign who had just triumphed over the German armies; and the king, though he dreaded war with France, hesitated at thus putting himself in antagonism to England. Negotiations were, however, resumed at Paris, where M. Haugwitz repaired after Napoleon had returned to that capital; and they ended in a second treaty being drawn up, more explicit and stringent than the first. By the second document, which was signed on the 15th of February, 1806, and ratified on the 24th, Hanover was to be held and occupied by Prussia "in right of sovereignty;" and that power agreed to close the Weser and the Elbe against the English. When

the terms of the treaty were promulgated, England declared war against Prussia, and ordered all vessels under the Prussian flag to be seized.

The negotiations with Austria were concluded before the year closed. Napoleon demanded that his late enemy should cede the Tyrol, Suabia, the Vorarlberg, and all she held in Italy; and great opposition was made to these demands, though the emperor Francis was willing to concede part of what was asked, provided Hanover—the property of a friend and ally—was given to an archduke. Thus Austrian morality was shown to be about on a par with that of Prussia. When the first treaty was signed with the latter power, Napoleon became more importunate, Austria more yielding; and at length, on the 26th of December, a treaty was signed at Presburg (the negotiations having been removed to that city), by which Austria agreed to cede Venice and Venetia to the kingdom of Italy. Dalmatia and Albania, the principality of Eichstadt, part of the archbishopric of Passau, the city of Augsburg, the Tyrol, Austrian Suabia, the Brisgau, and the Ortenau, were also given up; and the emperor engaged "not to throw any obstacles in the way, either as chief of the empire, or as co-sovereign of any acts which, in their character as sovereigns, the elector of Baden, and the kings of Würtemberg and Bavaria, might think proper to adopt." The treaty guaranteed the independence of the Helvetic confederacy and Batavian republic. By secret articles, Austria was bound, besides her cessions of territory, to pay to France a contribution of 40,000,000 francs; whilst she gave up all the military stores, &c., which had fallen into the hands of France, reserving to herself the right of repurchasing what she pleased of them; a right of which she availed herself to a large extent.—The same day that this treaty was signed, Napoleon issued a proclamation seriously affecting the kingdom of Naples. The king, subsequent to the treaty entered into with France, which led to the withdrawal of St. Cyr to support Masséna, had concluded an alliance with Russia and England, and permitted their ships to enter his ports, and Russian and English troops to occupy his capital. This act of bad faith would have justified a declaration of war, but certainly not the unprecedented step the emperor took; which was to declare, by the proclamation alluded to, that, having pardoned the infatuated king three times, he would not pardon him a fourth; and "that the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign—its existence being incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of his [Napoleon's] crown." He made his brother Joseph king of Naples, whose accession to the throne we shall notice in the next chapter.

Napoleon left Vienna for Munich on the 29th of December. There he witnessed the

wedding of Eugene Beauharnais and the princess Augusta; on which occasion, he declared Eugene to be his adopted son; and, should he die childless, the future king of Italy. The emperor had joined him at Munich, to be present at the marriage; and shortly after the ceremony was performed they set out for Paris, where they arrived on the 26th of January, 1806.

CHAPTER VIII.

FRANCE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1806; AFFAIRS OF NAPLES; NAPOLEON'S CREATION OF KINGS AND DUKES; SESSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY; CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE; RUPTURE WITH RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA; BATTLE OF MAIDA; NAVAL EVENTS OF THE YEAR; INSURRECTION IN NAPLES; WAR WITH PRUSSIA; BATTLES OF AUERSTADT AND JENA; BERLIN DECREE; WAR WITH RUSSIA; BATTLE OF PULTUSK; NAPOLEON AT WARSAW.

ON the 1st of January, 1806, another step was made towards a return to the old order of things, and the abolition of those innovations introduced by revolution. The public had long abandoned the marking time by *décades*; but the custom still existed in all the official departments. The new year was inaugurated by the appearance of a decree entirely abolishing the republican calendar, and re-establishing the common one, and the Gregorian style. About the same time, the Pantheon was restored to its original destination, of a Christian church; and the services and ancient ordinances at the royal cemetery of St. Denis, were revived. These changes gave great satisfaction; and there was, throughout the country, a much more joyous feeling than at the opening of 1805. The merchants and traders anticipated a revival of trade and commerce from the return of peace; the masses looked for more employment and better times; and all classes, with the natural pride of Frenchmen, were elated at recent events, which had humbled three great powers—Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and placed France, for the time, in the foremost rank of the continental states. This feeling was especially displayed at Paris on the 15th of January, when the colours and trophies taken in the late campaigns, were borne triumphantly through the streets of that capital, to be placed in the halls of the legislative bodies, the church of Notre-Dame, and other places. The windows of all the houses, and the streets, were crowded; and even Cambacérès, cool and unimpassioned as he is said to have been, was carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment; and he tells us, that “the joy of the people resembled intoxication.”

In the midst of the triumphs of France, and the consequent joy of the people, the government found itself called upon to struggle with the financial crisis, which had by no means passed away. It brought Napoleon back to Paris sooner than he was expected, and before the preparations making for his reception by the

Parisians were completed. He arrived in the night of the 26th of January, and immediately sent for the minister of the treasury, M. de Marbois, with whom he remained in consultation all the night. The next day, the council of finance assembled, and M. Marbois was dismissed; being replaced by M. Molliou, director of the sinking-fund. The financial embarrassments were ascribed to the dismissed minister, and to his transactions with the company of United Merchants, who appeared to be indebted to the state 141,000,000 francs. They had to surrender everything they possessed to the government; and to put the French treasury in their own place with respect to Spain—by an agreement with whom, M. Ouvrard received all the bullion from the Mexican mines. For immediate demands, fifty millions of the war contributions were on their way to Paris, partly in gold and silver, partly in bills of exchange on the Hanse Towns. This sum restored credit; and the capitalists, who had required eighteen per cent. from the United Merchants to discount their bills, soon reduced their rate to the treasury to three-quarters, and half per cent. The emperor ordered that, from that time forth, the strictest regularity should be observed in the financial department; and that the expenditure should not be suffered to exceed the revenue, even if new taxes were imposed. Economy was indeed necessary; for it was the vicious system the extravagance of the imperial government had imposed upon the treasury, that had been the main cause of the crisis. To relieve the treasury to some extent, Napoleon introduced the system of only sending half their pay to the French troops which still remained in Germany and other countries; and he required those countries to supply them with food. “If the provisions had been paid for,” naïvely remarks M. Thiers, “the presence of our troops, instead of becoming a burden, would have been an advantage.” But they *were not paid for*; and the inhabitants of the countries they occupied, feeling the grinding oppression,



Engraved by J. H. Walker.

Designed by T. Allom.

Lady Chapel, Abbey Church, W. Dorset.

soon became very hostilely disposed towards France.*

The financial arrangements concluded for the time, Napoleon proceeded to carry out those plans of self and family aggrandisement which, though not suggested by his recent successes and the humiliation to which he had subjected the northern powers, were undoubtedly strengthened by those events. He planned kingdoms and principalities for the members of his family; honours and rewards for his officers; and, for himself, he desired the title of "emperor of the west," which had been extinct for a thousand years. The first step taken was to establish Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Naples. To carry out the proclamation of the 26th of December—alone sufficient to have justified a coalition of all the European powers against Napoleon—Joseph, as lieutenant-general of Naples, had been sent to join Masséna, with the nominal title of commander-in-chief of the army of Italy—the duties of that office being executed by the marshal. Masséna was at the head of 41,000 men; and, on the 8th of February, this force entered Naples in three columns, under Regnier, Masséna, and St. Cyr, at Gaëta, Capri, and Itri. The Russian and English forces immediately withdrew—the former to Corfu, and the latter to Sicily, where king Ferdinand also retired; and, as far as he was *personally* concerned, Naples might rejoice at being free from the infliction of his sovereignty. The queen, Caroline, endeavoured to inspire the troops and people with a spirit of resistance; but she was not seconded by the nobles, amongst whom she was unpopular; and her majesty, whom Sir H. Banbury describes as a "bold, bad woman, profligate and cruel," was also obliged to take refuge in Sicily. On the 15th of February, Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples, and assumed the sovereignty, though not with the title of king. The continental portion of the kingdom, with the exception of Gaëta, which the prince of Hesse-Philpsthall held, at the head of 8,000 men, was, in that short space of time, subdued; and another Bourbon dynasty was supposed to be at an end.

When Joseph Bonaparte went to Naples, Eugene Beauharnais was sent to take possession of Venice and the Venetian states. The administration of those provinces was placed in his hands, and, for a time, was kept separate from that of the kingdom of Italy. General Molitor, at the same time, entered Dalmatia, and advanced to Zara, the capital; general Marmont being ready to aid him if any opposition was made to the surrender of the territory, in con-

formity with the treaty of Presburg. No difficulty occurred, except at the forts at the mouth of the Cattaro, which were given up to the Russians; the Austrian officer in command, and the Austrian commissioners who were sent to deliver them to the French, asserting that they were constrained by a superior force. It is stated, that Siniavin, the Russian admiral, who took possession of the forts, did so without orders; but it would appear, that Russian agents had instigated the inhabitants of the town of Cattaro—Montenegrins, of the Greek church—to rise in a tumultuous manner, and protest against being put under the sovereignty of France. As a Russian force had obtained possession of the forts, the emperor Alexander evinced no disposition to give them up again; and Napoleon, in retaliation, ordered Berthier to retain possession of the fortress of Brenau; countermanded the march of the French troops from the Rhine; and sent a corps, under Lauriston, to take possession of Ragusa, which, though a part of Dalmatia, had never been subject to Austria, having maintained its independence, as a republic, from the seventh century, under the successive protection of the Greeks, Venetians, and Turks. The emperor of Austria complained of the occupation of Cattaro by the Russians; fearing the vengeance of France. To allay his apprehensions, Alexander sent M. d'Oubril, who had, before the late war, resided for some time at Paris as *chargé d'affaires*, to the French capital, to endeavour to effect a general settlement of the questions which again divided the two empires. He was instructed to obtain something, no matter what, for Russia's *protégés*—the kings of Naples and Piedmont; "to delay, as long as possible, the restitution of the mouths of the Cattaro; to give them up, nevertheless, if there were no other means of preventing hostilities against Austria; and to endeavour, above all, to re-establish an honourable peace between Russia and France." At the same time, negotiations were going on between France and England. The death of Mr. Pitt, on the 23rd of January, 1806, had led to the accession of Mr. Fox to power. He was personally known to, and respected by, Napoleon; and the offer of a scoundrel, soon after he had taken office, to assassinate the French emperor, led to a communication to M. Talleyrand, which caused a diplomatic intercourse to be opened, extending over several months. Though it was abortive as to its object—restoring peace—it had one good effect. The English government sent home many French officers, who were prisoners of war; and Napoleon liberated the English families whom he had detained in France at the commencement of hostilities.

Napoleon seized the period of comparative quiet allowed him, while the negotiations with Russia and England were in progress, to carry

* The budget presented for 1806, gave an estimated expenditure of 666,000,000 francs: a revenue of 588,000,000 francs, with contributions from Italy of 30,000,000, and from Germany of 100,000,000 francs, constituted the income of the year.

out more of those projects for the aggrandisement of himself and friends, to which we have already alluded. His first creation was that of Murat, the husband of his sister Caroline; who, by a decree of the 15th of March, was declared grand-duke of Cleves and Berg. On the 30th of March, Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily, the island being yet to be conquered. As lieutenant-general of Naples, Joseph had commenced his administration in a spirit which demanded admiration, although it could not cause Europe to forget the means by which he attained power. He planned and commenced several great public works, including canals and roads; and seemed never tired of acts of mercy and beneficence. An insurrection had broken out in Calabria, but it was speedily suppressed by general Regnier; and when, on the 13th of April, he received his brother's decree, raising him to the royal dignity, his authority was acknowledged throughout the kingdom, Gaëta alone continuing to oppose resistance to the French force. By accepting the crown of Naples, it was understood that Joseph did not forfeit his right to the throne of France, should Napoleon die without heirs; but it was provided that the two crowns should never be united on one head.

Another decree, also, issued on the 30th of March, annexed the Venetian states to the kingdom of Italy; and provided, that the capital of the peninsula, Rome, should confer a title on the eldest son of the sovereign. At the same time, the emperor made his eldest sister, Pauline Borghese (she having married again, after the death of her first husband, general Le Clerc), duchess of Guastalla; and Berthier was created prince of Neufchâtel. The emperor also resolved to convert the Batavian republic into a monarchy. There, as in Italy, a simulated assent of the authorities and people was obtained through French agency; and, on the 6th of June, decrees appeared, creating his brother Louis king of Holland; M. de Talleyrand, prince of Benevento; and Bernadotte, prince of Pontecorvo. Both the principalities had been taken from the domains of the pope, on the pretence that they belonged to the kingdom of Naples. By other decrees, Massa and Carrara were added to Parma and Placenza: Cambacérès was declared duke of the former provinces; and Lebrun, duke of the latter; Savary, duke of Rovigo; Junot, duke of Abrantes; and Lannes, duke of Montebello. These titles conferred no power; the provinces from which they were derived were made grand fiefs of the empire, and one-fifteenth of their revenues was assigned to the newly-created nobles. These family and personal arrangements were concluded by the marriage of mademoiselle Stephanie Beauharnais, niece of the empress, to the hereditary prince of Baden.

On the 2nd of March, the session of the legislative body had been opened, and it passed the measures laid before it without discussion: the tribunate was equally dumb. Some of those measures were attended with very beneficial results. One of them was the establishment of the *conseils des prud'hommes*, for the purpose of adjusting disputes between workmen and their employers. These councils, consisting of three masters and three workmen, elected by the aggregate bodies of each, and a president, were to arbitrate between the two, and get them to come to an amicable agreement, if possible. If they failed, then, in matters where a sum of sixty francs was sufficient for fine or damage, they decided summarily, and without appeal. A Code de Procedure was also appended to the Code Napoleon; and an institution, under the name of the Imperial University, was ordered to be organised, for the purpose of superintending the system of instruction and education throughout the empire. In this session, with a view of making the revenue more equal to the expenditure, the tax on salt, abolished a few years previous, was renewed; a heavy duty was laid on cotton yarn; and the emperor announced his financial policy to be, "to introduce a great number of indirect taxes, susceptible of augmentation, when the public necessities called for their increase." At the same time, to encourage French, and injure British manufactures, the importation of muslin, and all cotton manufactures, was prohibited.

The emperor's intimate connection with Germany was, whilst he was attending to the various matters we have thus briefly enumerated, quietly tending to bring about a change in the constitution of that country, which was humiliating to Austria and Prussia, whilst it showered additional honours on the head of the emperor of the French. The kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and the elector of Baden, Napoleon's especial friends and allies, were the most active agents in producing this change. They were joined by the elector of Mayence, the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt; the princes of Nassau-Usingen, Nassau-Weilburg, Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Salm-Salm, Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburg, Birstein, and Lichtenstein; the duke of Neuenburg, and the count of Meyen. On the 12th of July, the plenipotentiaries of these members of the Germanic empire, signed, at Paris, a treaty, by which they agreed to separate from the other members of the Germanic body, and to form a new confederacy, called the Confederation of the Rhine. The object of this federative alliance—the idea of which originated with Napoleon—was stated to be, in the act of federation, "the maintenance of internal and external peace," by an alliance between each other, and of all with France; the obligation of that alliance to be mutual

assistance, for defence, if any one of the states was attacked. The common interests of the federal states were to be discussed in a diet, to assemble at Frankfort. This diet was to be composed of two colleges—a college of kings and a college of princes; the kings and grand-dukes taking their seats in the first; the princes in the second. The federal army was to consist of 263,000 men—France furnishing 200,000, the states the rest; and Napoleon added to his titles of emperor of the French and king of Italy, that of protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. This treaty was not promulgated till the 1st of August, when the federate princes announced to the diet sitting at Ratisbon, their separation from the Germanic empire. Five days after, on the 6th of August, the emperor Francis renounced the title of emperor of Germany, assuming that of emperor of Austria. At the same time he released all the members of the Germanic confederation from those obligations which, as the head of the empire, they owed to him.

This change was not popular amongst the people of Germany. They considered the protectorate of France a violation of their national independence; and the entire proceeding was severely reprobated through the press. Numerous pamphlets were published upon the subject; and Napoleon, much exasperated—as he said they were written to rouse the Germans to hostilities against the French, and excite the French soldiers to insubordination to his authority—ordered Berthier, who was in command of the troops stationed in Germany, to suppress these manifestations of public opinion. Several booksellers were arrested, and sent before courts-martial; though the offence, if it were one, should have been tried before a civil tribunal. One of these pamphlets, written by M. Gentz, was published by Julius Joseph Palm, a citizen and bookseller of Nuremberg. It was entitled, *Germany in her deepest Humiliation*; and, the author condemning the Confederation of the Rhine, and the alliance with France, which he considered humiliating and degrading—strongly urged his countrymen to throw off the yoke that was imposed upon them; but reminded them that they must not look to either England or Russia for deliverance, but rely upon themselves. For publishing this pamphlet Palm was arrested, though Nuremberg was a free city, and he was not a subject of Bonaparte, or of the confederation. Shortly after, he was removed to Brennau, where he was tried before a court-martial, found guilty of the offence Napoleon laid to his charge, and condemned to be shot. The sentence was carried into execution on the 25th of August. This was an act entirely indefensible; it was everywhere denounced as one of the greatest tyranny; and subscriptions were opened throughout Germany, and in England, for the widow

and children of the murdered man, for whom the greatest sympathy was expressed.

The negotiations between M. Talleyrand and M. d'Oubril, on the part of France and Russia, ended in the signing of a treaty at Paris, on the 20th of July. In agreeing to the terms, which Talleyrand dictated, there is no doubt but that M. d'Oubril was deceived by that wily negotiator. Lord Yarmouth was, at the same time, carrying on negotiations at Paris, on the part of England; and the Russian *chargé d'affaires* was induced to believe, not only that a separate peace with that power had been agreed to; but that, if hostilities were resumed, no terms whatever would be held with Austria, who was, just then, quite unable to contend against her recent conqueror. These representations induced M. d'Oubril to agree to a treaty which made Russia break faith with England, besides being otherwise humiliating to herself. The news of the alliance thus concluded was very ill received at St. Petersburg; and, before Alexander had signed the ratification, the news of what had transpired at the diet of Ratisbon, on the 1st of August, was received. If the emperor had hesitated before, he now became decided, and the treaty was rejected, on the ground that M. d'Oubril had exceeded his instructions. This rejection did not produce an immediate interruption of that pacific intercourse between the two countries, the result of the armistice, which preceded the treaty of Presburg—France being just then occupied with fresh differences with Prussia.

Many causes contributed to make the king of Prussia at last withdraw from the truly humiliating position in which French diplomacy had placed him. The Confederation of the Rhine was one of these causes. It was alike obnoxious to Austria and to Prussia, though the emperor of the former yielded, for the time, to a power he could not resist. But to Francis the confederation produced little beyond a loss of dignity; to Frederick William it was full of danger, as, in case of war with France, it brought an enemy close to his frontiers. Then Murat, who was declared, by the 24th article of the treaty of confederation, to be the head of all the German territories formerly belonging to the house of Orange, claimed domains which Napoleon himself had awarded to Prussia as a compensation for its cessions in Franconia; and great indignities were offered to the prince of Latour and Taxis, brother-in-law to the queen. It was also discovered, that M. Talleyrand, in the negotiations with England, had offered to restore Hanover to the king of that country; Prussia being told to seek for an indemnity in Pomerania; whilst, in the treaty signed with M. d'Oubril, France had agreed to guarantee all his possessions to the king of Sweden; and it had been suggested to Russia, in the course of the

negotiations, that Poland should be re-established as a kingdom, including the part united to Prussia, with the grand-duke Constantine as king. These proofs of bad faith and duplicity were too much for even M. Haugwitz to contend against; and the rest of the cabinet, with the nobles and the people, were equally eager that the honour of Prussia should be maintained. On the 9th of August, therefore, the king issued orders for his army to be put on a war footing; he opened the navigation of the Elbe and the Weser; came to a friendly understanding with Sweden, and sent M. Krusemark to St. Petersburg, and M. Jacobi to London, to endeavour to bring about a similar result with Russia and England.

The negotiations between France and England were continued for some time longer; lord Lauderdale succeeding lord Yarmouth as plenipotentiary. They failed; Napoleon demanding that Sicily should be given up to his brother Joseph; and England insisting, as a *sine qua non*, that it should be an appanage for the late king of Naples. Russia has been blamed for occupying the mouths of the Cattaro; and England for refusing to give up Sicily—thus causing another war. But, as Sir A. Alison remarks, following M. Bignon, who had taken the same view of the question, “it was not merely as an appanage of the crown of Naples that Napoleon so obstinately insisted on Sicily for his brother; it was as the greatest island in the Mediterranean, as opening the way to the command of that inland sea, and clearing the route to Egypt and the Indies, that it became a paramount object of desire.” Nor was it “an obscure harbour on the coasts of the Adriatic which brought the colossal empires of Russia and France into collision—it was a settlement on the coast of Turkey—it was the establishment of a French military station within sight of the Crescent, which was the secret matter of ambition to one party, and of jealousy to the other.” Sicily and Cattaro were only ostensible causes of difference: “the negotiations broke off upon those eternal subjects of contention between England, France, and Russia—the empire of the seas, and the dominion of continental Europe.”—The rupture of the negotiations with England was followed by the death of Mr. Fox, who expired of dropsy on the 13th of September.

While Napoleon was striving to gain Sicily, ostensibly for his brother Joseph, really for his own purposes—the latter had to fight for his continental dominions. The rightful, though unworthy, sovereign being established in Sicily, and no other object of attack presenting itself to the British arms, the government instructed their military and naval commanders to make descents on Naples, with a view to ascertain whether the people were inclined to rise and join them in an attempt to drive out the usurper, and reinstate Ferdinand. At the end of June, Sir Sidney

Smith took possession of the island of Capri; and an expedition sailed from Palermo, under Sir John Stuart, which landed, on the 30th, in the gulf of St. Euphemia, on the west coast of Calabria. Sir John, who had not 5,000 men under his command, immediately on landing, issued a proclamation, calling upon the Calabrians to rally round the standard of their rightful sovereign, and to expel the intruder. There was no response—or next to none; and the English would have re-embarked, and returned to Palermo, if they had not heard that Regnier, with a French force, was encamped at Maida, a small town of Calabria Ultra, about five miles from the coast. Sir John Stuart did not like the idea of retiring in face of a hostile force, and he resolved to advance, and attack the French in their encampment. On the 5th of July, the outposts of the two armies were in front of each other. Regnier, with a force of 5,000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and a battery of horse artillery, had encamped on a range of wooded heights, offering many difficulties to an assailant. He had been reinforced during the night; and his army, on the 5th, consisted of 7,500 men. The British bivouacked, on the night of the 4th, in a marshy, unhealthy plain, on the banks of the Amato, which divided them from the enemy; and the next morning, confident in the superiority of his numbers, the French general resolved to “attack the presumptuous islanders, and drive them into the sea.” However, he found those islanders were not so easily beaten. The attack was gallantly made; and, after a few volleys had been discharged, the French left wing rushed upon the British right, with their bayonets levelled to the charge. Instead of retiring, however, the British—chiefly light companies of the different regiments engaged—as soon as they saw the movements of the French, levelled their muskets, and dashed forward. The bayonets of the two armies crossed; and then French enthusiasm gave way before British nerve. Their battalions broke and fled, pursued by the “islanders;” and of that wing, 700 were killed, and 1,000 made prisoners. The British centre, under brigadier-general Auckland, was equally successful against that of the French. The cavalry of the latter then endeavoured to turn the British left; and, for a very short time, this movement appeared to be more successful than those of the left and centre. But the 28th regiment had landed that morning, and came up as the cavalry were making their charge. They immediately sent a volley into the French ranks, which so disconcerted them, that they turned and fled; and the remains of the army recrossed the Amato with little more than one-third of the number which had set out in the morning, assured of victory. Sir John Stuart, in his despatch, gives the loss of the British at 44 killed, and 284 wounded. The loss of the French was much greater.

This victory was most important, as proving that there was at least one nation whose soldiers could cope with the French in the field; and Napoleon received the news of the defeat with an anguish which he in vain endeavoured to conceal. It also arrested an intended expedition to Sicily; all the stores, ammunition, and artillery, collected for a descent on that island, falling into the hands of the victors. Its effects in Calabria seemed at first likely to be fatal to the authority of king Joseph. Regnier, and the remains of his force, retreated to the north; the people of the south rose almost *en masse* against the French; and the British took possession of all the towns and forts on the coast. The aspect of things, however, soon changed. The British had no troops near to reinforce Sir John Stuart; whilst Masséna was liberated from his long siege of Gaëta, by the surrender of that fortress on the 18th of July—a few days after the prince of Hesse-Philipsthal had been mortally wounded, and removed to Sicily. The French marshal had 18,000 men under his orders; and he advanced directly into Calabria. The British force was not equal to one-fourth of the enemy, when Masséna's army, and the remains of Regnier's, had united. It therefore retreated slowly to the straits of Messina, and re-embarked for Sicily on the 15th of September. The French advance was bravely resisted, but they were everywhere triumphant; and great cruelties were committed on both sides—for which the peasantry set the example by massacring a number of French soldiers, chiefly wounded, at Crotona; when general Stuart in vain attempted to repress their ferocity. The French ultimately re-established their authority; but with the total loss of near 15,000 men: and an amnesty, published by the humane Joseph, put an end to the contest.

The English have been blamed for sending an army to Calabria, and thus causing the peasantry to rise in insurrection, when they had not a sufficient force to support them against the French troops. It was an injudicious step; and, though ignorant of it at the time, they were playing the game of Napoleon, in taking it. Writing to Joseph on the 17th of August, he said—"I should like very much to see a revolt of the Neapolitan populace. You will never be their master till you have made an example of them. All conquered people have need of a revolt. I should regard one at Naples in the same way as the father of a family sees the small-pox among his children: the crisis is salutary, provided it do not too much weaken their constitutions." In previous letters, the emperor had blamed the lenity of his brother, and recommended more severity. Writing to him, after the suppression of the insurrection in Calabria, Joseph told him, that there were more victims "in that province than he [Napoleon]

could desire; but that it was inevitable; and he had no compassion for the sufferers."

Before we notice those important events in Germany and Poland with which the year closed, a brief *résumé* of the naval events of 1806 will not be out of place. They were unfortunate to France. After the destruction of the combined Toulon and Cadiz fleets, Napoleon determined to employ the Rochefort and Brest squadrons, if they could get out of port, in attacks upon the remote and ill-defended British colonies, and in attempts to drive the British merchantmen from the seas. On the 13th of December, 1805, when the blockading squadron was blown off the coast by contrary winds, eleven line-of-battle ships and four frigates, victualled for six months, got out of Brest harbour; and, dividing into two squadrons—one of five ships and two frigates, under admiral Leissegues, and the other of six ships and two frigates, under admiral Villamez—the former proceeded, with troops and stores, to St. Domingo; the latter to the Cape of Good Hope. Leissegues succeeded in disembarking his men and provisions at St. Domingo; but, on his return, he was encountered, on the 6th of February, by admiral Duckworth, who had been sent from the Cadiz blockading squadron, with seven ships of the line and four frigates, in pursuit of the French. This time, the superiority of force was greatly on the side of the English. The French fought most bravely; but three ships were taken, two driven on shore and burnt, and the frigates escaped. Admiral Villamez had little better fortune. When he arrived off the Cape, he found that that Dutch colony had been captured by the British; and he directed his course to Brazil, hoping to fall-in with British merchant vessels in that direction. For some time this squadron eluded the pursuit of three British divisions, under admirals Warren, Strachan, and Louis; but, ultimately, Jerome Bonaparte, in the *Veteran*, left for Europe. On his way, he took a valuable English vessel, which he was afterwards obliged to abandon; and, to avoid some British cruisers, he had to run his vessel on shore in the Bay of Biscay. The guns and crew were landed; but the vessel was lost. The *Cassard* succeeded in getting to Brest about the middle of October; but the other vessels of this squadron were all destroyed by the English. Such was the end of the Brest squadron.—That from Rochefort, under admiral Lallemande, eluded the blockading fleet, got to sea, and was so fortunate in escaping from the British, who thought, repeatedly, they were on its track, that the sailors gave it the name of the "invisible squadron." In the course of its cruise, this squadron took several merchant vessels, and the *Calcutta*, 50-gun frigate, which maintained a most unequal fight, for some time, with four of Lallemande's line-of-battle ships; and all the vessels reached

Rochefort again in safety, to the great joy of the French.—There was one other French squadron—that of admiral Linois, in the Indian Ocean; which, after having inflicted much damage on English commerce, was returning to Europe in March, when it fell-in with Sir J. B. Warren's fleet; and the *Marengo*, with admiral Linois on board, and the *Belle Poule* frigate, were taken.—The next day (the 14th), Sir Samuel Wood encountered five frigates, with troops on board, bound for the West Indies, and captured four of them.—The combined result of these events was, that the fleets of France and Spain were driven from the ocean; that the British flag floated triumphantly in every sea; and that Napoleon found himself obliged to adopt other measures for the destruction of British commerce, than those he had originally devised.

We will now return to the continent, where important events—all tending to the honour of the French arms, and, for the time, to the further aggrandisement of Napoleon—took place in the last months of the year.

Just after the king of Prussia had taken those steps we have previously mentioned, the refusal of the emperor of Russia to ratify the treaty of the 20th of July, and the failure of the negotiations with England, became known at Berlin. The spirits of the war-party were roused to the highest pitch by this intelligence; and throughout the kingdom the popular cry was raised in favour of hostilities with France. In August, M. Lucchesini, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, had sent off despatches anything but complimentary to the French government. Napoleon's system of espionage embraced the post-office; and these documents fell into his hands. Combined with the measures of the Prussian government, the tone assumed by the ambassador was sufficient to convince the French emperor that war could not be avoided. He demanded the recall of Lucchesini, who left Paris early in September; and, at the same time, he ordered the French troops to move from Brenau (which had not been evacuated), the Inn, and the Neckar, to the banks of the Elbe. The Prussian government—the war-spirit having been greatly instigated by the queen and the young prince Louis—had sent troops into the dominions of the electors of Saxony and of Hesse, in order to compel those princes to join the north of Germany against France. At the same time, M. Knobelsdorf was dispatched to Paris, at first with instructions to endeavour to prolong the negotiations, in order that Prussia might have time to complete her preparations. Napoleon, however, was not disposed to give the king, now his enemy, this advantage; and, on the 26th of September, he left Paris for the army, taking the road by Mayence and Würzburg to Bamberg. He had been gone

four days, and was very near the end of his journey, when, on the 1st of October, M. Knobelsdorf delivered to M. Talleyrand the Prussian *ultimatum*. The king demanded—1st. That the French troops should forthwith evacuate Germany. 2nd. That the emperor should give up the districts on the Weser, improperly attached to the French empire. 3rd. That neither the emperor nor the Confederation of the Rhine, should oppose any obstacles to the formation of a counter-confederation in Northern Germany. These conditions were all perfectly just; but it appears to have been the height of folly to demand them in the face of the large and fine army of Napoleon, flushed with victory, and eager to recommence hostilities; when Prussia had to stand alone, not having had time to secure the aid of England or Russia; and when Austria was unprepared to take any part in the war. No reply was given to this *ultimatum*; but the French troops continued to advance. Napoleon joined the army on the 6th of October; on the 7th, he dispatched a message to the senate, informing them of the near approach of another contest; and, on the 9th, Prussia issued a formal declaration of war. In this document, ample reason was shown, *why* Prussia should go to war; but, as most of the facts adduced belonged to the past, and few were of recent occurrence, the wonder was that the king did not commence hostilities earlier, when he might have done so with a better prospect of success, and would, in all probability, have averted the surrender of Ulm, and the catastrophe of Austerlitz.

The contest was short and decisive. The king of Prussia had placed the duke of Brunswick at the head of his armies, who was quite incompetent to cope with Bonaparte. The duke of Weimar commanded the left wing, which was chiefly composed of the forces of the elector of Saxony, who had, very unwillingly, joined Prussia at the last moment. The Prussian army had marched through Saxony; and was scattered from Erfurth and Eisenach to Weimar—magazines being established, in a north-east direction, from that town to Leipsic. The main army was stationed at Weimar; and Napoleon, instead of attacking this force, as most commanders so superior in physical strength would have done, determined to throw his army between the enemy's communications and their magazines, and thus cut off their retreat. Fighting commenced on the 10th of October, the day after the Prussian declaration of war was issued. The French had crossed the Oder and the Elbe, no attempt being made to dispute their passage; and debouched on Saalfeld. There the division of Suchet, attached to the corps of Lannes, encountered the advanced guard of the corps Hohenlohe, commanded by the young prince Louis of Prussia. There was a fierce, but a

brief encounter. The Prussians, outnumbered, were defeated; 1,000 were taken prisoners; and thirty pieces of cannon were also captured. The prince fought most gallantly, at the head of the corps; but at length he found himself hand-to-hand with a French hussar, who summoned him to surrender. A slash across the face with the prince's sabre was the reply; and his royal highness was instantly run through the body. Thus one of the most ardent instigators of the war, was one of its first victims.

The French continued to march by the valley of the Maine; the centre, consisting of the divisions of Bernadotte and Ney, being commanded by the emperor: the right wing was composed of the divisions of Soult and Davoust; the left, of those of Lannes and Lefebvre. The centre passed the Saale at Saalburg, and reached Schleitz, where the extreme left of the Prussian army was stationed, which was soon put to flight. Soult captured Hoff; and the right wing, with the cavalry, under Murat, advanced by the banks of the Elster. Thus the French cut off the Prussians from Germany, and isolated them in the positions which they had selected. Napoleon, with Ney's corps, then crossed the Saale at Jena, a town in Saxe-Weimar; the interval between Jena and Naumberg was occupied by the division of Bernadotte; and Davoust and Soult were posted between Naumberg and Doernberg, on the right bank of the Saale, near Auerstadt, a village of Saxony. The king of Prussia resolved to drive the enemy from these positions; and his majesty and the duke of Brunswick advanced, with the main body of the Prussian army, against Davoust; the Hohenlohe division, under the prince of Hohenlohe, being detached to Jena. When on the march, before these positions were taken up, Napoleon had sent a letter to the king of Prussia, offering him peace. Having expressed his readiness to cease hostilities, and again leave the differences between the two powers to be settled by negotiations, the emperor said—"If I were only beginning my military career, if I could fear the chance of battle, the language which I hold to your majesty would be altogether out of place. But your majesty will be conquered; and, without the shadow of a pretext, will have compromised the repose of your days, and the existence of your subjects." The French writers think that this letter was dispatched in perfect sincerity: it was the opinion of the Prussian authorities, that it was only meant to produce delay; and it was not answered.

The battles of Jena and Auerstadt were both fought on the 14th of October. Davoust had not more than 30,000 men; the king and the duke of Brunswick had 70,000. Bernadotte was to have supported Davoust; but he wanted to press, with his division, to the front—a movement which, he was told, would be highly im-

prudent, and expose the whole force to a danger of defeat. Unconvinced, this general refused to act, and stood aloof during the day. The French commenced the engagement early in the morning; and, though the Prussians had so greatly the advantage in numbers, they were defeated. The French had to rely entirely on their infantry and artillery. The Prussian army, on the contrary, was strong in cavalry, which, after the action commenced, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, prince William of Prussia, and general Blucher, made repeated charges on the French, who formed in squares to receive them, and constantly compelled the assailants to retire. At length, observing a favourable moment, Davoust gave the word—the French became the assailants; and, advancing at double-quick step, they succeeded in breaking through the centre of the enemy. Defeat then was certain. The duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded, and conveyed from the field. The next in command, general Schmettau and marshal Moellendorf, were also wounded; and then marshal Kalkreuth and general Blucher, with great heroism, endeavoured to rally the troops. It was in vain. They could not stand against the impetuosity of the French; and, after fighting fiercely for five hours, the king was obliged to withdraw the remains of that fine army with which he had taken the field in the morning. He retreated on Weimar; and he would not have reached that town, if Bernadotte had not retained the cavalry with his division.

The battle of Jena was equally fierce for the time, but it did not continue so long as that of Auerstadt. Lannes and Lefebvre supported Ney's division in this battle, which was at first admirably fought by the Prussians, whose cavalry, as at Auerstadt, made repeated charges on the squares of the French infantry. At length Lannes attacked the centre of the Prussian line, and compelled the enemy to change their front. The French had to do the same, and the action raged along the entire line. The issue, for a short time, was doubtful; but the arrival of Augereau, with several regiments from Mayence, decided it in favour of the French. Just as the fighting had commenced in the new position, this corps advanced by a fir-wood, in the rear of the Prussians, whom the new-comers immediately attacked. Thus assailed in front and rear, they wavered: Napoleon saw the movement, and ordered the imperial guard and the cavalry to charge. Just then, Murat's cavalry, inactive at Auerstadt, arrived in the field, and, rushing upon the Prussians, the rout was complete. The *débris* of this army also fled to Weimar; and the remains of the two defeated corps mingled in that town. In these two battles the Prussians lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, more than 45,000 men; and 160 pieces of cannon, with immense magazines of

ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the latter, in the two engagements, was about 12,000 men.

The French, on the 15th, advanced to Weimar, which they occupied, and partially sacked. The grand-duchess (who had removed her daughter and the mother of the duke) remained in the palace, which was respected by the French; and, in an interview with Napoleon, she nobly defended the cause of her husband, and vindicated that loyalty which had induced him to enter the field with the king of Prussia. Napoleon was struck with admiration at her heroic fortitude. "Here," said he to general Rapp, "is a woman, whom, with our 200 guns, we have not been able to make tremble." He expressed a very different opinion of the heroic queen of Prussia, who was, in every respect, as amiable and estimable a woman as the duchess of Weimar. Her unfortunate husband—who wanted her daring and independent spirit—had quitted Weimar upon the advance of the French, and retired behind the Oder. He then sent to demand an armistice, which Napoleon refused, and pushed on for Berlin, where he arrived on the 26th of October.

After the events of the 14th, a panic appears to have seized the Prussian army. On the 15th, Kalkreuth surrendered to Soult, with all his troops. On the 17th, Bernadotte defeated the prince Eugene of Würtemberg, whom he encountered at Halle, with 16,000 men of the reserve. On the 18th, Erfurth surrendered to Murat, with 14,000 men (among whom were marshal Moellendorf and the prince of Orange), 120 pieces of cannon, and numerous magazines. Spandau, a strongly-fortified town; Magdeburg, termed "the bulwark of the kingdom;" and Glogau, a town on the Oder, considered impregnable—all fell, one after the other, having sustained very short sieges; and, in other parts of Prussia, fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the French. On the 28th of October, prince Hohenlohe—who, in his retreat, had sustained repeated conflicts with the enemy, which reduced his army from near 50,000 to 20,000 men—found himself on the heights of Prentzlow, without provisions, forage, or ammunition, and was under the necessity of capitulating to Murat. The rear-guard retreated under Blücher, who effected a junction with the dukes of Weimar and Brunswick-Oels. This officer, afterwards so distinguished, fought his way through masses of the French; and when at last he reached Lübeck, his men made a desperate resistance. The French stormed the place on the 6th of November, and carried it, but not without immense loss. Blücher, 518 officers, and 20,000 men, were, however, obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The king, before the end of October, had reached Königsberg, and the queen arrived at Cüstrin: but the numerous and well-appointed

army was broken up, killed, wounded, or prisoners; and the Prussians were greatly discouraged and disheartened at the successes of their enemy.

At Berlin, Napoleon turned his attention to two objects—strengthening the Confederation of the Rhine, and humbling the power of Britain. The small states of Germany were compelled to join the confederation; and the elector of Saxony, whose troops, taken prisoners at Auerstadt, Napoleon liberated, agreed to return to his former policy of amicable relations with France. Very rigorous measures were taken with Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel, upon which states large contributions were levied. Prussia itself was divided into four departments, in which the native authorities—local, judiciary, and administrative—were maintained; but they were obliged to take an oath to perform their duties, especially with a view to preserve the alliance with France, and to hold no communication whatever with her enemies. A French corps occupied Hanover; and, on the 19th of November, Mortier took possession of Hamburg. As soon as he had established himself in the town, the French general ordered the inhabitants to give up all funds and merchandise belonging to the English. On the 21st of November, Napoleon issued that notorious document, known as the *Berlin decree*, by which he expected to annihilate British trade, and completely to isolate the British isles from the continent. This decree contained eight articles, of which the following is a correct abstract:—The 1st declared the British islands to be in a state of blockade.—The 2nd prohibited all intercourse with those islands, and ordered all packets or letters, addressed to England, or written in the English language, to be seized.—The 3rd declared every native of England, whatever his rank or condition, found in the countries occupied by French troops, or by those of their allies, to be prisoners of war.—By the 4th, all English merchandise, or property of any description, was declared to be good prize, &c.—The 5th prohibited trade in English merchandise.—The 6th appropriated one-half of the merchandise, or property seized as prize, to the indemnification of the merchants whose vessels might be captured by English cruisers.—The 7th decreed, that vessels coming from England, or her colonies, should not be received in any ports.—And the 8th provided, that any vessel contravening the last article by a false declaration, should be seized and confiscated. The decree was sent to the senate at Paris, who expressed their approbation of it; and, in obedience to its mandates, all Englishmen were seized and imprisoned, and all English merchandise and other property confiscated, at Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Travemünde, and other places. The decree was also communicated to the kings of Spain, Naples, Etruria, and

Holland, who were ordered to carry out its provisions, which the latter did very reluctantly.*

Such was the commencement of what has been called the "Continental System" of the French emperor—a system quite as much opposed to the interests and prosperity of his own, and all other countries influenced by it, as it was to the laws of nations; and which was productive of more mischief and loss to those countries than to the British isles against which it was directed, though they suffered, no doubt, considerably; and much of the carrying trade, which had been pursued by their merchant vessels, fell into the hands of the merchants of the United States. Ultimately, Napoleon himself was the greatest sufferer from the system; for, when it got fairly into operation, it was found so oppressive, and so many severities were practised under it, that it tended, as much as any other act of his career, to destroy the confidence of his allies, and alienate the loyalty of his subjects; nor, with all his power, could he fully carry it out. He found it evaded by his allies; and, at one period, when his army in Germany were almost destitute of clothing, Bourrienne could only procure great-coats for them by authorising the use of British cloth.

Alarmed at the progress of the French, the emperor of Russia, at the close of November, declared war against the emperor. However, having subdued Prussia, the latter cared little for the renewed hostility of Alexander, especially as, about the same time, Sebastiani, his minister at the Porte, succeeded in persuading the Turkish government to forget the unprovoked invasion of Egypt, to conclude an alliance with his imperial master, to declare war against Russia, and to employ French engineers to repair the ports of the Dardanelles, and French officers to train their troops. Almost simultaneously with the rupture with Russia, the emperor received an application for peace from the king of Prussia; and a deputation of Poles waited upon him to request that he would proclaim the independence of their country. In reply to Frederick William, he required, as the price of peace, the cession of the entire country between the Rhine and the Elbe; which the king—having learnt that Russia was again about to try her strength with the hitherto invincible conqueror, and hoping that the success which had fled from him might settle upon the northern eagle—refused to give up. To the Poles, Napoleon returned the following answer:—"France never recognised the different partitions of Poland: nevertheless, I cannot proclaim your independence, unless you be determined to defend

your rights with arms in your hands, and by every species of sacrifice, even of life. You are reproached with having, in your constant civil dissensions, lost sight of the true interest of your country. Instructed by misfortune, be now united, and prove to the world that one spirit animates the whole Polish nation." With this answer the deputies were obliged to be content for the present; but the Poles evinced a predilection for France during the following campaign. Napoleon, for his part, would have gladly seen them in open insurrection; and he sent for Kosciusko from Paris, expecting that his presence would excite them to rise. Kosciusko, however, doubting his sincerity, declined to obey the mandate.

Before November closed, Napoleon had his army again in motion upon Warsaw, Thorn, and Dirschau. He fixed his head-quarters at Posen, the capital of that part of Poland ceded to Prussia, on the 1st of December. On the 2nd, he issued one of his spirited proclamations to his soldiers, reminding them, that it was exactly one year since they "were on the field of battle of Austerlitz." There, "the Russian battalions, broken and overwhelmed, fled in disorder, or were surrounded, and laid down their arms." The Russians had then spoken words of peace; but they were deceitful. The ally on whom they relied, however, existed no longer. "His strong places, his capitals, his magazines, 280 stand of colours, 700 pieces of cannon, were in their power." Now, the season of the year had not been able to stop them. "They had braved all, surmounted all;" and would not "lay down their arms until a general peace assured the power of their allies, and restored their colonies for the advantage of commerce." His soldiers, who had evinced signs of discontent at a winter campaign, murmured no more after this proclamation appeared.

At Posen, on the 11th of December, the emperor concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the elector of Saxony, who assumed the title of king, and became a member of the Rhenish confederation. At this period, when he was on the eve of commencing another campaign, all Northern Germany, except Königsberg and the fortresses of Stralsund and Colberg, was, directly or indirectly, under the power and influence of Napoleon. He had, in a campaign of about one-and-twenty days, completely broken up the Prussian army, and, in fact, overthrown the monarchy. This has been described as "one of those events, the reality of which will be hardly credited by posterity." At the distance of little more than half a century

* Napoleon endeavoured, in every way, to enforce his measures. He wrote to Junot, on the 23rd of November, enjoining him to take especial care that the ladies of his establishment used Swiss tea, and chicory coffee; and that no part of their dress was composed of English

merchandise; for, "if the wives of his chief officers did not set the example, whom could he expect to follow it?" It was "a contest for life or death between England and France;" and he "must look for the most cordial support from all those by whom he was surrounded."

we can scarcely bring ourselves to believe it. Yet so it was; and in less than two months after the campaign recommenced, he had made all the arrangements his fresh acquisition of territory required, completely reorganised his army, and was marching northwards, to contend with a power supposed to be at least equal to his own. If he had paused in his career, and taken measures to secure his conquests before he embarked in fresh wars, his fate might have been different. In undertaking this fresh campaign, so far north, he was under great disadvantages. He had to encounter a force composed of men, the true descendants of those whom Frederick the Great had said, he "could kill, but could not defeat." They were strong in constitution, inured to the climate, and decidedly hostile to the French. However, he and his soldiers bravely met, and encountered the great odds apparently against them; and, at the time, met with the usual reward of a daring conduct—success.

The French army was in motion on the 16th of December, and crossed the Vistula, opposed only by a Prussian corps, which there was no trouble in beating. The Russians were not encountered till the 23rd. On that day, a division of the corps of Davoust, commanded by general Morand, found the enemy strongly intrenched at Czarnovo, a Polish village on the Orz, near its confluence with the Bug. They were numerous, and the position was difficult of access; but the French assailed it with their usual ardour; and the Russians, after contesting the palm of victory with an earnest bravery, were compelled to give way. Napoleon then suspended his march; and the army was preparing to go into winter cantonments on the Vistula. The Russian commander-in-chief (marshal Kamenskoi), during this operation, resolved to attempt to cut off the left wing. Bernadotte had been ordered, with his division, to Little Strasburg, seven or eight miles from Thorn; but

having received information of the Russian advance in the direction of the French left, instead of executing his orders, he halted his men, and bivouacked them on the plain of Mohrunen, sixteen leagues south of Elbing, in the night of the 24th of December. The next day, about noon, the Russian column of attack debouched on the plain, not expecting to meet with an enemy. The French commenced the fight, which continued for some time; but the Russians were defeated, and compelled to retire behind the Passarge. It is thought that this victory saved the head-quarters of Napoleon, and the division of Ney, if not the entire French army. The movement determined Napoleon to clear his front before he withdrew his army into winter quarters: and the corps of Lannes being reinforced by a division of that of Davoust, was ordered to attack the enemy, on the 26th, in their position at Pultusk, a small town, standing on an island formed by the Narew. They were commanded by general Benningsen, and fought desperately; their artillery, which was admirably served, doing great execution. There was a terrible slaughter on both sides, and the battle was a drawn one; but the Russians retired during the night, crossing the Rugel, and marching away into the country. The same day, a numerous Russian division, under general Buxhowden, was encountered at Golymin (eight leagues north-east of Warsaw), by the corps of Augereau, part of Davoust's, and the cavalry under Murat. Again the Russians fought with the most obstinate bravery; and though the French at last obliged them to retire, they had little to boast of, as their loss quite equalled, if it did not exceed, that of the enemy. This was the last fighting for the year; and Napoleon, after seeing his men as comfortably disposed of as they possibly could be under the circumstances, established his winter quarters at Warsaw, on the 1st of January, 1807: thus taking possession of another capital of his enemies.

CHAPTER IX.

NAPOLEON AT WARSAW; RENEWAL OF THE CAMPAIGN; BATTLE OF EYLAU; SIEGE OF DANTZIC; BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND; PEACE OF TILSIT; BRITISH ATTACK ON COPENHAGEN; SUPPRESSION OF THE TRIBUNATE; AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL; ACCESSION OF RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA TO THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM; THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL; THE MILAN DECREES.

THE emperor of the French remained at Warsaw during the month of January, 1807; and whilst he occupied himself in making every preparation for a renewal of the campaign, especially in collecting provisions and stores, he sent for

Talleyrand, that he might, at the same time, digest with that minister the terms of a treaty, in order to be prepared, should Russia or Prussia express a desire for peace. Warsaw was, before the month closed, amply supplied

with all the *matériel* of war; and it is due to Napoleon to say, that the comfort of the wounded received his especial attention. No military hospitals were ever better arranged or supplied than were those of Warsaw. Savary details the entire organisation of these hospitals with great minuteness; and, careless of human life and suffering as the emperor, not unfrequently, undoubtedly proved himself to be, the supply of every requisite in these establishments—"bedding, medicine, attendance, food, and the presence of a priest," shows that he was not inattentive to the wants, or indifferent to the comfort, of those who fought for him. Soon after his headquarters were established at Warsaw, that city began to assume the appearance both of business and gaiety. The foreign ambassadors left Paris, and repaired to the old Polish capital; and couriers constantly arrived with reports on the affairs of France, to which Napoleon attended with the utmost regularity. He also introduced many of the customs and manners of the Tuileries; and, except that the theatres were closed, Warsaw, according to Savary, "presented all the gaieties of Paris." The emperor gave two concerts every week; holding a *levée* at their conclusion, which led to numerous meetings in private parties. The beauty and grace of the Polish ladies were conspicuous on these occasions; and there was one whose fascinations deeply impressed his majesty. He conceived, writes our authority, "an ardent affection for her, which she as ardently returned; receiving, with pride, the homage of a conquest which appeared to consummate her happiness. It is not requisite to give her name. Her attachment remained unshaken in the midst of danger; and when he endured reverses, she still remained his faithful friend."

The French army continued to be very comfortable in their cantonments, camps, or quarters, during the month of January. The king of Prussia was still at Königsberg. Of his remaining fortresses, Dantzic was invested; and the others were threatened with assaults as soon as the season permitted. Austria had collected 40,000 men, as an "army of observation," in Bohemia; and Russia was employed in recruiting and reorganising her forces. Benningsen, who had succeeded marshal Kamenskoi in the command of the Russian army, had retired to the north after the battle of Pultusk. He immediately began to concentrate his various corps, determined to resume offensive operations as soon as possible. He succeeded in rallying the remains of the Prussian army under Lestocq; and having formed a junction between them and his own troops, he conceived the design of surprising Napoleon in his winter quarters, by penetrating between the left wing and the main body of the army; raising the siege of Dantzic; and thus turning the positions of the enemy.

Napoleon appears to have been aware of the intentions of Benningsen; and he also marched northwards, with a view of anticipating them, and cutting off the Russian general from his communications. The sentinels at the outposts of Benningsen intercepted a courier with despatches for Bernadotte, containing instructions, which revealed the strategy of the emperor; and the Russian general immediately withdrew the troops that had advanced upon the French positions. Napoleon continued his advance to the north; but Bernadotte, deprived of his despatches, did not bring up his troops. Both armies continued their movements in the first weeks of February—the march being diversified with actions between the French advanced guards and the Cossacks, in which many men were lost on both sides. On the 7th of February, the Russians passed through Eylau—a town of East Prussia, on the Pasma, 22 miles S.S.E. of Königsberg, and established themselves on the heights which command it. The French were not far in the rear. Napoleon himself, with Augereau's division, reached the town in the evening, and entered, with a view of taking up quarters for the night. Benningsen sent a strong detachment, under prince Bagrathion and general Barclay de Tolly, to drive him out; and there was a very severe engagement, particularly near a cemetery, where the French had intrenched themselves. They maintained their ground, and the Russians had to retire. In the morning of the 8th, Napoleon found that he was in front of the whole Russian army, intrenched in a most commanding position; and, soon after daybreak, they opened a tremendous fire of artillery from the heights, under cover of which they attacked the French in Eylau with the utmost fury. The attack was received by the imperial guard, and the fire of the Russian artillery was replied to, by that of forty pieces of cannon, directed by Napoleon himself. The entire corps of Augereau was engaged; and as those of Davoust, Soult, and Ney came up during the morning, they took part in the desperate affray. The right and left of both armies were at first more especially engaged, each general attempting to turn and defeat his enemy's left. When the contest was at its height, Napoleon dispatched a strong corps, under Augereau, to attack the Russian centre. A heavy fall of snow had just commenced; and it fell so thick and fast, as quite to obscure the atmosphere. It occasioned Augereau to lose his way. Instead of reaching the centre of the Russians, he penetrated between that position and the right; and was, in consequence, attacked on both flanks, whilst the Russian reserve charged his division in front. The carnage was terrible. The French 24th regiment, 3,600 strong, was annihilated; and Augereau was carried from the field desperately wounded. Napoleon, who had taken his station

on the top of a church, where the grapeshot and musket-balls fell like hail around him (and yet he escaped unhurt), saw, at last, the strife between Augereau's corps and the enemy, and that the former was near being overwhelmed. He immediately ordered Murat and Bessières, with the cavalry, to the rescue; and their impetuous charge beat back the Russian cavalry, dispersed the infantry, and caused the artillery-men to abandon their guns. But the Russians were found hard to defeat. They rallied, and again advanced to attack the French positions: like Augereau's corps, however, they were lost in the snow-storm, and found themselves entangled in the churchyard of Eylau. There they were charged by the imperial guard in front, and by Murat's cavalry in the rear: another scene of slaughter ensued, 4,000 of the Russians falling beneath the bayonets and sabres of the French. This did not end the battle. Davoust, having made a considerable detour, debouched on the left flank of the Russians, just as they were joined by the Prussians under Lestocq. The fighting continued here, and in other quarters, till night separated the combatants. If either had the advantage when day went down, it was the Russians, and Napoleon had intended to retire the next day. When the morning of the 9th broke, however, the heights were found to be evacuated by the enemy, who had retired during the night. Then Napoleon changed his tactics: he halted his men, resolved to make Eylau his head-quarters for a few days; and sent home a bulletin to Paris, claiming the victory. The bulletin attributed the triumph of the French arms to the cavalry of Murat, who did not come up till some time after the action had begun. This caused great discontent amongst the marshals; and Augereau and Lannes were disgraced for denying to the brother-in-law of the emperor the credit Napoleon attributed to him, but to which he does not appear to have been entitled.

The slaughter in this battle was great on both sides. The Russian general, who had 70,000 men, exclusive of the Prussians, in the morning, returned the number of his killed at 7,900; of his wounded, at 12,000. Napoleon very much underrated his loss: he gave the number of killed at 1,900; of wounded, 5,700. Impartial and disinterested writers think, from the accounts given by several of his officers, that he must have had quite as many men as the Russians put *hors de combat*. It is certain that sixteen generals were killed, and twelve imperial eagles taken. The night after the battle was a dreadful one—its silence was broken by the screams of the carrion-birds; and it would be difficult to conceive—they cannot be exaggerated—the sufferings of the wounded, who were exposed to the inclemency of the season, not only for that night, but for some days afterwards. Two days subsequently,

we are told that “5,000 wounded Russians still lay on the ground. Bread and spirits were carried to them from time to time; and all that survived were transported to the hospitals, where every provision that had been so elaborately made was brought into requisition. The burial of the dead was a long and arduous task.” All this waste of human life was to obtain power and influence in a country, “all of which,” marshal Lannes told the emperor, “was not worth the loss of the humblest corporal in the army.”

The Russian general retreated upon Königsberg. Napoleon remained eight days at Eylau, and then removed his head-quarters to Osterode, fifty miles to the southward of the scene of the last battle. His friends thought he had better return to Paris, where the true result of the battle of Eylau had become known, notwithstanding the colouring given to it in the bulletins, and had caused a decline in the *opinion*, and shaken the confidence of the public in Napoleon's “star.” Austria showed symptoms of rejoicing at the event; and Talleyrand had great difficulty in preserving the then existing amicable relations between the two countries. The emperor's officers, also, including those who were always his unhesitating supporters, Murat and Berthier, urged him to abandon the campaign, and recross the Vistula. He was deaf to all remonstrances, and determined to maintain his position. In the crisis, the Poles showed a zeal in his cause, which proved that they were not disposed to abandon one whom they deemed a friend, in his adversity. They were not destitute of alarm at what appeared to be his doubtful position; but they formed and organised a Polish legion, to join his army, which did him good service in all his subsequent vicissitudes. For himself, we are told by his biographers, that “he lived at Osterode, much in the same style as in bivouac; eating, sleeping, and transacting business, all in one apartment. In this small space he had all things under his eye, and completed in one month the business which would have ordinarily occupied three.”

Napoleon remained at Osterode till May; and in that time he did much to put the army in a position to retrieve that *prestige* of which it might be supposed the drawn battle of Eylau had deprived it. He ordered the conscription of 1808 to be called out, and made great exertions to raise fresh troops in every quarter; while he concentrated those who were already under arms. Mortier was recalled from Pomerania, where he had been carrying on hostilities against the Swedes, whose army he had driven into Stralsund. The troops in Silesia and Holland were ordered to join him; so were those in Italy. A new levy was made in Switzerland; and auxiliaries were demanded from Spain, which were very unwillingly granted. They



BATTLE OF EYLAU.



were sent into Holland and Italy, to replace the troops which had been withdrawn from those countries. By these measures, the emperor had collected, before the end of April, 200,000 men between the Vistula and the Memel. Ere that month closed, he increased the force before Dantzic, by sending there the Saxon troops; and he gave the command to marshal Lefebvre, ordering him to change the investment into a regular siege. The town was vigorously defended by general Kalkreuth, and the Russians sent a corps by sea to make an effort to relieve it. This force attacked the French on the 15th of May, but without effect. After fighting earnestly and with great vigour for some time, it was repulsed; and on the 21st, Kalkreuth capitulated, 800 pieces of cannon, with immense stores, being given up. Thus the great military port of the Baltic was acquired by the French.

As Napoleon did not feel himself sufficiently strong, in May, to recommence hostilities with an assurance of success, he opened negotiations for peace; which were continued as long as it suited him, and then suspended. In June both French and Russians again took the field; the first movement being made by the latter, who attempted the passage of the Passarge, on the 5th, at Spandau, forty-six miles south-west of Königsberg. They were defeated by Bernadotte's corps, that general being severely wounded. The Russians were again defeated on the 10th, at Heilsberg, on the Alle; the main part of their army being opposed to the corps of Soult and Lannes, and Murat's cavalry. The French were the assailants. They attacked the Russians in their intrenchments, who disputed the ground inch by inch, their artillery doing great execution amongst the French; and did not finally retire till the 12th, when both armies marched northwards, in the direction of Königsberg; the French being on the west, and the Russians on the east side of the Alle. The object of the latter was to cover Königsberg; and they made for the bridge across the river at Friedland, on the direct road to the city, from which it is distant twenty-nine miles, in a south-east direction. Marshal Lannes' division, with Nansouty's division of cuirassiers, reached Friedland, which stands on the west side of the Alle, on the night of the 13th of June. When day broke, they found that the whole Russian army had arrived at the opposite side of the river, and were beginning to cross by the wooden bridge. Napoleon was in the rear of Lannes, with Ney's, Mortier's, and Bernadotte's corps, and the horse and foot-guards. Lannes immediately dispatched a courier to inform him of the vicinity of the Russians, and ordered his men not so much to resist the enemy in crossing the river, as to impede their progress when they reached the west bank. Benningsen, supposing that he had

only one division of the French army to contend with, had defiled through the town as soon as one portion of his army had crossed the bridge, and brought on an action. The emperor, however, on the arrival of the courier sent by Lannes, pushed his troops rapidly forward, their advance being concealed by a thick wood at the back of the town. He did not suppose that Benningsen would bring his whole army to the west side of the river, and expose them to the chance of a doubtful conflict, with no means of retreat but the narrow wooden bridge: nor would the Russian general have adopted a course so full of hazard, but in his belief in the weakness of the enemy. Napoleon sent Savary to observe the motions of the Russians; with orders to return instantly, and inform him of their position. When the latter presented himself, with the intelligence that the entire Russian army, with the exception of one small division, had passed the Alle, and were forming in front of the town, Napoleon exclaimed—"Well, I am ready now. I have an hour's advantage of them, and will give them battle since they wish it. This is the anniversary of Marengo; and to-day fortune is with me."

The battle that ensued has been vividly described by Savary. Benningsen did not discover the error he had committed till it was too late to retreat. Whilst a part of his troops were bravely fighting with Lannes' division, the main army of the emperor moved from the wood towards the plain, in immense columns, which advanced with rapidity, but with the precision of parade. To receive them, Benningsen formed his men into squares, which mutually flanked and protected each other; but this deprived him of the use of his artillery; and he awaited the destruction which had now become inevitable. Ney made for the bridge, to cut off the Russian retreat; but he was met by a determined resistance—the head of his column was broken; and but for the support of Davoust, he must have retreated. The cannon of the French opened, however, about 5 P.M., upon the squares of the Russians, which "were demolished one after the other. About six, the emperor assailed them with a fire of musketry, which was the finishing blow." Broken, and completely deranged, the routed troops made for the bridge; but this was so completely raked by the French artillery, that it was impossible to cross by that means. "Then they threw themselves pell-mell into the river, without ascertaining whether it was fordable. Numbers, encumbered with all the accoutrements of the Russian soldiers, perished; others discovered a ford to the left. Nothing could now check their flight; and they hurried towards the point of escape in utter disorder, like a flock of sheep." Their loss was immense; nearly 17,000 men were killed, drowned, or wounded; nearly as many were

made prisoners; and seventy stand of colours, and eighty pieces of cannon, were taken. The loss of the French was also very great; many generals being killed or wounded.

When the fugitive Russians crossed the river, they joined the division left there in the morning, and which had remained all day spectators of the battle, that had ended so disastrously to their comrades. Having set fire to the bridge, this remnant of the fine army which Benningsen had under his orders in the morning, retreated on Tilsit, a town on the left bank of the Niemen, sixty miles to the north-east of Königsberg. The French bivouacked on the field of battle. "Next morning," says Savary, "the emperor was on his horse, inspecting his troops. The men were sleeping, having suffered immense fatigue; and he would not suffer them to be disturbed." Having taken a cursory inspection of his own bivouac, he "proceeded to the Russian field. There a frightful spectacle presented itself. The order of the Russian squares could be traced by a line of the heaps of slain: and the position of their artillery might be guessed by the dead horses." The sight made even the stern soldier sick of war. "A sovereign," he writes, "ought to have great interests of his subjects at stake to justify such dreadful sacrifices." Seldom, however, have the interests of subjects much connection with war, which is oftener undertaken to advance the ambition, or gratify the passions, of the ruler, than to avert danger from, or to procure benefits for, the ruled. The French army moved in the route of the Russians on the 15th; and, on the 16th, marshal Soult took possession of Königsberg. Frederick William and Alexander were both on their way to Tilsit, where they arrived in safety, and, without stopping, passed over to the right bank of the Niemen—the bridge by which they crossed being burned. Napoleon followed, and, on the 20th of June, the French army reached Tilsit: he himself pushed on before his troops; spurred his horse across the plains that lie between the town and the Niemen; and, when he reached the bank, he paused, to gaze upon that country in which he, some years after, met with such a terrible reverse. What were his thoughts at that moment? On his way to Tilsit, some noble Poles, who had heard of the Russian defeat, met him, and urged upon him the policy, as well as the justice, of proclaiming the independence of their country. Had he done so, his fiat could not have been resisted; but he hesitated; and the next day, a messenger arrived from the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, to propose an armistice. He agreed to grant one; and, on its being intimated to him that Alexander wished for an interview, he also assented to that; and it was arranged that they should meet on a raft, upon the Niemen, on the 25th. The raft was constructed by order of Napoleon. In the centre

was a room, decorated with great elegance. It was entered by a door on each side; over which, and on the roof, the eagles of France and Russia were displayed. Napoleon was accompanied by Murat, Berthier, Bessières, Duroc, and Caulaincourt; Alexander by his brother, the grand-duke Constantine, generals Benningsen and Ouvaroff, and the count de Lieven. The interview continued a considerable time; and we are told, that Alexander conciliated Napoleon at the outset, by expressing his resentment against England. He had demanded a larger subsidy than the British government was ready to grant; hence his displeasure.

The result of the interview was an apparently sincere friendship between the two emperors. Alexander, on the 26th, took up his residence at Tilsit. The king of Prussia arrived on the 28th. Napoleon kept Frederick William at a distance; intimating to him, that, if peace were concluded, he would receive nothing except what the intercession of his imperial ally procured for him. The queen of Prussia had several interviews with the emperor, who had sent a gay *cortège* to conduct her to Tilsit; but he was deaf to all her entreaties to grant liberal terms to her husband; and especially refused to restore Magdeburg, which, as an important *point d'appui*, and the key of the Elbe, the king was very anxious to recover. Subsequent to the arrival of the sovereigns at Tilsit, festivity and gaiety prevailed amongst their followers, and were shared by the inhabitants of the town. The negotiations for peace were carried on during an interchange of the most friendly demonstrations; and the treaties were signed amidst the acclamations of those who were connected with the proceedings—for all rejoiced at the peace. If Frederick William had consulted his dignity, however, he would rather have abandoned his kingdom than have accepted the terms which were granted to him; and which appeared to be concessions made to the emperor of Russia, and not conditions agreed upon by two independent sovereigns.

The treaty between France and Russia was signed on the 7th; that between France and Prussia on the 9th, of June. The last was the most important. Frederick William gave up all his territories between the Rhine and the Elbe. He agreed that Westphalia (situated between the Rhine and the Weser), Lower Saxony and the Netherlands, should be formed into a kingdom for Jerome Bonaparte; that nearly the whole of Prussian Poland, made a duchy, and called the duchy of Warsaw, should be ceded to the king of Saxony; that military roads should be formed through Prussia, to afford the means of communication between Saxony and the newly-created duchy; and that the territory still remaining to Prussia, should be closed against the commerce and navigation

of England. The emperor of France, on his part, agreed to evacuate those provinces by the 1st of October, provided Prussia had paid all the contributions levied upon her; the total of which was 513,744,410 francs, or £20,551,776.

The treaty with Russia provided, that out of consideration to the emperor, Old Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Upper and Lower Silesia, should be restored to Prussia. That Russian Poland should continue under the rule of the czar—a portion of Prussian Poland, not included in the duchy of Warsaw, being added. That Dantzic, and a territory around it of two miles' radius, should be independent, under the protection of Prussia and Saxony; but that a French garrison should occupy the town. The emperor recognised the right of France to Hanover; acknowledged Joseph, Louis, and Jerome Bonaparte, as kings of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia; recognised the Confederation of the Rhine; and agreed to surrender Corfu to France. Napoleon agreed that the dukes of Saxe-Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, all allied to the royal family of Russia, should retain possession of their territories; and Alexander undertook to mediate between France and England; and if the mediation were unsuccessful, to enforce the "continental system" of Napoleon throughout his empire. Napoleon, on his part, undertook the office of mediator between Russia and Turkey. There were secret articles to this treaty, of much greater importance than those which were published. They were directed to the extension of the power of Russia and France upon the continent; to the exclusion of Great Britain from all communication with the continental powers; to the restriction of her commerce; and to the suppression of her maritime supremacy. To accomplish these objects, Russia was to extend her dominion in the East; whilst France was not merely to subject Portugal and Spain to her influence, but to bring them under her rule; and, as was stated in the speech of George III., at the opening of parliament on the 21st of January, 1808, to combine all the powers of the continent "in one general confederacy, to be directed either to the entire subjugation of England, or to the imposing upon his majesty an ignominious peace. For this purpose, it was determined to force into hostility against England, states which had hitherto been allowed by France to maintain or to purchase their neutrality; and to bring to bear upon different points of his majesty's dominions, the whole naval force of Europe, and specifically the fleets of Denmark and Portugal." These articles were made known to the British government by the agency of the count d'Antraigues; and they induced that government to take steps which, at the time, exposed them to great obloquy, because they could not give up their authority for ascribing such intentions to Bona-

parte and his ally; and many persons disbelieved that they had ever been entertained.

Neither of the emperors who signed the treaty of Tilsit had faith in the other. Napoleon wanted to put an end to the war, because he found it absolutely necessary that he should return to France; but he had no confidence in the honesty of Alexander. "He is fair and false as a Greek," was his description of him, after the treaty had been signed. If the Russian colonel Bouterlin is to be believed, that character was not very misapprehensive. That officer says, in his *Military History of the Campaign in Russia*—"The emperor Alexander was fully aware of the spirit and tendency of the clauses of the treaty of Tilsit; but the unhappy circumstances in which Europe was placed at the period of his signing it, had imposed upon him the necessity of averting the war upon any terms. Above all, it was an object of paramount importance to gain the requisite time for preparing to engage, with adequate means, in the struggle which, it was clear, must be resumed at a future day." Napoleon's ambition, his own disregard of treaties, and violations of international law—his absorption of territories into the empire of France, to which he had not the slightest claim—do not entitle him to any commiseration when he was made the victim of bad faith; but that does not render the want of honour less censurable in others who practised it.

As soon as possible after the treaty of Tilsit was signed, Alexander departed for St. Petersburg, where Savary was sent, temporarily, as the French minister, with instructions to do all in his power to conciliate both emperor and people: he was "never to speak of war, but studiously to avoid everything which could give offence." Napoleon took leave of the king of Prussia shortly after Alexander had left Tilsit, and departed for Paris. He arrived there on the 16th of August, and was received by the people and the senate with enthusiastic demonstrations; and a bronze column in the Place Vendôme, formed of cannon taken from the enemy, was soon after inaugurated to commemorate his victories. On his arrival in Paris he opened the session of the legislative body, with a speech, in which he depicted the events of the war, and the then condition of France. The empire, at that time, certainly presented the appearance of great prosperity. The public finances were in a better state than at any time since the accession of Napoleon to supreme power. Manufactures were improving, trade was brisk, and the contributions levied on Prussia made money plentiful. Neither amongst the French people nor their legislators, was there any disposition, therefore, to offer opposition to the emperor. The principal measure of the session was the adoption of the commercial code, in which all the provisions of mercantile law were embodied;

and the sittings were closed on the 18th of September. On that day the members of the legislative body and the tribunate were informed, that, by a *senatus consulte*, passed on the 14th of August, but then heard of for the first time, the latter body was abolished; and it was ordered, that three committees—of administration, of legislation, and of finance, taken from the legislative body—should, for the future, discuss the projects of law instead of the tribunate. This was an arbitrary act; but Napoleon, when at St. Helena, justified it by saying, that the “tribunate was absolutely useless, while it costs nearly half a million; he therefore suppressed it. He was well aware that an outcry would be raised against the violation of the law; but he was strong; he possessed the full confidence of the people; and he did everything for the best.” Before the year closed, he displayed some additional traits of his domestic policy, in regulations for the press and the courts of judicature. On the 27th of September an imperial decree appeared, enacting, that no book should be published without having received the sanction of the censors of the press. Another decree, of the 12th of October, ordained that the judges’ commissions for life should not be delivered to them till after five years’ service, to the satisfaction of the emperor.

Whilst the legislature was in session, constitutions, of anything but a democratic character, framed by Napoleon and Talleyrand, were given to the duchy of Warsaw and the kingdom of Westphalia; the former of which was declared to be hereditary in the family of the king of Saxony, the latter in that of Jerome Bonaparte. Fresh troops were sent into the territories of the Rhenish confederation and the Hanse Towns, where military contributions were exacted, and the French “continental system” was enforced. The same system was also introduced into Prussia, whose king was compelled to declare war against Great Britain: but his majesty directed himself to pursuits calculated to improve the fortunes of his country; and, under the ministry of baron Stein—a member of an old noble family of the empire—those measures were originated, which ultimately enabled Prussia to take her former place among the monarchies of Europe, and contributed, in no small degree, to the downfall of the oppressor. Though the influence of Napoleon soon procured the exile of Stein, he still continued to direct the Prussian councils; and to him, under Providence, must much of the subsequent good fortunes of that country be attributed.*

The treaty of Tilsit left only two powers on the continent that did not fully enter into the

views of Napoleon—Sweden and Portugal. The former refused to accede to the treaty, and attempted to defend Pomerania. The king found it impossible, however, to withstand the power of France; and having succeeded, on the 19th and 20th of August, in withdrawing his troops from Stralsund, he retired into Sweden, leaving Swedish Pomerania in the hands of the French. The neighbouring power, Denmark, though nominally neutral, was really doing all she could to promote French interests, and to exclude England from the Baltic, unless the government would adopt the French views with respect to neutral commerce. There was a large fleet in the harbour of Copenhagen; which, in pursuance of the secret articles of Tilsit, would inevitably come into the hands of France, to be employed against England. This the English government determined to prevent. A fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line, and a land force of 20,000 men, were dispatched to Copenhagen, under the command of admiral Gambier and lord Cathcart. On the arrival of this armament off the Danish capital, a demand was made on the government, to send their fleet to British ports till the conclusion of the war with France, when it should be restored, in good condition; and, during the war, England would protect the neutrality of Denmark. The proposal was refused; and Copenhagen was, in consequence, bombarded on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September. On the 10th, the fleet was given up, and taken to England; and on the 16th of October, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Denmark and France: the latter, at the same time, declared war against England, and gave her open adhesion to the “continental system.”

The total number of vessels surrendered by this capitulation was sixty-nine; viz., twenty ships of the line, eighteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats; of which two ships of the line and three frigates were destroyed, as not being worth the removal. The number of cannon taken was 3,500. At the period, this act of spoliation was universally condemned; everywhere the words of Napoleon, that “blood and fire had made the English masters of Copenhagen,” were re-echoed; and the only defenders of the expedition were the members of the British government; for they only knew the causes which led to, and, in their eyes, justified it. It is now known, that, at the same time, the demands which, as we shall soon notice, were made on Portugal, similar ones were sent to Copenhagen; and Napoleon had no doubt that they would have been complied with. It is certain that the Danish fleet must have fallen into the hands of the emperor, or into those of England: the act of the latter was undoubtedly one of self-defence, and self-defence solely; but it is to be regretted that the government did not wait for

* At this time, those secret societies were established in Germany, known as the Tugendbund, which contributed so much to rouse, throughout the whole of that country, a spirit of resistance against France.

overt acts on the part of Denmark, and then declare war, before the fleet had been seized. If that fleet remained at Copenhagen, it could not have injured English commerce; and the English fleet could have made lawful prize of it, had it left the harbour. Its seizure, however, was a terrible annoyance to the French emperor. Fouché says,* that the success of this attack "was the first derangement of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, in virtue of which the navy of Denmark was to have been put at the disposal of France. Since the catastrophe of Paul," he adds, "I had never seen Napoleon in such a transport of rage. That which struck him most in this vigorous *coup-de-main*, was the promptitude and resolution of the English minister."

As very various opinions have been expressed as to the views of Napoleon with respect to England, we may be excused for endeavouring to show what those views really were. General Jomini, who had the best means for acquiring a knowledge of his designs and policy, in his *Vie de Napoleon*, represents him as thus developing what were his plans for the future, after the treaty of Tilsit had been signed. "After Russia had joined my alliance," the general reports him as saying, "Prussia, as a matter of course, followed her example. Portugal, Sweden, and the pope alone required to be gained over; for we were well aware that Denmark would hasten to throw herself into our arms. If England refused the proffered mediation of Russia, the whole maritime forces of the continent were to be employed against her, and they could muster 180 ships of the line.† In a few years, this force could be raised to 250. With the aid of such a fleet, and my immense flotilla, it was by no means impossible to lead a European army to London. One hundred ships of the line, employed against her colonies in the two hemispheres, would have sufficed to draw off a large portion of the British navy; while eighty more, assembled in the Channel, would have sufficed to assure the passage of the flotilla, and avenge the outraged rights of nations. Such was, at bottom, my plan, which only failed of success from the faults committed in the Spanish war;" and the failure of the attempts to get possession of the fleets of Denmark and Portugal.

Russia made its offer of mediation to the court of England early in August. Mr. Canning, in reply, declared that his sovereign was perfectly ready to treat on equitable terms; but he required, as a preliminary, a frank communication of the secret articles agreed upon at Tilsit. After the expedition to Zealand became known, and the Russian ambassador, baron Budberg, earnestly remonstrated against that step, as a

violation of the law of nations, Mr. Canning justified it by the knowledge which the British government possessed of those secret articles; and again called upon Russia to disclose them. The demand was evaded; and when the surrender of the Danish fleet was known, the negotiations were broken off. Russia was, however, willing to remain neutral herself, and to secure the neutrality of Denmark, on an engagement, from the British government, to restore the captured fleet at the conclusion of the war. A peremptory demand from Napoleon, for the closing of the Russian ports against British ships, in pursuance of the secret articles, caused Alexander to waver in his policy; but only for a short time. Unable to resist the French emperor, he broke off all relations with the British ambassador, required his immediate departure from St. Petersburg, and reasserted the principles of the armed neutrality, annulling all conventions inconsistent with its spirit. The manifesto against England was dated the 31st of October; and the emperor made the attack on Copenhagen one of his reasons for taking a decided part against that country. Mr. Canning, by a manifesto of the 18th of December, justified the conduct of Great Britain, which was the result of the "secret conditions imposed upon Russia in the conferences of Tilsit." And that those conditions were to be carried out against neutral powers, Russia herself soon made abundantly manifest. A summons was sent to Sweden to join the league of France and Russia; and, on the refusal of the king, Alexander ordered an army into Finland, which took possession of that country in the winter of 1807—war not being declared till the following spring. This was as flagrant a violation of international law, as the seizure of the fleet at Copenhagen would have been had there been no extenuating circumstances connected with the latter.

Napoleon, on his part, lost no time in acting upon the secret articles of the treaty. As early as the 12th of August, a note was delivered to the prince-regent of Portugal, by the French *chargé d'affaires* at Lisbon, in which the following demands were made upon his royal highness. 1st. That the English ambassador should be dismissed, and the Portuguese ambassador recalled from London. 2nd. That all the English residing in Portugal should be detained. 3rd. That all English merchandise in Portuguese ports or warehouses, should be confiscated. 4th. That those ports should be closed against English vessels. 5th. That his fleet should be united to those of France and the other continental powers, to act against England. If these demands were not complied with by the 1st of September, his royal highness was informed that it would be considered as a refusal to withdraw from the influence of England, and

* See his *Mémoires*.

† This number was made up as follows:—French ships of the line, 60; Spanish, 40; Russian, 25; Swedish, Danish, and Dutch, 15 each; Portuguese, 10.

embrace the continental system: as a consequence, the *chargé d'affaires* would demand his passports and leave Lisbon; and war would be declared on the part of France. At the same time, a similar note was delivered by the Spanish ambassador; and these diplomatic missives were supported by the assembling of 25,000 French troops at Bayonne; to which Napoleon gave the name of "The Army of Observation of the Gironde."

The court of Lisbon had some difficulty in determining how to meet this insolent demand, as there were three parties in the country: one for refusing the French demands, and sending the *chargé d'affaires* his passports; another for submission; and a third, for shutting the ports to English vessels, if necessary, but to rouse the people to defend their country—to assert the national independence; and to be neither English nor French, but Portuguese. The regent, after consulting with the English minister, resolved, with the court, to retire to Brazil; and, to gain time, he returned for answer, that "to gratify his powerful allies—the emperor of France, and the king of Spain—he was ready to exclude the ships of Great Britain from his ports; but that the moderation of his government, and his religious principles, would not suffer him to seize upon the persons and property of British residents in Portugal." Neither France nor Spain were satisfied with this half measure; but some time was lost in the interchange of messages, and the ambassadors of those powers did not leave Lisbon till the 30th of September.

On the 18th of October, the French army crossed the Bidassoa; and, on the 22nd, the prince-regent issued a decree, shutting his ports against the ships and commerce of Britain; but this further compliance with the demands of the emperor, had no effect in arresting the measures Napoleon had determined upon. On the 27th, a secret treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau, between France and Spain; by which Portugal was divided into three portions: one, to be called Northern Lusitania, was to be given to the young king of Etruria, in exchange for his Italian dominions, which Napoleon conceived ought to be united to the kingdom of Italy. The second was to be appropriated to Godoy, the prince of Peace, with the title of the duke of Algarves. The commander-in-chief of the French troops was to hold the third, as a deposit, till a general peace was concluded. On the 8th of November, the prince-regent, of course quite ignorant of this division of his territory, went a step further than he had done on the 22nd of October; for he signed an order for the sequestration of all British property, and the detention of all British subjects—of whom, by that time, there were not many in Portugal. Still the French advanced. On the 19th of November, Junot, at the head of his troops, chiefly raw recruits, crossed the fron-

tiers of Portugal, and marched into the interior. They encountered bad weather on their route: having few stores, they plundered every cottage that fell in their way; discipline was lost; and before they reached Abrantes, they were so demoralised that they might easily have been destroyed. They entered that town on the 24th; and from thence Junot dispatched a courier to Lisbon, to announce his approach to the capital, where, he said, he should be in four days. Immediately all was preparation at the palace for the departure of the court. The prince-regent (having nominated a council of regency to administer the government) and the royal family, with their treasures, were embarked, together with their suite, members of the nobility, and others—in all, about 15,000 persons, who conveyed with them great wealth, taking, it was computed, about half the current coin of the realm. The embarkation took place under the protection of an English squadron, which, at the request of the prince-regent, had been sent for that purpose, notwithstanding his humiliating concessions to France. One part of the squadron escorted the royal family to the Brazils; the other blockaded the Tagus. The emigrants were conveyed across the Atlantic in eight large vessels of war, three frigates, and a great many merchant ships. This fleet left the river on the 29th of November; and, on the 30th, Junot, with his advanced guard of 1,500 men, entered Lisbon. He had been joined, on his march, by several Spanish corps; and Portugal was occupied by the troops of the two nations. The *Moniteur* then announced, that the "house of Braganza had ceased to reign."

Whilst these demonstrations against the independence of Portugal were taking place, Austria, by a treaty signed at Fontainebleau on the 7th of October, acceded to the "continental system," and pledged herself to support the policy of France. The manifesto of Russia issued shortly after, and the steps taken against Portugal, left England without one friend on the continent; from which, by the system inaugurated by Napoleon, both her people and her manufactures were excluded. This state of things, in the opinion of the government at London, rendered it necessary that some more decided measures should be adopted against the powers which had acceded to the "continental system," than had hitherto been devised. An order of council had been issued, on the 7th of January, 1807, prohibiting the vessels of neutral powers from trading between ports from which the British flag was excluded; and decreeing, that vessels persisting in such traffic after being warned, should be declared good prize. After the further accessions to the "continental system," on the 11th of November, another order in council was issued, declaring France, and all the countries under her influence, or in alliance with her, in a state of blockade.

All ships and vessels trading between neutral and hostile ports were declared liable to seizure; and all her majesty's cruisers were instructed to carry out this order in its fullest sense, without respect to persons. When this order in council appeared, Napoleon was in Italy; and he met it by the "Milan decree" of the 17th of December. The "right of search," for the purpose of ascertaining whether belligerent property or contraband of war was on board neutral ships, had never been departed from by England. The Milan decree condemned the exercise of this right; and declared, that every vessel, whatever nation it belonged to, which had been searched by an English cruiser, or had performed a voyage to England, or paid a duty to the English government, was thereby denationalised, lost the protection of its flag, and was to be considered as English property; that all such vessels were good and lawful prizes; that the British islands were in a state of blockade by sea and land; and that any vessel clearing out from, or attempting to enter, the ports of England, might be lawfully captured. This decree was to be in force while England maintained the right of search.

Napoleon's visit to Italy was connected in part with public, and in part with his own personal, affairs. Before he left Paris, he had carried out those clauses of the treaty of Tilsit, by which a kingdom was created, for his brother Jerome. Besides Westphalia, part of Hesse-Cassel, of Brunswick, and of Hanover, were included in the new regality; and, on the 1st of December, Jerome, then a mere youth, took possession of the throne, when the new constitution was promulgated. When in Italy, the emperor endeavoured to induce his brother Lucien to abandon his wife; the reward offered being the crown of that part of Portugal which was to be left in the hands of the French commander-in-chief. Lucien had, early in life, married a very amiable person, who died while Napoleon held the consular dignity. Subse-

quently, he married the widow of an *agent de change*, named Joubert—*to the great displeasure of his brother, who would never acknowledge the lady as his sister-in-law*. It was from her that the emperor wished Lucien to be divorced; and he proposed to him, not only that he should himself be raised to the royal dignity, but that his eldest daughter, by his first wife, should be married to Ferdinand, prince of the Asturias, heir to the crown of Spain; who had already applied to him for protection against his father, Charles IV. Lucien was very anxious to be reconciled to his brother; but to his honour be it recorded, neither the prospect of a crown for himself, nor that of one for his daughter, could induce him to abandon his wife.*

While in Italy, the emperor visited not only Milan, but Naples (where he held long conferences with his brother Joseph), Mantua, and Venice. At Milan, besides the famous decree, he published a constitutional statute, by which he adopted Eugene Beauharnais as a son, and declared him his successor in the kingdom of Italy, in default of a son from his own loins. He also induced the queen-regent of Etruria to announce to the Etrurians, that her son was called upon to govern the people of Portugal; and that they were to transfer their allegiance to the emperor Napoleon, now their sovereign. Thus the emperor obtained Etruria, which was added to his kingdom of Italy; but "Northern Lusitania" never came into the possession of the youthful sovereign, who was despoiled of one crown before another was prepared for him. When the emperor arrived at Venice, the Venetians received him cordially; and were especially pleased with a decree converting their port into a great naval arsenal. Another decree, ordering a canal to be cut to unite the Po with the Mediterranean, was also well received. Having arranged all his Italian affairs, Napoleon returned to Paris on the 1st of January, 1808, meditating designs against Spain, which he shortly began to carry into execution.

* A letter addressed to Lucien about this time, by his sister Eliza, shows how the relatives of Napoleon thought themselves bound to obey him. "Proposals are made to you," she said, "which you should have accepted a year ago, for the sake of your children and *your wife*, but which now you reject. Don't you see, my dear brother, that the only way to prevent adoptions, is to provide his majesty with relations of his own, *of whom he can dispose*. In remaining near Napoleon, or accepting a throne

at his hands, you will make yourself useful to him." * * * "We cannot deal with the master of the world as if we were his equals. Nature made us all the children of the same father; but his prodigious exploits have made us his subjects. Sovereigns as we are, we owe everything to him. There is a noble pride in this confession; and I think our sole glory ought to be, to prove by the manner in which we govern, that we are worthy of him, and of our race."—*Mémoires et Correspondance du Roi Joseph*.

CHAPTER X.

CREATION OF TITLES OF HONOUR; THE IMPERIAL CATECHISM; ANNEXATION OF THE TERRITORY OF THE POPE TO FRANCE; JUNOT'S PROGRESS IN PORTUGAL; INVASION OF SPAIN; THE SPANISH ROYAL FAMILY AND THE PRINCE OF PEACE; ARREST OF FERDINAND; ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.; THE ROYAL FAMILY OF SPAIN, AND NAPOLEON AT BAYONNE; SURRENDER OF THE CROWN OF SPAIN TO THE EMPEROR; JOSEPH BONAPARTE DECLARED KING OF SPAIN, AND MURAT KING OF NAPLES; INSURRECTION IN SPAIN; BRITISH EXPEDITION TO PORTUGAL; BATTLE OF VIMIERA, AND CONVENTION OF CINTRA; NAPOLEON AT PARIS; HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER AT ERFURTH; HIS CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN; THE BATTLE OF CORUNNA.

NAPOLEON'S return to France was the signal for renewed demonstrations of attachment on the part of the senate and of the people. He had scarcely arrived in Paris, ere he sent a message to the former, requiring the levy of 80,000 conscripts, from those who would become liable in 1809; and, in the budget for the year, out of an estimated expenditure of 730,000,000 francs, no less than 453,729,000 francs were appropriated to the army and marine. The legislative measures, this year, were not of much importance; but, in the midst of the complications arising out of the Spanish and Portuguese questions, Napoleon turned his attention to a measure he had in view from his first accession to power as consul—namely, the re-establishment of an hereditary aristocracy. He was vehemently opposed in his efforts to carry this measure into effect, by his more democratic adherents; and it was only by great perseverance that he succeeded in establishing the Legion of Honour, which, although it conferred no hereditary rank, was still a step towards the revival of nobility. The next advance was, the bestowing the titles of prince and duke upon his great officers, civil and military; upon one of whom, Lefebvre, he conferred, on May 28th, 1807, the title of duke of Dantzic, to descend to his son. At length, on the 1st of March, 1808, he issued a *senatus consulte*, creating the hereditary titles of prince, duke, count, baron, and chevalier. The emperor was to have the power of bestowing these titles upon those whom he thought worthy; and the persons thus ennobled were authorised to entail a certain part of their income, under the term of a *majorat*, upon the successors to their honours. The titles formerly created were declared hereditary; and many were found eager to accept the new ones. Sir James Macintosh says—"Napoleon's nobility was composed of a revolutionary aristocracy, with some of the ancient *noblesse*, compelled to lend lustre to it by accepting titles inferior to their own; with many lawyers, men of letters, merchants, &c., whom the ancient system of the French monarchy had formerly excluded from such distinction." A large proportion of his new nobles were soldiers of fortune; and, as most of them were destitute of property, rich endowments were attached to the titles, drawn from the revenues of those countries

which had been conquered by French arms, and were occupied by French troops. No fewer than sixty-six of his officers were quartered upon Hanover. Their endowments, varying from 140,000 francs to 10,000, amounted, in the whole, to 2,259,000 francs, or £91,000 per annum. The ardent republicans who remained (and they were not very numerous), were still hostile to these violations of their creed; but their murmurings were very little heeded in the general satisfaction, which the victories of the armies, and the revived prosperity of the country, produced. Though external commerce was suspended, we are told that "there was an extraordinary degree of vigour in domestic industry." The internal trade of the empire was brisk; the manufacturing cities were full of active employment; and the emperor set on foot, and encouraged, many works of internal improvement. The contributions levied on foreign countries, great part of which were brought to, and expended in, France, contributed to this improvement and prosperity, and caused the burthens of war, for a time, to be little felt by the great bulk of the people.

One striking feature in French society at this period, was the eagerness with which all classes—even the old *noblesse*, with a few honourable exceptions—sought for public employment. From the emperor down to the humblest prefect, every one who had offices to bestow, was inundated with applications. All seemed to think it the highest object of ambition to serve the imperial government; and some of the most furious of the Jacobins became its supporters through the press. We again quote Sir James Macintosh, who remarks, that "all the terrorists took refuge under Bonaparte's authority. The more base accepted clandestine pensions or insignificant places. Barrère wrote slavish paragraphs at Paris; Tallien was provided for by an obscure consulship in Spain; Fouché, one of the most atrocious of the terrorists, had been gradually formed into a good administrator under a civilised despotism." When the old democrats set the example, no wonder, as Sir A. Alison observes, that "the young men, who had grown up to manhood amid the blaze of Napoleon's glory—the immense mass who looked to advancement in life, and saw no hope of attaining

it but in the favour of government—rushed into the same career.” Napoleon himself—in whose hands every superior appointment, naval, military, legal, or civil, was vested, and who, therefore, well knew how general was the desire to hold them—excused that mania for becoming government *employés*, which possessed all classes, from “the misfortunes and convulsions of the revolution. Every one,” he said to Las Casas, “was displaced; every one felt himself under the necessity of seating himself again; and it was in order to aid that feeling, and give way to that universal necessity, that I felt the propriety of endowing all the principal offices with so much riches, power, and consideration.”

At this time Napoleon issued an “imperial catechism,” in which the duties of Christians to their governors were inculcated. The following questions and answers are a specimen of the lessons taught, by this catechism, to the rising generation of Frenchmen:—“Q. Are there not particular reasons which ought to attach us more strongly to Napoleon I., our emperor?—A. Yes; for it is he whom God has raised up, in the most difficult circumstances, to re-establish the public worship of the holy religion of our fathers, and to be the protector of it: he has restored and preserved public order by his profound and active wisdom: he defends the state by his potent arm: he is become the anointed of the Lord, by the consecration which he has received from the sovereign pontiff, the head of the universal church.—Q. What ought we to think of those who should fail in their duty towards our emperor?—A. According to the apostle St. Paul, they would be resisting the order established by God himself, and would render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.” Whilst the archbishops and bishops were employed in introducing this catechism into all schools and families, and praising and recommending it in their mandatory letters, the emperor was treating the pope with great harshness, because he would not declare war against England. The reply of the pope to Napoleon’s demand, that he should join France against the “detested islanders,” was, that being a sovereign of peace, he could not declare war against any christian power. Napoleon rejoined, that he was, as successor of Charlemagne, emperor of the west, king of Italy, and suzerain of the pope: that the grants of Charlemagne to the holy see had been made in order that the church might defend itself against heretics, which the English were; and that if the pope would not comply with the provisions of the grants, he (Napoleon) would resume them. At the commencement of the negotiations in February, a French force, under general Miollis, entered Rome, and occupied the castle of St. Angelo. The general took the papal troops under his command; and the pope, in fact, was

deprived of all temporal power. But, as his holiness remained firm against all the arguments and threats (for both were employed) which were used to induce him to declare war against England, the emperor, on the 2nd of April, issued a decree by which the provinces of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, appendages of the papacy since the days of Charlemagne, were declared no longer to be under the authority of the pontiff, but to be part and parcel of the kingdom of Italy. The pope protested against this spoliation in vain; and it was followed by a decree of the senate, issued on the 8th of May, formally carrying out the arrangements previously made in Italy, and uniting Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany to the French empire. In another quarter, Flushing, at the mouth of the Scheldt; with Kehl, Wesel, and Cassel, all on the right bank of the Rhine, were, about the same time, in a similar manner, declared to be integral portions of the dominions of Napoleon.

Contemporaneously with the measures he was adopting at home and in Italy, the emperor, through his diplomatists and his army, was carrying out his views with respect to the Iberian peninsula. Junot, as we have already stated, on the 30th of November, 1807—the 167th anniversary of the day on which the Portuguese overthrew the tyranny of the Spaniards—with a few enfeebled troops, took possession of Lisbon; some Spanish troops having, at the same time, entered Montejo, whilst other detached corps established themselves at Elvas and Oporto. The regency left in Lisbon, though they could easily have annihilated the troops who came with Junot, offered no resistance, as they knew more were on the march; and, on the 14th of December, 6,000 arrived. The same day, whilst a salute was fired from the Moorish fort, the inhabitants saw the flag of Portugal torn down, and replaced by the tricolour of France. Then the cry of “Portugal for ever!—death to the French!” was raised, but in vain. The people had neither arms nor leaders, and were constrained to submit. The first steps taken were to introduce two or three Frenchmen into the regency; then a forced loan of about £200,000 was exacted of the merchants; next, all English goods were confiscated; and Junot occupied himself in fitting-out a small squadron in the harbour, to be directed, it was understood, against the English. Fresh troops continued to arrive during the month of January, 1808; and the Spanish officers in Oporto and the Alentejo, acting upon the treaty of Fontainebleau, began to levy the revenues of those districts in the name of the king of Spain. By the 1st of February, however, Junot had taken all his measures, and arranged his plans, so that he apprehended no danger from any resistance which either Portugal or Spain could offer. On

that day the real designs of the French were made apparent. The French general went in state to the palace of the Inquisition, where the regency were assembled; and, having first read it to that body, he issued a proclamation to the people, couched in the following terms:—

“Inhabitants of Portugal! your interests have engaged the attention of the emperor: it is time that all uncertainty as to your fate should cease. The fate of Portugal is fixed, and its future prosperity secured, by its being taken under the all-powerful protection of Napoleon the great. The prince of Brazil, by abandoning Portugal, has renounced all his rights to the sovereignty of that kingdom. The house of Braganza has ceased to reign in Portugal. The emperor Napoleon has determined that that beautiful country, *governed over the whole extent in his name*, shall be administered by the general-in-chief of his army.”

This proclamation was followed by the issue of orders for a large body of the Portuguese troops to be marched out of the Peninsula; by the imposition of a contribution of 100,000,000 francs upon the Portuguese, for the support of the French army of occupation; by the substitution of the arms of France for those of Portugal, on all public offices and buildings; and of the Code Napoleon for the Portuguese laws; and the administration of justice in the name of the emperor, instead of that of the king; by the collection of the revenue by French authorities; and by the division of the kingdom into four departments, under French officials. These measures filled the country with sorrow and despair. The peasants neglected their customary occupations: the soldiers, where not prevented by a superior force of French troops, disbanded themselves and returned to their homes, or took to the mountains and became robbers. The higher classes fled from Lisbon; and very soon the entire country presented a scene of anarchy and confusion. The Portuguese were everywhere insubordinate, and the French soldiers little more than common plunderers. Junot set them the example. He collected from the royal palaces and the churches, their most valuable articles of plate and furniture, and any specimens of *vertu* or the fine arts which were displayed in those edifices, and appropriated them to himself. Of the portion of the Portuguese army which was ordered to France, 9,000 strong, 5,000 deserted: the other 4,000 were drafted into a Portuguese battalion; and having taken an oath to the emperor, they observed it with fidelity to the end of the war—never being called upon to serve in their own country or in Spain. The remains of the army were soon entirely dispersed.

While Junot was advancing upon Lisbon, in November, 1807, a strong force, under Dupont, crossed the Pyrenees, and occupied, *as friends*,

Salamanca and Valladolid: the general established his head-quarters at the latter place, early in January, 1808. Another army, comprising 25,000 foot, 3,000 cavalry, and forty pieces of cannon, under Moncey, followed, defiling towards the Ebro. A third, consisting of 12,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and twenty cannon, commanded by Duhesme, crossed the Pyrenees at their eastern extremity, entered Catalonia, and took the road to Barcelona. These different armies occupied, before the commencement of March, San Sebastian, Pampeluna, Figueras, and Barcelona. All those important places were in the hands of governors quite incompetent to contend against the clever officers the emperor sent against them; and the garrisons are said to have been composed chiefly of invalids. Thus no resistance was made to the supposed “friends” of Spain; who obtained possession, without any difficulty, of the entire line of defence which the Spaniards had raised along the Pyrenees purposely to prevent a French invasion. The usual pretence was put forward for these aggressive movements—the necessity of guarding against the ambitious policy of England. “There is a necessity for having considerable forces on all points exposed to attack,” said M. Champagny (who had succeeded Talleyrand as minister of war, on the appointment of the latter to be vice grand elector), in a report, dated January 20th, 1808. “It is not enough to have an army in Portugal; Spain is in alarm for Cadiz; Ceuta is menaced; the English have disembarked many troops in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar; they have directed to that quarter those which have been recalled from the Levant, or withdrawn from Sicily. The vigilance of their cruisers on the Spanish coast is hourly increasing; they seem disposed to revenge themselves on that kingdom for the reverses they have experienced in the colonies. The whole Peninsula, therefore, in an especial manner, calls for the attention of his majesty.” How his majesty did attend to it, will shortly be seen.

The dissensions which prevailed in the royal family of Spain, aided the designs of Napoleon. The king, Charles IV., possessed of talents, which, if united to an energetic disposition, and properly directed, would have made him an excellent sovereign, was so indolent, so fond of that tranquillity which kings are seldom fated to enjoy, and so averse to assume the cares and responsibilities of his high position, that the government had fallen entirely into the hands of the queen, and her chief adviser, Don Manuel Godoy. This minister—descended from a family formerly noble, but which had sunk into obscurity—was born at Badajoz, in 1767. He entered the army, and, when a private in the body-guard of the king, he first attracted, about 1793, the attention of the queen by his performance on the lute. He became an especial favourite

with her majesty, and was rapidly promoted from office to office. The king was no less partial to him than her majesty: by the express wish of Charles, he married the daughter of his brother, Don Louis; and at the conclusion of the treaty of Bâle, in 1795, he obtained that title by which he is best known, of prince of Peace. Objectionable as were the means by which he rose to power, and although, as might be expected under such a minister, corruption prevailed in every branch of the administration, it is due to him to say, that his ministry was stained by no acts of cruelty, and that he did much to develop the resources, promote the prosperity, and stimulate the progress of education in Spain.

As might be expected, there was no great friendship between Ferdinand, prince of Asturias, the heir-apparent to the Spanish crown, and the prince of Peace. The friends of the former—of whom the principal were the canon Escóiquiz and the duke del Infantado—were anxious to emancipate him from the control of the minister; and to do this, they opened a communication with Napoleon, who, in July, 1807, sent M. Beauharnais, a relation of the empress, as his ambassador to Madrid, to concert measures with those eminent persons for that purpose. After some interviews between them, it was proposed that Ferdinand (whose wife, a member of the Neapolitan house of Bourbon, died in May, 1806) should marry a member of the house of Bonaparte. At first, this was thrown out merely as a suggestion by the canon or the duke; but as Beauharnais required a specific guarantee on the subject, prince Ferdinand, on the 11th of October, addressed an extraordinary letter to the emperor. In this document, Napoleon was styled “a hero who eclipsed all who had preceded him; and who had been sent by Providence, to save Europe from the total subversion which threatened her.” Ferdinand, who described his heart as “overflowing with admiration and the most sincere friendship” for the emperor, in “the hope of finding the most powerful protection in his magnanimous generosity,” said, he had determined to pour his heartfelt sentiments into the imperial bosom, and regretted the “great misfortune which compelled him to conceal, as a crime, an action so just and praiseworthy.” He alluded to his royal father as the victim of deception. If he only knew the character of his imperial majesty, “with what ardour would he not wish to strengthen the ties that should unite the two houses. And what means were more proper for that, than” the writer’s “seeking the honour of allying himself to a princess of Napoleon’s august family?” His “imperial majesty would always find in him a son the most devoted and grateful.” He implored his majesty, therefore, “not only to confer on him the honour

of an alliance with his family, but to smooth all the difficulties, and remove all the obstacles, which might be opposed to the object of his wishes.” The effort, on the part of the emperor, was said to be “the more necessary, as the prince was incapable of making the smallest exertion on his own part, as it would, perhaps, be represented as an insult to the royal authority of his father. All that he could do was, to refuse, as he engaged to do with invincible constancy, any proposal for an alliance which had not the consent of the emperor, to whom the prince looked, exclusively, for the choice of his future queen.”

No answer was returned to this letter; but it appears, as we have already stated, that the emperor contemplated the union of the prince of Asturias with the daughter of his brother Lucien. Communications, however, received from Signor Isquierdo, an agent at Paris of the prince of Peace, to the effect that some important negotiation was going on between the prince of Asturias and the emperor, caused the former to be narrowly watched, and ultimately led to his arrest, and the seizure of all his papers. Except one document, bestowing on the duke del Infantado the office of governor-general of New Castile, in the event of the king’s death, there was nothing in these papers to show that the prince at all contemplated that event, or that he had arranged any measures to follow it, should it take place; much less that he was engaged in any designs against his father and his government. But there was much censure of that government, and of the principal parties composing it. Those parties were not very scrupulous in the construction put upon the papers; and, on the 30th of October, the king issued a proclamation, charging the prince with being engaged in a conspiracy against the authority and the life of his father, and ordering the immediate prosecution of his advisers. The same day, the king wrote to Napoleon, telling him that he had discovered that his son had “formed a design, not only to dethrone, but even to attempt the life of himself and his mother. Such an atrocious attempt,” continued Charles, “merits the most exemplary punishment. The law which calls him to the succession should be repealed: one of my brothers will be more worthy to replace him in my heart and on the throne. I pray your majesty to aid me by your wisdom and your counsel.” Napoleon was not inclined to comply with this request. On the contrary, as the king of Spain and his son were envenomed against each other, he saw that it would further his purpose to increase the dissension between them. He told O’Meara, that he then “conceived the design of deriving advantage to himself from their differences, and of dispossessing both the king and prince.” There can be no doubt, however, that he had formed designs upon the crown of Spain before these events, which facilitated

their execution. Still, he deemed concealment necessary; and when he learnt that the prince of Asturias, who possessed little firmness or moral courage, had communicated to the king what had passed between him and Napoleon, and placed in his father's hand the letter of the 11th of October, he ordered Champagny to write to the prince of Peace, "insisting, that on no account should anything be published respecting the affair, involving him or his ambassador." The emperor had done nothing, he declared, "which could justify the suspicion, that either he himself or his ministers had known of, or encouraged, any domestic intrigues of Spain. He positively never had, and never would, intermeddle with them. He never intended that the prince of Asturias should marry a princess of France; and his ambassador, Beauharnais, had instructions not to interfere in the affairs of Spain."

The proofs that the emperor *did* mix himself up with the domestic intrigues of Spain, and that he *did* contemplate a marriage between Ferdinand and a member of his own family, are found in the *Mémoires et Correspondence, Politique et Militaire, du Roi Joseph*, published at Paris in 1853. The belief that he was more or less connected with prince Ferdinand also prevailed at Madrid; and doubts as to how far he might be inclined to protect the prince, operated to procure lenient treatment for his royal highness. The king, by a decree of the 5th of November, in which he said his son had solicited pardon, and "disclosed the authors of the horrid plan which some wretches had put into his head," declared that he forgave him, and would receive him again into favour, when he had given proper proofs of amendment. The prince's confidants—Escoiquiz, the duke del Infantado, and others, who had been imprisoned at the time of his arrest—were brought to trial; and, on the 20th of January, 1808, were acquitted.

When the prince of Peace heard of Junot's proclamation of the 1st of February, he wrote to his agent Isquierdo at Paris, complaining of the uncertainty in which he lived. The treaty of Fontainebleau, he said, was already a dead letter. Junot governed the whole of Portugal; and the Spanish government had just received a demand for the remainder of their fleet to co-operate with that of France, which must be complied with; while the French troops in Spain lived at free quarters upon the country, and the people were exhausted with their requisitions. He complained, that neither his agent's nor the ambassador's presence in Paris had been of any use; and he said—"If you know anything, for God's sake let me know it; anything is better than this uncertainty." Isquierdo had been, before the letter arrived, ordered to quit Paris, and he could not, therefore, relieve his employer's uncertainty; but the additional exer-

cises of supreme authority in Portugal, which we have enumerated, came to the knowledge of Godoy, and sufficiently enlightened him as to the end and aim of the emperor. Soon after Isquierdo arrived at Madrid, bringing with him a demand from Napoleon, that, in exchange for Portugal, now belonging to France, all Spain, north of the Ebro, should be ceded to the emperor. Godoy's agent had acquired, before leaving Paris, more knowledge of the designs of Napoleon than the latter supposed he possessed; and he informed the prince of Peace, that the entire possession of Spain was the object of the emperor; it being necessary, as he asserted, for the tranquillity of France. Then, on the 11th of March, the queen of Etruria, who had (as stated in a former page) been induced to abandon her son's kingdom in Italy for a promised one in Portugal, reached Madrid; and, on the 13th, Murat arrived at Burgos, with the title of "lieutenant of the emperor." He was accompanied by an immense civil and military staff; and his assumption of authority left no doubt as to the intentions of Napoleon, especially as the French army in Catalonia was ordered to be increased to 15,000 men; an entire new corps of 19,000 men, under marshal Bessières, was directed to be formed in Biscay; and the passage of the Bidassoa was effected by 6,000 of the imperial guard.

The prince of Peace, now finding that there was no reliance on treaties or any other agreements with Napoleon, advised the king and the prince of Asturias to follow the example of the prince-regent of Portugal, and, abandoning their European dominions, seek to establish an empire in America. His advice was accepted by the king; but Ferdinand very unwillingly acquiesced in it. All was prepared, however, for the departure of the court to Gibraltar, where an asylum had been besought for the king; and the horses, on the 17th of March, were harnessed to the carriages to convey the monarch and his suite from Aranjuez, where the court was then residing. An insurrection of the populace, that broke out at Aranjuez, and spread to Madrid, prevented their departure. The people wanted to keep Ferdinand, who at that time was their favourite, in Spain; and their principal vengeance was directed against the prince of Peace, to whom they rightly attributed the contemplated departure of the royal family. Godoy, however, escaped for the time, but was subsequently seized and imprisoned at Madrid. On the 19th, Charles IV. abdicated in favour of the prince of Asturias; and, on the 20th, that prince assumed the reins of government, and was proclaimed king. Murat, who had arrived at the Spanish capital with a considerable military force (having proceeded there without orders, on hearing of the insurrection at Aranjuez), refused to acknowledge the new

sovereign; and sent a messenger to Charles at Aranjuez, to learn what was the real disposition of his majesty in this crisis. Charles gave this messenger a letter to the emperor, in which he protested against the validity of his abdication, as it had been forced from him by violence and terror. The French general then took military possession of the capital, of which he made general Grouchy governor. He also extended his protection to the king and queen, giving them a French guard; and Ferdinand, seeing the difficulty of his position, sent his brother Don Carlos to Paris, to explain what had taken place to the emperor, and to solicit his countenance and protection. Napoleon received intelligence of the events at Aranjuez on the 26th of March, and immediately made up his mind as to his future measures. On the 27th he wrote to his brother Louis, telling him what had taken place. He then added—"The people demand me, with loud cries, to fix their destinies. Being convinced that I shall never be able to conclude a solid peace with England till I have made a great movement on the continent, I have resolved to put a French prince on the throne of Spain. In this state of affairs I have turned my eyes on you for that throne. Say at once what is your opinion on that subject." * * * "Answer categorically—if I declare you king of Spain, can I rely on you?" This letter dispatched, the emperor, on the 29th of March, wrote to Murat, blaming him for taking possession of Madrid so precipitately as he had done; declared that the events of the 19th of March had exceedingly complicated affairs; warning that general that he must not suppose he had only to show himself to insure the submission of Spain; expressing his opinion that England would not let slip this opportunity of multiplying his embarrassments: and he cautioned Murat "not to commit him to meet Ferdinand in Spain, unless he was to recognise him as king." Not a word was said of his offer of the crown of Spain to Louis three days before—a proof of the habitual dissimulation of Napoleon.

Savary was the bearer of this letter; for, having no confidence in the political genius of Murat, however highly he estimated his military talents and bravery—and not thinking Beauharnais a sufficiently apt agent for his plans—Napoleon sent that general to Madrid, to endeavour to get both father and son into his power, and he himself repaired to Bayonne to await the event. Arrived at Madrid, Savary professed to treat Ferdinand as king, and said, no doubt the emperor, who would not, in the smallest particular, intermeddle in the internal affairs of Spain, would recognise him; but he advised him, as a mark of respect, to go to Burgos to meet his imperial majesty, who was on his way to visit him at Madrid. Ferdinand took the plausible advice of Savary; and, having ap-

pointed a junta of government, with his uncle, Don Antonio, at its head, he left Madrid on the 10th of April, Savary accompanying him. On arriving at Burgos, and not finding the emperor there, he was persuaded by Savary, against the advice of Don Pedro Cevallos, and other Spaniards who were with him, to go to Vittoria. There the people, doubting the intentions of the emperor, rose in crowds to prevent his majesty proceeding any further. Savary, however, who had gone forward to Bayonne, rejoined him, with a letter from Napoleon, to the effect, that the abdication of Charles IV. having taken place when his armies covered Spain, it would appear that he sent those troops there merely to precipitate his friend and ally from the throne. He was called upon to inquire into, before he recognised, that abdication. But, if he found it was voluntary, and not occasioned by the revolt at Aranjuez, then he would, without hesitation, and immediately, recognise Ferdinand as king. He concluded by calling on that prince to rely on his desire to reconcile everything, and on his wish to find occasion to give him proofs of his affection and perfect esteem. This letter—which was dated on the 16th of April, and which contrasts so forcibly with that of the 27th of March, sent to Louis—decided Ferdinand, who proceeded to Bayonne, where he arrived on the 20th. He was soon followed by his father, who had been persuaded by Murat to submit his cause to Napoleon; and reached Bayonne on the 30th.

After the departure of Ferdinand from Madrid, Murat—who had been strictly enjoined by Napoleon to be very cautious in his conduct, and to do nothing to excite or exasperate the people—found that he could not allay or prevent the discontent which was constantly increasing around him; and any attempt on his part to exert authority was met by resistance. This caused him to conduct himself in the most arbitrary and insulting manner; while the licentious behaviour of the French soldiery led to frequent collisions between them and the populace. Towards the close of April—having already obliged Don Antonio to deliver up to him the prince of Peace, whom he sent off to Bayonne—he insisted that the members of the royal family who remained at Madrid, should also proceed there. The junta were very reluctant to allow them to depart; but as they had no force to oppose to that which Murat commanded (and he was peremptory), they were obliged to submit; and, on the 2nd of May, the infants left the city. A number of persons had collected round the palace, clamorous for their stay; and they would have killed an aide-de-camp of Murat, if another officer had not protected him at the hazard of his own life, and enabled him to get into the palace. Both would, however, probably have fallen a sacrifice had not a French picket arrived at the moment. Murat instantly sent two

pieces of cannon to the spot, and by a few discharges of grape, the populace was soon dispersed. The occurrence, however, had the effect of rousing the inhabitants *en masse*. Seizing knives, daggers, bayonets—whatever they could find—and rifling the gun-smiths shops of fire-arms, they surrounded the French troops as they passed through the streets; and many of them were cut to pieces. The Spanish soldiers had been shut up in their barracks by order of the government, and could render their countrymen no assistance; and the French concentrating, and bringing up some pieces of artillery, soon cleared the streets of the rioters. Many of the people fled to the front of the barracks; and being followed by the French, the Spanish troops, who had been left entirely without orders, finding that it was their own countrymen who were assailed, drew out their guns, and opened a fire on the imperialists, which was fatal to numbers. They, however, charged and captured the guns, killing many of the artillerymen. At length the efforts of the officers, and the leading men of the city, suppressed the tumult, about 300 being killed on each side. An amnesty was immediately proclaimed by the chiefs; and the Spaniards, on the faith that it would be observed, being walking about, discussing the events of the day, Murat had numbers of them seized, on the charge of having been concerned in the insurrection. These men were hurried before a military commission, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. This event, instead of intimidating the Spanish people, inspired them with a spirit of revenge, and first gave rise to those guerilla movements in the provinces, which subsequently proved so fatal to the French armies.

The intelligence of the events of the 2nd of May, was received at Bayonne on the 5th, and seriously irritated the emperor. He had previously been occupied with his endeavours to induce Ferdinand to surrender his crown; but that prince was at first firm in maintaining his rights. During his negotiations with Ferdinand, Napoleon also had several interviews with the canon Escoiquiz, who had accompanied his royal master to Bayonne. In his conversations with him, Napoleon said, that the interests of his empire required, that the house of Bourbon, the secret enemy of his family, should lose the crown of Spain. After urging the canon to persuade Ferdinand to accept the conditions offered, he said it was in vain to speak of the difficulties which lay in the way of the enterprise he wanted to accomplish. "I have," said he, "nothing to apprehend from the only power that could disquiet me in it. The emperor of Russia, to whom I communicated, at Tilsit, my designs, which were formed at that period, approved of them, and gave me his word of honour he would offer no resistance." Probably

under the influence of Escoiquiz—and finding that his father had arrived to appeal to Napoleon—the prince, on the 2nd of May, signed a conditional resignation; stipulating, that he and his father should both return to Madrid, where, if his father would not resume his authority, Ferdinand should govern the kingdom as his lieutenant. This, however, was not satisfactory to Napoleon, who succeeded better with Charles. His enmity to his son induced him to agree to a treaty, which was drawn up on the 4th, and signed on the 5th, by Duroc, on the part of the emperor, and by the prince of Peace on the part of Charles. By this document, Charles resigned his rights to the crown of Spain and the Indies, in favour of Napoleon, on condition of a palace being assigned at Compiègne, for the residence of himself, the queen, and Godoy, during his lifetime, with an annuity of 30,000,000 reals (£40,000) per annum. An annuity of 400,000 francs was also to be allowed to each of the royal infants of Spain. When this treaty was signed, Napoleon rode out, and, on his way, met a messenger with the intelligence of the events of the 2nd, at Madrid. Greatly irritated, he returned to his *château*, and summoned Charles, his queen, Ferdinand, and the prince of Peace, before him. The scene that passed, is described as unequalled for the vituperation which took place between the parties. The king and queen both abused their son; Napoleon and Duroc threatened him; nor were the infants Carlos and Antonio spared; till at length, Ferdinand, alarmed for his own life and that of his relatives, signed a document, by which he declared his concurrence in the resignation of the crown by his father—he acquiring the title of "most serene highness," with the palace, park, and farms of Navarre, and a yearly annuity of 600,000 francs, to be paid from the French treasury. The same day that this treaty was signed, a deputation from the government of Madrid arrived at Bayonne, and succeeded in obtaining an interview with Ferdinand. Their object was, to receive instructions from him as to the course they were to pursue in the future; and Ferdinand, stating that he was deprived of his liberty, sent two despatches to the junta and the royal council, giving them authority to act *ad libitum*, as to adding new members to their numbers, and to remove such as they thought proper; and ordering them to transfer the seat of government to a place of safety; to summon the cortes together; and to declare war against France, as soon as they knew that he was conveyed to the interior of that country. Don Jose Palafox, whose name became so celebrated in the subsequent war, was the bearer of these despatches to Madrid.

On the 8th of May, Charles issued a proclamation, announcing that he had ceded the crown of Spain to the emperor of France; and, on the

12th, Ferdinand also put forth a manifesto, quite at variance with his instructions to the government at Madrid. He stated, that he had surrendered the crown back to his father, who had conveyed it to Napoleon, to deal with as he thought fit. His brother, Don Carlos, and his uncle, Don Antonio, were consenting parties to the cession; and, releasing the Spaniards from their allegiance to himself, he exhorted them to accept, and be faithful to, the government which the emperor might bestow upon them. These proclamations reached Madrid before the counter-instructions of Ferdinand were made known. Murat immediately invited the different councils and public bodies to express their adhesion to the emperor's decisions; intimating to them, at the same time, that it would be acceptable to his majesty, if they conveyed to him a wish that he would make choice of the king of Naples to rule over them. All those bodies complied with the marshal's invitation, which implied a command: even the junta of government yielded, after a short resistance. The cardinal Bourbon, uncle to Ferdinand, also wrote to the emperor, testifying his acquiescence in the resignation of the crown by his relatives, and promising to recognise the sovereign whom Napoleon might appoint. The emperor, having sent off the king, queen, and prince of Peace to Compiègne, and Ferdinand to Valençay, issued a proclamation on the 25th of May, declaring, that the abdication of the throne by the Bourbon princes had rendered it vacant; and summoning an assembly of the prelates, grandees, &c. (which he called a "constitutional junta"), to meet at Bayonne, for the purpose of arranging the basis of a new government. About 150 degenerate nobles, all partisans of France, obeyed this summons; and, after a formal consultation with them, and their assent to what he proposed, by a decree of the 6th of June (Louis having, in reply to the letter of the 27th of March, refused the offer of the throne), the emperor proclaimed his brother Joseph king of Spain and the Indies; not to hold the crown, however, with that of Naples.

Napoleon had previously summoned Joseph from Naples, to take the more important dignity upon him; and the new king arrived at Bayonne on the 7th of June. He was met, some distance from the town, by the emperor, who explained to him why it was indispensable that he should make the exchange of the two crowns; and, when he entered the town, the constitutional junta received him with every outward appearance of cordiality. This junta was then ordered to frame a new constitution for the kingdom. It commenced its sittings, for this purpose, on the 15th of June; and, by the 7th of July, a constitution was framed, and accepted by the king; which went to the extremes of liberalism. It threw open every office—ecclesiastical, civil, or military—to all classes; subjected the nobles to

the same duties and taxes as were imposed upon the middle and working classes; and organised the cortes—throwing open the seats in that body to all persons, without requiring any qualification in payment of taxes, or the possession of property. This important matter adjusted, the emperor, on the 15th of July, promulgated a decree, creating Murat, grand-duke of Berg, king of the Two Sicilies. He then returned to Paris, whilst Joseph proceeded to Madrid. Before he left Bayonne, the latter received a letter from Ferdinand (who appears to have been as false as he was cowardly), dated Valençay, June 22nd, requesting him, as king of Spain, to accept the oath of allegiance of that prince, and the Spaniards who were with him.

The people of Spain, however, evinced no disposition to submit to the monarch thus thrust upon them in the place of the old race. They broke out in insurrection directly it was known that the crown was surrendered to France. The Asturians were the first to hoist the national banner. They were followed by the people of Aragon, Galicia, and several other provinces. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed, on the 2nd of June, at Saragossa, where Palafox was in command. Juntas were formed in the various provinces; and that which met at Oviedo, for Asturias, on the 6th of June, declared war against France; appointed the marquis of Santa Cruz generalissimo of the Spanish troops; sent deputies to London, to solicit the assistance of England; and, on the 14th of June, hostilities commenced by the Spanish garrison of Cadiz opening a fire upon five French ships of the line and one frigate lying in that harbour, which were compelled to surrender. These measures caused the emperor to order fresh troops to be sent to Spain. Bessières received instructions to put Burgos in a state of defence, and to invest Saragossa; Moncey, to proceed to Cuenca, to prevent the patriots of Valencia and Saragossa from communicating with each other; and Dupont, with 20,000 men, was sent towards Cordova and Seville. Savary had succeeded Murat in command of the French troops; and he directed the first operations to be made upon a large body of patriots at Segovia, where general Frere, on the 6th of June, routed them, and took thirty pieces of cannon, which they had carried off from the arsenal. Other successes were obtained by divisions of marshal Bessières, on the same day, at Logrono; on the 7th, at Torquemada; and, on the 12th, at Caberon, where general Cuesta commanded. At Logrono and Torquemada, the French behaved with the greatest cruelty; putting all the leaders of the patriots to death at the first place, and burning the town of Torquemada; whilst they treated the inhabitants with the greatest severity. There is little doubt but that these atrocities roused the spirit of revenge in the Spanish guerillas, and caused many of the

excesses of which those irregulars were guilty. The successes of the French troops had the effect of reducing great part of Leon and Old Castile under the authority of Joseph. On the 10th of June, the siege of Saragossa was commenced; and many gallant deeds were performed by the defenders during its progress. In the south of Spain, the French met with many disasters. Moncey, in an attack on Valencia, was defeated, and compelled to make a retrograde movement. In his retreat he gained some minor successes; and general Cuesta, who always showed himself a most incompetent commander, was defeated at Rio Seco, with considerable loss, on the 14th of July. Every advantage, however, gained up to this time, was counterbalanced by the repeated discomfitures of Duhesme, who commanded in Catalonia; and who, in unsuccessful attempts on Gerona, in attacks made by the Spaniards on Barcelona, and in encounters in the field, lost a number of men, thirty cannon, and quantities of arms and ammunition. At the close of July, the French held no post in Catalonia, except Barcelona and Figueras. But even these losses were slight, indeed, compared with the terrible defeat of Dupont at Baylen, on the 19th of July. He was considerably outnumbered; the Spaniards, under Castanos, amounting to 25,000 men, whilst he had only 14,000. The engagement lasted several hours. The French had 3,000 killed and wounded; and, the next day, Dupont capitulated, with 8,000 men. Another division, under Vedel, was included in the capitulation, with all the French depôts, and small posts and garrisons, as far as Toledo; making a total of about 21,000 troops of all arms. Thus, the effects of this battle cost France 24,000 men. The troops were to have been sent home; the arms, ammunition, &c., to remain with the victors; and it was one of the greatest military disasters France had ever experienced since the battle of Pavia. Napoleon was at Bordeaux when he heard of the capitulation. He was completely overwhelmed; and pronounced the event "a stain upon the French arms, which could never be effaced."*—Previous to this battle, large supplies of provisions and military stores had been received by the Spanish patriots from England; the British government having proclaimed, on the 4th of July, that it was at peace with the Spanish nation.

The intelligence of the insurrectionary movements of course reached Bayonne before the junta broke up; and the emperor and king left that city. Napoleon had repeatedly sent instructions to Savary respecting the measures he was to take to suppress the outbreak; and notwith-

standing the gallant defence of Saragossa, and the defeat of Moncey at Valencia, the subsequent successes of the marshal and the defeat of Cuesta, induced the emperor to think that all danger was passed. When Joseph was on his route, however, he was soon painfully convinced that he had nothing to expect from the good-feeling of the people over whom he was appointed to rule. On the 11th of July, he wrote to his brother, to inform him that the "worst spirit prevailed everywhere, particularly at Madrid;" and the next day, from Vittoria, he said—"There is not a single Spaniard on my side, except the few who compose the junta, and my small suite." However, he proceeded, and entered Madrid on the 20th of July—the day that Dupont surrendered. The silence of the city, on that occasion, is described as "mournful;" and there was not the least sign of a popular welcome. Joseph had not been in the capital forty-eight hours, before he became convinced that nothing but a large army could keep him on the Spanish throne. "All classes," he wrote to his brother on the 24th, "are emigrating from Madrid. The servants of the duke del Parque have abandoned him, and written him word they are gone to join the Spanish army. We are penniless. All the provinces are occupied by the enemy. Henry IV. had a party, and Philip I. only a rival, to combat: I am opposed by a nation of twelve millions of inhabitants, brave, and at the highest pitch of exasperation." On the 28th, the news of the capitulation of Dupont (which had been rumoured in the capital as early as the 23rd), was officially communicated; and, on the 30th, Joseph retired from Madrid to Burgos, where he arrived on the 9th of August, deserted by nearly all the nobles who had adhered to him. He was there joined by Bessières, Verdier, with the troops from Saragossa, and the remains of Moncey's corps. About 50,000 veterans were thus concentrated under his orders. When he left Madrid, Joseph carried off with him the crown jewels, and all the valuables he could collect, from the Escorial. For some time after his departure, but little order prevailed in the capital; but, eventually, the junta of Seville proposed, that two members from each provincial junta should form a central junta, to meet at Madrid. This was agreed to. The junta was inaugurated on the 25th of September; and it conducted the affairs of Spain, first at Madrid, and then at Seville, for some time.

When the news of these events reached Portugal, 10,000 Spanish troops at Oporto displaced the French authorities, restored the old Portuguese

* The fate of the men who surrendered was very lamentable. Nearly 18,000 privates and subalterns were, by a gross breach of faith on the part of the Spaniards, detained at Cadiz, of whom few ever returned to France. Dupont and the generals who were sent home, were

arrested, sent to prison, and kept there, without trial, till the 1st of February, 1812. A court of inquiry then set, and condemned them all. After the fall of Bonaparte they were liberated; having been several years subjected to close imprisonment.

officials, and marched into Spain. This induced Junot to disarm 5,000 Spaniards who were at Lisbon, and to take steps for maintaining the authority of France against the Portuguese, who began also to manifest symptoms of revolt against French rule. Very soon, they rose in every part of the country; and a junta of government was established at Oporto. Junot sent detachments against the patriots, and, in various places, the greatest barbarities were practised, especially at Beija and Evora. At the former place, as general Kellermann stated in an order of the day, the "inhabitants" ("guilty inhabitants" he termed them) "were put to the sword," and the "houses delivered up to pillage and flames." At Evora, the Portuguese being defeated in the field (on the 29th of July), the French entered the town, and indiscriminately massacred its inhabitants, 8,000 of whom were killed or wounded. But the conquerors had soon to suffer a severe retribution.

The English government thought, that the insurrectionary movements in the Peninsula afforded an opportunity for checking the progress of French ambition. A force of nearly 10,000 men, which had been collected at Cork for another purpose, was, therefore, put under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and dispatched to Portugal; and Sir John Moore, who was at Gottenburg with 12,000 men (sent to aid the king of Sweden, who declined their co-operation), was ordered to return to England with his army, for the purpose of proceeding to Spain. Sir A. Wellesley preceded his men in a fast-sailing frigate, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th of July. There he heard of the defeat of Cuesta at Rio Seco; and ascertained, in his communications with the junta of Galicia, that they did not wish to receive British troops, as "they could put any number of men into the field, if they had arms and money." He left them £200,000, and assured them that further supplies of military stores should be sent. Sir Arthur then proceeded southward, and joined the troops he was to command, in Mondego Bay, on the 31st of July. The landing was completed on the 5th of August; on which day, general Spencer arrived, having come round with a detachment of 3,000 men, from the Bay of Cadiz. The united force was 12,300 strong, and Sir Arthur had eighteen guns. His army commenced its onward march on the 9th, expecting to be joined by 6,000 Portuguese troops, which were in the field. The Portuguese generals, however, would only suffer 1,400 infantry, and 250 horse, to be attached to the English force.

Junot, whom the emperor had, just before, created duke d'Abrantes, had sent Laborde down to the coast with 5,000 men, when he first heard of the arrival of the English force; but that general felt himself obliged to retire before the

invaders. As Junot had ordered all his different corps to concentrate for the defence of Lisbon, Laborde resolved to halt at Roliça, or Roriça, a little village in the bosom of the Monte Junta. There, on the 17th of August, they were attacked by the British, who had the advantage in numbers; but the French were so favourably posted, that this advantage appears to have availed little; as only a portion of Sir Arthur Wellesley's army could get into the engagement. The battle was gallantly contested on both sides; but the French were obliged to retreat to the higher mountains, having lost three guns, and 600 killed and wounded. The loss of the British was nearly 500. Laborde was not pursued as he marched inland; and Sir Arthur Wellesley, expecting reinforcements by sea, kept in the direction of the coast. Intelligence was received in the night, of the arrival of a squadron, with troops on board; and, in order to effect a junction readily, the army moved on Vimiera, a town of Estremadura, seven miles north of Torres Vedras. On the 19th, a detachment commanded by general Anstruther, and, on the 20th, another under general Auckland, landed, making the English army 16,000 strong, exclusive of the Portuguese brigade, and two regiments, which were with Sir Charles Cotton, off the Tagus. Sir Arthur's weakest arm was his cavalry; he having only 180 British, and 200 Portuguese horse. Junot, with 14,000 men, 1,200 of whom were cavalry, and twenty-six pieces of cannon, marched from Lisbon to attack this force; and had not Sir Harry Burrard, who arrived to supersede Sir Arthur, forbade his advance on the capital, the two armies would have encountered in a much more advantageous position for the British than they did; and the consequence of a defeat to Junot, must have been the entire destruction of the army. The British had a good position at Vimiera; their right being posted on a mountain ridge running inland from the sea, with the base on a plain, on which the village of Vimiera was situated. Six guns, and two brigades of infantry, were placed on a hill that masked the village; and the cavalry occupied the egress from the plain. Here they were attacked by the French on the morning of the 21st of August. The principal assault took place on the centre and the left; and it was repulsed as spiritedly as it was made. One portion of Junot's force, under general Solignac, after an interchange of volleys, which was kept up for some time with great loss on both sides, was charged with the bayonet by three British regiments—the 40th, 56th, and 71st, supported by three others; and the entire front line of the French is described as going "down, like grass before the scythe." Another attempt was made to drive the British from their posts, with Brennier's brigade, and the reserve under Kellermann.

They were at first successful, as their approach was not perceived; and the assailed, taken by surprise, were thrown into temporary confusion. But they soon recovered themselves, and, in their turn, becoming the assailants, drove the enemy before them; whose rout and destruction would have been decisive, had not the pursuit been interrupted by Sir Harry Burrard, who prevented Wellesley from following up his victory. In this engagement, the French lost about 1,800, the British 720, in killed and wounded. The former also left many prisoners, and fourteen cannon, in the hands of the victors, of whom only between nine and ten thousand were actually engaged.

The next morning, Sir Hugh Dalrymple landed, and took the command. Junot had reached Torres Vedras, and Sir Hugh had given orders to advance on that post; when general Kellermann arrived with a flag of truce, and a proposal from Junot for an armistice, in order that negotiations might be entered into for the evacuation of Portugal. The convention of Cintra was the result, which was signed on the 23rd of August. By its terms, the French were to be sent, by sea, back to France, with their artillery, arms, and baggage.* They would have included in the latter, all the public, and no small portion of the private, property in Lisbon, if the British had not prevented them. With great difficulty most of their plunder was regained; and, on the 15th of September, the first division sailed from the Tagus. By the middle of October, not a French soldier remained in Portugal. Thus ended the attempt of the emperor to possess himself of that part of the Peninsula.

Napoleon arrived at Paris in August; and during that month, he kept up an unintermitted correspondence with Joseph upon the affairs of Spain; the latter constantly dwelling upon the hostility of the Spaniards, and maintaining, that it would require at least 200,000 men to conquer the country. The successes of the insurgents convinced the emperor that some decisive measure must be adopted. On the 4th of September he went to the Luxembourg, where the senate was assembled; and after a few observations on the events which had transpired in the Peninsula (which were not known to their full extent), he said—"I am resolved to prosecute the war in Spain with the greatest activity, and to destroy the armies which England may land in that country. My alliance with the emperor of Russia, leaves England no prospect of success in her projects. I believe in the peace of the continent; but I will not, and I cannot, depend upon the false calculations of other courts; and since

my neighbours are increasing their armies, it is my business to increase mine."—In reply, the senate voted an address, in which it was declared, that "the will of France was the same with the will of the emperor;" and that "the war with Spain was politic, just, and necessary." The senators followed up this address by a decree, issued on the 10th, by which 80,000 conscripts of the classes which had been already released—viz., those of 1806, 1807, 1808, and 1809, were placed at the emperor's disposal; and 100,000 from the class of 1810. On the 11th, the emperor reviewed all the troops in Paris, at the Tuileries, and told them, he should himself lead them into Spain, to avenge the wrongs which the Spaniards had inflicted on France!

Before he commenced the new campaign, however, he wished to make all safe on the side of Germany, where Austria had recently shown some signs of restiveness under the inflictions which were the result of the "continental system." On the 8th of September he concluded a fresh treaty with Prussia, by which, in consequence of the king's pledge of amity, he agreed to put an end to the military occupation of the country; with the exception of the fortresses of Glogau, Stettin, and Cüstrin, which were still to be garrisoned by French troops till all the arrears of contributions had been paid. The expenses of those garrisons were to be defrayed by the king of Prussia, who was not to raise an army exceeding 40,000 men for the next ten years. Napoleon was also desirous of strengthening his alliance with Russia; and for that purpose he proposed an interview, to which the czar assented; and it was arranged that the two sovereigns should meet at Erfurth. Napoleon left Paris for that town on the 22nd of September; he arrived at Erfurth on the 27th; and the two emperors remained together till the 14th of October, during which time most of the kings and princes of Germany joined them; and the town was a scene of great festivity. No treaty was concluded at Erfurth; but Las Casas and others, who were in Napoleon's confidence, inform us, that the two emperors entered into engagements mutually to support each other. Alexander sanctioned the proceedings already taken, or which might hereafter be taken, with respect to Spain and Portugal; the transfer of the kingdom of Naples to Murat, and the annexation of Tuscany to France: he also promised to join the French armies with a considerable force, in the event of a war with Austria; and again engaged to use his mediation with England to induce her to conclude a peace. Napoleon, in return, agreed that Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia, should be added to Russia; and encouraged the czar to entertain hopes of French assistance, in any attack he might make upon the Indian empire of England. The czar wished that the possession of Constantinople should also

* This convention was severely condemned in England; and a court of inquiry was held the same year, upon the conduct of those who signed it. The result was, a declaration from the king, strongly condemning its terms.

be ceded to him; but Napoleon told Las Casas, that "he could never bring his mind to consent to it." He had, at that period, formed the project of divorcing Josephine, and contracting an alliance with some of the royal houses of Europe; and before he left Erfurth, he became a suitor for the hand of the grand-duchess, Catherine Paulowna, the favourite sister of the czar. He was defeated, however, by the firmness of the empress-dowager, who could not reconcile herself to an alliance with one not of royal birth. Her imperial majesty, however, publicly alleged religious scruples as a reason for withholding her assent to the marriage; and then gave the hand of the grand-duchess to the prince of Oldenburg.

Though disappointed in his matrimonial speculation, the conferences at Erfurth were satisfactory to Napoleon at the time. It was the opinion of many authorities, however, that there was no sincere friendship between the two emperors, but that each only assumed the guise of amity till circumstances enabled him to take measures for repressing what he considered the aggressive ambition of the other. But they separated with the strongest professions of friendship; and Napoleon set out, on his return to the French capital, in, apparently, the highest spirits. On the 25th of October, soon after he arrived at the Tuileries, he summoned the legislative body, and opened the session by a speech, in which he told them of his intention to go to Spain and take the command of the army. "The hideous presence of the English leopards," he said, "contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal. I go to place myself at the head of my armies, to crown my brother at Madrid, and to plant the French eagles on the ramparts of Lisbon." The members of the legislative body received this speech with great applause. They readily acceded to the demands Napoleon made for men and money; and, two days after, he left Paris for Bayonne, where he arrived on the 3rd of November.

The aspect of affairs now looked very threatening for Spain. From the time that the king had retired, with his diminished force, behind the Ebro, his negotiations with Prussia and his journey to Erfurth did not prevent Napoleon from enforcing the most active measures for reorganising and strengthening the army in the Peninsula. By the beginning of October, there were 90,000 men in Navarre, and 20,000 in Catalonia; and these formidable corps were still further strengthened by the troops withdrawn from the Rhine, including the corps of Soult, Ney, and Mortier. During the month of October, the road from Bayonne to Vittoria was crowded with armed men, marching to reinforce the army in Navarre; and the entire number of French troops in Spain, when the emperor took the field in November, was estimated at upwards

of 300,000 men, who were divided into eight corps, and commanded as follows:—

Corps.	No. of Men.	Commanders.
1st	33,937	Victor, duke of Belluno.
2nd	33,054	Bessières, duke of Istria; and afterwards Soult, duke of Dalmatia.
3rd	37,690	Moncey, duke of Cornegliano.
4th	25,984	Lefebvre, duke of Dantzic.
5th	26,713	Mortier, duke of Treviso.
6th	38,033	Ney, duke of Elchingen.
7th	42,107	General St. Cyr.
8th	25,730	Junot, duke of Abrantes.
Reserve . .	42,382	Napoleon, in person.
Total . . .	305,630	

Besides these various corps, 15,000 men were, in November, on their march from France to the scene of action. The "grand army" was so disposed, that at least 180,000 men could be collected for offensive operations on the Ebro. To oppose them, the Spaniards had, in that quarter, three armies under Palafox, Castanos, and Blake, amounting to 74,000 infantry, 2,000 horse, and 86 guns. Two small British armies were also advancing to the scene of action. One was the force from Sweden, under Sir John Moore, which had disembarked at Lisbon in the middle of October, and immediately made for the Ebro in two columns—one by Elvas, Badajoz, Talavera, and Madrid; the other, by Abrantes, Almeida, and Ciudad Rodrigo. The other army was under Sir David Baird, who, with 13,000 men, had landed at Corunna on the 13th of October, and took the route for Vittoria, to form a junction with Sir John Moore. The Spaniards had also about 57,000 men, as reserve corps, at Segovia, Talavera, La Mancha, and Slanes. If this entire force could have been concentrated before the French were ready for the attack, it would have been quite unequal to encounter the well-disciplined veterans of France. No wonder, therefore, that a series of disasters, for a time, completely paralysed the patriot cause.

The last success of the Spaniards, in this stage of the war, was obtained at Bilbao, on the 23rd of September, when Blake took that town, and caused the French stationed there to retreat to the mountains of Navarre. A combined attack upon the central position which the French then held in those mountains, was contemplated; but there was neither sufficient strategic ability in the chiefs, nor discipline in the troops, to carry it out. The Andalusian army, under Castanos, on the 25th of October, attacked the French posts around Logrono, on the right bank of the Ebro; and were, after obtaining some advantages, driven back with the loss of their artillery. Blake, after he had taken Bilbao, was joined by the marquis of Romana, and some troops from Corunna. He advanced by the valley of Durango, with the intention of interposing between the corps of Ney and

Lefebvre; and, as he had 50,000 men nominally under his command, a decisive action was expected. However, he contrived to appear in front of the enemy, in the valley, with only some 17,000 men, the rest being scattered along the sea-coast. There he was attacked by Lefebvre on the 31st of October, driven back upon Bilbao, which the French reoccupied, and pursued in the direction of the Asturias. He rallied his men, and compelled them to return, but could not regain possession of that town.

When Napoleon joined the French army, Blake, with 25,000 men, dispirited by his defeat, was at Espinosa, in Biscay; the conde de Belvidere, with 12,000 men, was at Burgos; Castanos and Palafox were advancing towards Logrono, ignorant of the strength of the invaders; and the British were converging, as fast as they could, to the scene of action. The emperor directed the first attack to be made on Blake, who was defeated on the 10th, 11th, and 13th of November, at Espinosa and Reynosa. On the 10th, numbers of the Spaniards were driven into the river Trueba, and perished. On the 13th the dispersion was completed—a few thousand men, utterly exhausted and helpless, escaping to the mountains of the Asturias; but all the artillery and ammunition were lost; and Santander, where the British had landed a great many stores, fell into the hands of the French.—On the 10th of November, the conde de Belvidere was defeated at Burgos; 2,000 Spaniards being killed, 800 made prisoners, and all the ammunition and stores at Burgos taken. That town was given up to pillage; and, on the 12th, Napoleon established his head-quarters there.—Ney and Lannes were next dispatched against Castanos and Palafox; the former of whom, ignorant of the fate which had befallen Blake and Belvidere, had formed a plan of breaking through the French force, penetrating to Burgos, and, passing on to Vittoria, co-operate with Blake in attacking and driving back the enemy. The advance of Ney, however, compelled him to fall back on Tudela, where he formed a junction with Palafox. On the 23rd of November, Lannes, who had concentrated 30,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of cannon, and had generals Maurice, Mathieu, and Lefebvre under him, attacked the united force. One of his divisions, under La Grange, was defeated and driven back by some brave fellows—part of those who won the victory of Baylen. But in all other parts of the field the French were successful; and the Spaniards who had defeated La Grange, were, in their turn, beaten by a dense mass of infantry, whom they encountered when following up their success. The result of the action was, that the Spanish army was entirely broken up and dispersed, except 20,000 men under Castanos, who, with their artillery, fell back to Calatayud; from whence, by order of

the central junta, they proceeded to Madrid, to defend the capital. In the battle of Tudela, 5,000 Spaniards were killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

After the last engagement, the emperor resolved to march upon the capital, leaving Lefebvre to watch Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird. The force under Napoleon included the imperial guard, and amounted to 60,000 men. The only difficulty in their way was the pass of the Somo-Sierra mountains, which was defended by 12,000 Spaniards, and was gallantly forced on the 30th of November; the French lancers charging the enemy in the most daring style, and carrying all before them. Nothing then prevented the march of the French upon Madrid; and that capital was deserted by the central junta, who made for Badajoz by various roads. A provisional junta was left, with the duke del Infantado at its head: when the French appeared before the city, however, on the 2nd of December, the duke departed, and followed the army of Castanos to Guadalaxara, where it had retreated, without making any stand at the capital. On the 3rd, the emperor directed a battery of thirty guns to open its fire upon the Retiro, a fort on the heights which command the city. At this moment, says Sir A. Alison, "the agitation in Madrid became excessive. Twenty thousand armed men were within its walls, agitated by furious passions, burning with individual ardour, but destitute of the organisation and discipline necessary for success against the formidable enemy by whom they were now assailed. The city presented the most frightful scene of disorder. Exasperated crowds filled the streets; strong barricades were erected in various quarters; the bells of 200 churches rung together; a confused murmur, like the sound of a mighty cataract, was heard incessantly, even during the night, and was audible at the distance of several miles from the capital." A vivid picture this, of the alarm, consternation, and confusion which the advance of a hostile force creates in a populous town. The French were "silent and orderly;" the force of discipline was evident everywhere; and the authorities of Madrid soon found that resistance was unavailing. The Retiro was taken on the 3rd; and on the 4th the city surrendered—the marquis Castellás, the viscount de Gaëta, and some men with them, withdrawing in the night.

Napoleon, completely disregarding Joseph, who was in his camp, established his head-quarters at Chamartin, in the neighbourhood of Madrid; from whence he issued orders for punishing those who had taken the oath to, and then had abandoned, his brother; abolished the Inquisition, and ordered its funds to be applied to the discharge of the national debt; reduced the number of convents one-third, and ordered

half the revenues of those suppressed to be also used in diminishing the debt, and the other half to the relief of the towns which had suffered by the French invasion; abolished all barriers between the commerce of France and Spain; and finally issued a bulletin (on the 7th of December), in which he said, he would "chase the English from the Peninsula;" and predicted, that "the Bourbons could never again reign in Europe." These proceedings displeased Joseph, who found his authority entirely dispensed with. He had not yet re-entered Madrid; and, the day after the bulletin appeared, he wrote to his brother, requesting that he would receive his (Joseph's) renunciation of all the rights he had given him to the throne of Spain. This led to some further intercourse between the two brothers, as it did not suit Napoleon's purpose, at that time, to accept Joseph's resignation; and to the promulgation of a proclamation, in which Napoleon told the Spaniards, that he had removed every impediment in the way of their happiness and prosperity, having replaced their despotic by a constitutional monarchy. "But," he added, "if I find my efforts are useless, and my confidence misplaced, I will treat Spain as a conquered country, and put my brother on some other throne. I will then place the crown of Spain on my own head, and I shall know how to make it respected; for God has given me the power and the will to surmount all obstacles." This proclamation brought the civil and religious authorities to the emperor, to request him to let Joseph resume the regal authority. Their request was granted, and they again took the oaths to their new sovereign, who, however, did not re-enter Madrid till the 22nd of January, 1809.

Soon after the Spanish authorities had renewed their oaths to Joseph, Napoleon departed from Madrid, to arrest the retreat of the British army under Sir John Moore, who had been joined, at Salamanca, by Sir David Baird and general Hope; and found himself at the head of 31,588 men, of whom 25,858 were fit for duty. This army was in the highest spirits when advancing to Madrid; the garrison of which, Sir J. Moore was informed, had vowed not to surrender the city, but to bury themselves under its ruins. When it was found, however, that the Spanish troops were fugitives, and the capital once more in the hands of the French, retreat became indispensable. In this movement, Sir John Moore's and Sir David Baird's corps were divided; but they were reunited at Sahagun on the 21st of December. From thence the retreat was conducted by Benevente, Astorga, and Lugo, to Corunna. Napoleon himself led the pursuit to Astorga; where the intelligence he received from Paris, induced him to leave the task of "driving the islanders into the sea," to

Soult and Ney, and to return to France. The retreat was continued through the most difficult roads, and by mountain passes, in which ammunition waggons had repeatedly to be blown up, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. These passes were sometimes choked by deep snow; and the hardships and privations which the men endured, were of the most terrible description. Notwithstanding all the exertions of the officers, the troops, lost to all discipline, became little better than marauders; and they committed sad atrocities on the inhabitants. They were closely pressed by the enemy; but, in the midst of their privations, they never lost their courage. Encounters between pickets, and the rear-guard of one and the advanced guard of the other army, were frequent. The British were, in these affairs, always victors. They made many prisoners, one of them being general Lefebvre Dessouettes; and, in this difficult retreat—one of the most harassing on record, except that of the French from Moscow—they did not lose a single gun.

On the 5th of January, 1809, the English army had twelve hours' start of the enemy, and reached Nogales. "At this period of the retreat" (we quote Sir William Napier), "the road was covered with baggage, sick men, women, and plunderers. Under the most favourable circumstances, the toil of a retreating force exhibits the most terrible scenes of distress; and, on the road near Nogales, the followers of the army were dying fast from cold and hunger. The soldiers, barefooted, harassed, and weakened by their excesses, were dropping on the road by hundreds; while broken carts, dead animals, and the piteous appearance of women with children, struggling, or falling exhausted in the snow, completed a picture of war, which, like Janus, has a *double face*!" Notwithstanding these disastrous circumstances, on the 11th of January, between 14,000 and 15,000 reached Corunna. There they were to embark; but the transports had not arrived, being detained at Vigo by contrary winds. It was not till the 14th that they hove in sight; and, in the evening of that day, the sick, the dismounted cavalry, the best horses, and fifty-two pieces of artillery, were embarked. On the 15th, the French, under Soult, had reached Corunna in force. Their batteries commanded the town; and Sir John Moore found that his men must force their way, or capitulate. Many of the officers were in favour of a capitulation; but the general would not hear of any such a termination to the expedition. It was resolved, therefore, to fight; and the night of the 15th was employed in embarking all the women, wounded, and everything that could impede the operations of the army. The next day, the English, amounting to not more than 14,500, were attacked by the French, who were at least

20,000 strong. The former, under Sir John Moore, Sir David Baird, Sir John Hope, and generals Frazer and Paget, occupied a range of heights, rising, like an amphitheatre, round the village of Elvina. The French were posted on a semicircular ridge, sweeping round the British position. The English had only twelve cannon: the French had twelve pieces of heavy artillery, and a number of light field-pieces. The fighting began about two o'clock, by an impetuous onset of the French, who advanced in four columns, and made a fierce assault upon the British, which was received with the greatest firmness. The enemy returned again and again to the attack, but with the same result. The fighting continued till night, when a charge with the bayonet drove the French from the heights, with the loss of 2,000 men. The English remained considerably in advance of the positions they occupied in the morning. In the midst of the fight, the gallant commander-in-chief, Sir John Moore, received his death-wound, when animating the 42nd Highlanders to make a successful charge. He died the same

night, and was buried in a grave dug in the ramparts of Corunna, his cloak forming his shroud.

"No useless coffin enclosed his breast,
Nor in sheet nor in shroud they wound him;
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

The French, like gallant enemies, erected a tomb over his remains, which has since been enlarged, and bears the simple inscription—"John Moore, leader of the English armies, slain in battle, 1809."

Sir David Baird was wounded in the action, and the command devolved on Sir John Hope. Under his orders, the troops were all embarked that night, the French offering no interruption. The few Spanish troops who were in the town subsequently closed the gates, manned the ramparts, and kept the French at bay, till the remaining artillery, stores, wounded, and prisoners were embarked. Then they capitulated to marshal Soult, who, a few days after, made a much more important capture—the fortress of Ferrol, and seven ships of the line, falling into his hands.

CHAPTER XI.

NAPOLÉON AT PARIS; POPULAR DISCONTENT; ANOTHER WAR WITH AUSTRIA; THE CAMPAIGN; BATTLE OF ECHMUHL; AFFAIRS IN ITALY, THE TYROL, AND POLAND; TERRIBLE BATTLE OF EBERSBERG; OCCUPATION OF VIENNA; BATTLE OF ASPERN; BATTLE OF WAGRAM; ARMISTICE OF ZNAIM; EXPEDITION TO WALCHEREN; PEACE OF VIENNA; THE TYROL; TREATMENT OF THE POPE; ATTACK ON THE FRENCH SQUADRON IN D'AIX ROADS.

NAPOLÉON arrived at Paris on the 22nd of January, 1809: his return, entirely unexpected, was occasioned by information not only from Vienna, Munich, Dresden, and Milan, relative to the activity with which Austria was pursuing her military preparations; and from Constantinople, of the efforts which were making to detach the Porte from France, and to induce her once more to unite her fortunes with England; but also because, according to Thiers, "it was intimated to him from Paris, that there was a strange uneasiness abroad; that intrigues were timidly, but visibly, urged at the court; that bold language was uttered in the town; and that everywhere, in short, people were uneasy, discontented, ill-disposed, and ill-spoken." The disasters of the Spanish war had produced this change in a few short months; and the disaffection of the people spread to the legislative body, which remained in session; and where the ten or fifteen opposition votes, originally found there, had increased from eighty to a hundred. Even Talleyrand and Fouché were wavering in allegiance, and speculating upon their course,

should the career of Napoleon be ended by a ball from a cannon, or a poniard in the hand of an assassin.

The emperor's first step, after his arrival in Paris, was to summon a council of ministers, which he attended, and indulged in a fit of scolding every one present, more especially Talleyrand, whom he frightened into a display of almost abject humility. When his passion had passed off, however, he was ashamed of the anger in which he had indulged, and endeavoured to atone for it to those who had been its objects. After a very few days' rest at the Tuileries, he applied himself to the recruiting of his armies, and to negotiations with Russia and Prussia, with a view to induce them to stand aloof, if they did not give him active aid, in the conflict which he anticipated with Austria. The emperor Francis, affronted at not being invited to Erfurth, and naturally dissatisfied at the humiliating position in which he was placed, had renewed a familiar intercourse with England, which power had rejected the offered mediation of Russia between her and France; one

ground for doing so being, that the deceitful prospect of a peace between Great Britain and France, might not discourage those nations who were seeking to exchange "a precarious and doubtful independence," for one of a more honourable and secure character. He had also sent prince Schwartzberg to St. Petersburg, to endeavour to induce Russia to forego her French alliance; but, at that time, Alexander remained firm to his personal engagements with Napoleon, and instructed count Romanzoff to propose, at Paris, a triple guarantee between Russia, Austria, and France, which Austria declined to accede to. The king of Prussia, like Alexander, professed fealty to his engagements with Napoleon; and thus Austria was again left alone to try the fortune of war with one who had hitherto been successful against every opponent. She was supported by the almost universal voice of the German people, instigated by the *Tugenbund*, wherever they were at liberty to express it. The Prussians were indignant at the supineness of their sovereign, and eager, once more, to try their strength with France; and the inhabitants of the other German states, whose sovereigns were in alliance with Napoleon, were equally hostile to that country. Still the archduke Charles, and other eminent Austrians, strongly discouraged the war, for which they thought the empire was by no means prepared; the army being inadequate to the extent of country it had to defend, notwithstanding the French force in Germany had been greatly weakened by the drafts for Spain.

The withdrawal of the most distinguished regiments for the Spanish campaign, was one of the principal reasons that induced the emperor Francis, and his more confidential advisers, to think that this was a favourable moment for throwing off the yoke which France had imposed, and for endeavouring to recover some of the lost possessions of the house of Hapsburg. By great efforts, the Austrian army had been raised to 300,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and about 200,000 landwehr* and Hungarians. The regular army was divided into nine corps. Six under the archduke Charles, comprising at least 120,000 able-bodied men, were concentrated on the frontiers of Bavaria; a strong reserve being cantoned in Bohemia. In Italy, the archduke John was placed at the head of two corps, of 47,000 men, with 25,000 irregulars, in Carinthia, Carniola, and Istria. On the eastern frontier of the Tyrol, where the peasantry were ready to rise in insurrection against the Bavarian and French domination, the marquis Chastellar had 12,000 veterans; and the archduke Ferdinand, at the head of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, was ready to carry the war into the grand-duchy of Warsaw. It was the design of the Austrian government to commence

* A militia, raised by subscription.

operations, simultaneously, in that duchy, Franconia, Lombardy, and the Tyrol; and important successes were anticipated before the French government could collect any considerable force to oppose the imperial armies. But Napoleon had not been inactive. He had ordered troops from Spain; concentrated the garrisons of various fortresses he held in Germany, and replaced them with Saxo-Polish troops; called out the contingents of the German confederation; and raised more men in France itself: so that, before the first three months of 1809 were expired, he had an army of 200,000 effective men, divided into eight corps, under Berthier, Lannes, Davoust, Masséna, Lefebvre, Augereau, Bernadotte, and the king of Westphalia; with a reserve, under Bessières. These different corps, scattered at first, were ordered to concentrate as quickly as possible, around the Lech and on the Danube. They were called, collectively, the "army of Germany;" and Berthier was invested with the chief command till the arrival of the emperor.

While these military preparations were going on, both Austria and France kept their ministers at each other's courts; the subsequently celebrated prince (then baron) Metternich being the Austrian ambassador at Paris. The emperor Alexander also continued his attempts to mediate between the two powers, but in vain. At the same time, he was carrying on his designs against Sweden, the incapacity of whose monarch led to an insurrection; to his arrest on the 13th of March, his imprisonment at Drottingholm, and deposition; to the election of the duke of Sudermania as king of Sweden, under the title of Charles XIII.; and to the annexation of the whole of Finland, part of Bothnia, and the island of Aland to Russia. These events, however, caused little interest, in the midst of the excitement which prevailed throughout Europe from the anticipated hostilities. The lookers-on wondered who would strike the first blow, as, when both were prepared, each seemed loth to take the initiative. At length the arrest of a French courier by the Austrian authorities, under the supposition that he was conveying despatches from the French ambassador at Vienna to the French ministers at other German courts, revealing more than the court of Vienna wished to have known, led to retaliatory acts by Napoleon, who ordered the arrest of the Austrian couriers on all the roads to which the French troops had access. Baron Metternich soon after demanded his passports; and early in April hostilities commenced.

On the 9th of that month, the army of the archduke Charles was cantoned along the Inn, on the Franco-Bavarian frontier; the emperor being at head-quarters. On that day, the archduke sent an aide-de-camp to the king of Bavaria, with a letter, announcing that he had

received orders from his imperial brother to advance, and to treat, as enemies, whoever should resist him. He was unwilling, however, to believe that German troops would offer opposition to a liberating army, which came to deliver Germany from its oppressors. The king of Bavaria's reply to this communication was, to put his troops, encamped on the Iser, at Munich, and Landshut, under the command of Lefebvre; and to remove from Munich to Augsburg. The letter addressed to his majesty, and a manifesto from the archduke Charles to the army, constituted the only declaration of war on the part of Austria. In the manifesto the archduke said—"When all attempts to preserve independence from the insatiable ambition of a foreign conqueror prove fruitless—when nations are falling around us, and when lawful princes are torn from the hearts of their subjects;—when, in fine, the dread of universal subjugation threatens even the happy states of Austria, and their peaceable, fortunate inhabitants—then does our country demand its deliverance from us, and we stand forth in its defence. On you, my brother-soldiers, are fixed the eyes of the universe, and of all those who still feel for national honour and national prosperity. You shall not incur the disgrace of being made the instruments of oppression; you shall not incur the disgrace of carrying on the endless war of ambition in distant climes; your blood shall never flow for foreign objects, or insatiable covetousness; nor on you shall the curse alight of annihilating distant nations, and over the bodies of the slaughtered defenders of their country, paving the way for a foreigner to an usurped throne. A happier lot awaits you; the liberty of Europe has taken refuge under your banners." They were then reminded of former victories; exhorted to observe discipline and moderation; and told, that it was "not the intention of their monarch to oppose foreign nations, but to deliver them; to form with their princes a lasting peace, and maintain the general welfare and security."

The Austrians crossed the Inn on the 9th of April, the same day that the archduke's letter was forwarded to the king of Bavaria. They marched in three columns towards the river Iser, and arrived on its banks on the 15th. The next day the entire army crossed that river at Landshut; the advanced guard driving back some Bavarian troops who disputed the passage, and who were compelled to retreat to the forest of Dürnbach, on the Danube, where two divisions of the Bavarian army, under the princely and general de Wrede, had already retired. The next day the army marched on the Danube, two corps being on the left, three in the centre, and one on the right. If the Austrians had been as energetic and prompt as they are brave, and if the archduke had not been controlled in

his movements by the absurd routine mania of the Aulic Council, a large portion of the French force might now have been destroyed in detail: but the tide of Napoleon's fortunes had not yet turned. He had ordered Berthier, if the enemy broke ground before the 15th of April (by which time he expected to have his forces collected round Ratisbon), to concentrate his army on the Lech, round Donauwörth. If they did not move till after that date, then Ratisbon was to be the head-quarters; the right bank of the Danube being guarded from that city to Passau, in order to secure the supply of provisions and military stores by that river. On the 12th, however, he received intelligence, by telegraph, that the Austrians had crossed the Inn; and, at two o'clock on the morning of the 13th, he set off to join the army. He reached Donauwörth on the 17th, and assumed the chief command of the army, Berthier taking that of the first division.

Berthier was a bad strategist. He scattered his forces instead of concentrating them, having Davoust at Ratisbon, and Masséna on the Lech, at Augsburg, thirty-five leagues distant; whilst Lefebvre, De Wrede, and Oudinot were placed across Bavaria, in three lines, one behind the other, with several leagues between each; so that, had the archduke shown any activity, they might have all been destroyed in detail. The Austrians advanced, however, very leisurely, at the rate of about three leagues a-day; still, when the emperor arrived at Donauwörth, Davoust, at Ratisbon, with 60,000 men, was threatened by the archduke, at the head of 100,000. The emperor, when aware of the disposition of his forces, told Berthier, that but for his friendship, he should think he was betraying him. He immediately ordered Masséna to advance to Pfaffenhofen, nearly half-way to Neustadt; and Davoust to move in the direction of that town, and to form a junction with the Bavarians, Würtembergers, and Lefebvre, who had retired before the archduke Charles. At the same time, on the 18th of April, he addressed one of his spirited proclamations to his troops. "Soldiers!" it commenced, "the territory of the Confederation of the Rhine has been violated. The Austrian general supposes that we are to fly at the sight of his eagles, and abandon our allies to his mercy. I arrive with the rapidity of lightning in the midst of you. Soldiers! I was surrounded by your bayonets, when the emperor of Austria arrived at my bivouac in Moravia. You heard him implore my clemency, and swear an eternal friendship. Conquerors in three wars, Austria has owed everything to our generosity. Three times she has perjured herself! Our former successes are a sure guarantee of our future triumphs. Let us march then; and, in our aspect, let our enemy recognise his conquerors."

On the 18th of April, Davoust's army had

quitted Ratisbon, with the exception of the 65th regiment, which was left to defend that city, with orders to close the gates, barricade the streets, and use every means in their power to retard the advance of the enemy. On the 19th, he commenced his march on Neustadt; while the archduke was advancing towards the city the French had just quitted, and where he ought to have been some days before. On that day there was much sharp fighting near the village of Thaun, on the banks of the Danube, between the divisions of the French army, under generals St. Hilaire and Friant (who, on the heights of Salhaupt and Tengen, covered the advance of Davoust's main body), and the Austrians, under the prince Hohenzollern and Louis of Lichtenstein. The contest continued nearly the entire day, fresh troops continually coming up; and at last there were 20,000 men engaged on each side. The combatants were separated by a violent thunder-storm, about 6 P.M., without either having gained a decisive advantage, and each having had about the same number (3,000) killed and wounded. That night Davoust arrived at Abensburg, on the Abens, sixteen miles from Ratisbon, where he bivouacked. Masséna also concentrated his army at Pfaffenhofen, having surprised an Austrian corps there of 5,000 men, which he soon dispersed. Oudinot had advanced towards Freysing; and Lefebvre, De Wrede, and Vandamme, with the contingents of the Confederation of the Rhine, were at Neustadt and Biburg.

On the 20th—the French army being disposed as stated in the last paragraph, and concentrated upon a line, extending about ten leagues in length—the Austrians were collected upon a tract of some extent, formed, near Ratisbon, by the Iser and the Danube; the masses being bivouacked round Echmühl. Several regiments were in villages between Mainburg and Ratisbon; Hohenzollern was at Hausen; Lichtenstein at Eglossheim; and Rosenberg at Dingling. They were scattered over a space several leagues broad—not in a line, but a semicircle, of which the Iser formed the base, and the bend of the Danube at Ratisbon, the arc; and the collective number of the different corps was not equal to that of the French, even after Napoleon had, on the morning of the 20th, detached Masséna to Landshut, in order to prevent the Austrians from reoccupying that place. On that day the French attacked the corps of the archduke Louis, who was marching from the Abens to join his brother. The corps of general Hiller came to his aid; but both were defeated and driven towards Landshut, where they were followed by a French division, headed by Napoleon in person. On the morning of the 21st, the pursued found themselves between two fires; Masséna having advanced close upon them in another direction. The fighting was

most determined on both sides; but the Austrians had ultimately to retreat, leaving in the hands of the French 9,000 prisoners, thirty pieces of cannon, 600 ammunition waggons, 3,000 vehicles of various descriptions, and three pontoon trains. Masséna then took possession of Landshut.

On the 20th, the archduke Charles captured Ratisbon: the officer who was left to defend it, having no ammunition, was obliged to surrender. By this capture, 3,000 prisoners and an eagle fell into the hands of the imperialists. There was much fighting between detached corps of both armies on the 21st; and, on the 22nd, the battle of Echmühl was fought. It consisted of a series of daring attacks, and as gallant defences—Napoleon having brought up most of the corps engaged on the 19th, 20th, and 21st; and the archduke Charles having concentrated the various Austrian corps in the neighbourhood, under Kollowrath, and other commanders with whom he could open any communication. The victory remained with the French, mainly owing to the efforts of Davoust; but the aspect of the fight was varied during the day. The tremendous fire from the Austrian batteries repeatedly drove back the Würtembergers, who attacked Echmühl; and they did not succeed in entering the village till Lannes (who had only just joined the army, having arrived from Saragossa on the 19th) sent a detachment to attack the batteries in flank. There was also an encounter, unsurpassed in gallantry, between the corps of Rosenberg, some Würtembergers under Vandamme, and a division under Davoust, who had returned victorious from another quarter. The Austrians stood back to back; and whilst the infantry and artillery kept up a murderous fire, the imperial cuirassiers made repeated charges on the enemy. But Lannes, at last, by a brilliant charge with fresh troops, sabred the cannoniers and captured sixteen guns. Then the gallant imperialists were obliged to retreat. When the main body was driven back, and likely to be completely broken up and dispersed, twelve squadrons of the emperor's cuirassiers, and a large body of hussars, drew up in front of Eglossheim; and, as the pursuers advanced, they bore down upon them with a fury which was for a time irresistible. The combat was a terrific one; and the other contending parties are said to have "suspended their fire to await the issue. If the equipment of the Austrians had been equal to that of their opponents, they would, to all appearance, have been victorious: but they had only breastplates; whilst the French wore complete coats of mail." After losing two-thirds of their number, the former were obliged to succumb; but during the engagement, the artillery and infantry withdrew to the rear; and, as Napoleon found that the archduke had called up the reserve under

Lichtenstein, which had not been engaged, he ordered the pursuit to be arrested. The army accordingly halted, and bivouacked on the field of battle. Their loss had been near 3,000 killed and wounded; that of the Austrians was about double the number: they also lost between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners, twelve standards, and sixteen pieces of cannon. For his services in this engagement, Davoust received the title of duke of Echmühl.

According to the Austrian general Stutterheim—after this battle, the archduke had 60,000 troops round the walls of Ratisbon; the defeated corps having made for that city. As these men were greatly fatigued with four or five days' constant marching and fighting, and another defeat would have been utter ruin, his imperial highness resolved to cross the Danube, and retreat into Bohemia. This movement was effected on the 23rd of April, but not unmolested. The French were in motion early as well as the Austrians; and whilst the latter were engaged in throwing a bridge of boats across the river, and in passing over to the other side, the light cavalry of the former came up, and a fight ensued between them and the Austrian cavalry, who lost near 1,000 men. They gave way, and defiled through the town at full gallop, followed by the French, who were stopped at the gates. The Austrians made for the bridge of boats; and the French infantry and artillery under Lannes coming up, he ordered the guns to open on the bridge, which was soon broken; but the Austrians effected the passage with the loss of about a hundred men. Napoleon shortly after arrived with Davoust's division, and ordered the city to be bombarded. Volleys of shot and shell were poured in, and the place was soon on fire in several places: whilst this was going on, Napoleon was wounded in the foot. Ratisbon was at length taken; and the events of the day cost the Austrians about 2,000 men killed and wounded, and between 6,000 and 7,000 prisoners.

The results of the five days' operations, from the 19th to the 23rd of April, have seldom been exceeded. The fine Austrian army, which had, on the 18th, been collected on the right bank of the Danube, had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, between 50,000 and 60,000 men, and was driven into the defiles of Bohemia, on the left bank of the river. More than a hundred pieces of cannon were taken, besides an immense quantity of ammunition, provisions, and other stores; and the road to Vienna was open to the victors, defended by only between 36,000 and 40,000 men, disheartened by defeat. The triumphant joy which these successes occasioned was, however, somewhat damped by the events in the Tyrol, Italy, and Poland. Hostilities commenced in the Tyrol on the 9th of April, when general Chastellar entered the mountainous range which separates Carinthia from the Italian

Tyrol: he was received with enthusiasm, the Tyrolese being most anxious to throw off the yoke of Bavaria and France. The archduke John set forward on the 10th, debouching by Cividale on Udine, driving in all the advanced posts, and compelling prince Eugene to retreat. There were sharp engagements in the valleys of the Upper Tagliamento, where the French left a great many dead; but, as usual, the slow and deliberate movements of the Austrians, allowed the prince to concentrate his forces, and he could easily have placed his troops in safety. On finding himself only slowly pursued, he halted between Pordenone and Sacile—two towns in Lombardy; leaving a strong rear-guard in the latter. This corps was attacked by the Austrians; and after defending themselves till their ammunition was exhausted, and 500 of them being killed, the rest surrendered prisoners. Instead of continuing his retreat, prince Eugene resolved to take the offensive; and he attacked the Austrians on the 16th, but was beaten, and compelled still to retire. In fighting, and in the retreat, the French lost more than 3,000 killed and wounded, and nearly as many prisoners: the Austrian killed and wounded were between 2,000 and 3,000. Prince Eugene was joined by general Macdonald soon after, to whom he gave the command of his right wing, and by whose advice he retired on the Adige till his army, still imposing in numbers, could be thoroughly reorganised. In the Tyrol, within a few days after general Chastellar had crossed the frontier, there were at least 20,000 enthusiastic mountaineers in arms, their principal leader being Andrew Hofer, an innkeeper, who had obtained a wonderful ascendancy over his countrymen. To these were added the 12,000 Austrians; and to oppose them there were only 3,000 or 4,000 French, and about the same number of Bavarian troops. Of course such a small force could offer no effectual resistance; and, before the end of April, both the German and Italian Tyrol had passed into the hands of Austria. In Poland, a Polish army, about 15,000 strong, under prince Poniatowski, was outnumbered and defeated by the Austrians, who occupied Warsaw. Added to this, a spirit of hatred to France continued to spread through Germany; and, in Prussia, the soldiers openly deserted to join the imperialists.

The intelligence of these reverses reached Napoleon at Ratisbon; and he was greatly annoyed. Knowing, however, that the most likely means to restore his fortunes in other quarters, would be to follow up his successes in Germany, he resolved to march upon Vienna. He sent Bessières and Lannes to pursue, on the road to that city, the beaten corps of the archduke Louis and Hiller; ordered Masséna to take and occupy the passes of Straubing, Passau, and Linz, forming the points of

communication between Bavaria and Bohemia; dispatched Davoust to watch the motions of the archduke Charles; and detached a corps of Bavarians to reoccupy Munich, which had been taken by the Austrians under Jellachich. Napoleon remained at Ratisbon till he saw all these operations in the course of execution; and, on the 26th, he went to Landshut, joining the divisions under Bessières and Lannes, and proceeding along the high road, on the south side of the Danube, to Vienna. The rear of this division was protected by Vandamme, with 18,000 of the troops of the confederation. Davoust, with the remains of his army (40,000 strong), was to march in the same direction, as soon as Bernadotte, who had been ordered up with a Saxon force from Dresden, arrived.

The army advanced to the Traun, one of the mountain streams which descend from the lofty summits of the Alps to the great valley of the Danube. It falls through narrow ravines, and down steep hills, whose sides are clothed with pine, and enters the Danube just below Ebersberg—a long wooden bridge crossing the stream in front of the town, and a castle, standing on the overhanging, precipitous hills, commanding the passage. The Austrians were posted on the heights, and defended the bridge; and Masséna—who, after occupying the passes of Straubing, &c., had rejoined Bessières, and commanded the advanced guard—resolved to attack the position. It was defended by 35,000 men and eighty pieces of cannon, under general Hiller, who had been ordered by the archduke Charles, after the affairs of the 20th and 21st of April, to collect the scattered forces, and defend the road to the capital; and who, in his advance to his present position, had, on the 24th of April, encountered and beaten the French and Bavarians, under De Wrede, inflicting upon them a loss of 1,500 men. The fighting began by an attack on four battalions of Austrian grenadiers, who were posted on the left bank of the river, and ought to have been withdrawn: they were soon overpowered and cut to pieces. The passage of the bridge was gallantly contested; and when the *mêlée* was at its height, and the French, under general Cohorn, were driving the Austrians before them at the point of the bayonet, the imperialists, on the right bank, closed the gate on that side, and the artillery played upon the bridge, friend and foe falling alike under the showers of round shot, canister, and grape, which were poured upon them. To add to the confusion, several ammunition waggons blew up in the middle of the bridge; and whilst the Austrians, fired on by their comrades and their foes, were throwing themselves into the water, and were swept away by the torrent, many Frenchmen were hurled into the air by the explosion. The gate and flanking palisades were at length levelled by the pioneers;

and then the fighting was carried into the streets of Ebersberg, and continued amidst burning houses and crumbling ruins, till the assailants were driven back to the bridge, which was again closed. Masséna, however, brought up fresh troops; but the bridge, and the street leading to it, were then so choked up by the bodies of the wounded and dead, that he was obliged to order the advancing troops to throw them into the river, and both were alike swept away by the rapid stream. The troops, notwithstanding, succeeded in effecting their passage across; and the fighting was resumed near Ebersberg. It continued for several hours; but at last, after the loss of not less than 6,000 men on each side, the Austrians were obliged to retire, and the passage to Vienna was left open. This was one of the most fearful actions that was ever fought; and one which was unnecessary, as Lannes could have turned the flank of the Austrians, and cleared the road without the terrible slaughter which was the result of Masséna's resolve to effect the passage by Ebersberg.

The archduke was, at this time, making forced marches, in order to reach Vienna, by a different road, before the French; having previously sent a messenger to Napoleon with a proposal for an exchange of prisoners, which he hoped would lead to delay, perhaps to negotiation, and an armistice; but which remained unanswered. Notwithstanding all his exertions, the French arrived first at the capital; and, on the 10th of May, their eagles were displayed before its walls. All the imperial family had left the city, except the archduke Maximilian, who defended it; and the archduchess Marie-Louisa, who was too ill to be removed. The city was summoned; and as surrender was refused, a bombardment commenced: but Napoleon was informed that the archduchess was in the palace, and, by his orders, no artillery was pointed in that direction: his future empress remained unhurt, therefore, amidst the destruction that was raging around. The city capitulated on the 12th, and, on the 13th, the French once more took possession of the capital of Austria. The emperor signalled his entrance by issuing a proclamation to his troops, in which he told them, that the inhabitants of Vienna, abandoned by their rulers, should be the objects of their regard. "I take," he said, "its good citizens under my especial protection; as to the turbulent and the wicked, they shall meet with exemplary justice. Let us exhibit," he continued, "no marks of haughtiness or pride; but regard our triumphs as a proof of Divine justice, which punishes by our hand the ungrateful and the perjured."

The occupation of Vienna did not put an end to the war. There were still two large armies on each side of the Danube, eager for victory. Napoleon had 100,000 men in Vienna, and concentrated between Lintz and that city; besides a

reserve of 30,000, coming from the Upper Danube. The archduke Charles—whose tardy movements were at the time, and still remain, inexplicable—reinforced by the remains of the archduke Louis and general Hiller's divisions, had 100,000 men with him, ready for action, if the French crossed the Danube; which, after maturely considering his position, Napoleon resolved to do. That river, below Vienna, is divided into three streams, by the islands that intersect it. The French occupied these islands; one of them, Lobau, five miles to the south-east of Vienna, is nearest to the left bank of the river towards which the archduke Charles had been advancing, and where, about the 13th of May, he had concentrated his forces behind the villages of Aspern and Essling. Lobau was a favourable point for an army wishing to attempt the passage of the river. A still more favourable one was at Nussdorf, two miles north of Vienna; and Napoleon at first resolved to force the passage at both places, giving Masséna the command at Lobau, and Lannes at Nussdorf. There was, in the arsenal at Vienna, an immense supply of stores of every description; and from thence the emperor obtained all he needed for his enterprise; though it called for considerable labour and perseverance to adapt the means to the end. The attempt to cross by Nussdorf failed, and 600 Frenchmen were made prisoners on the island of Schwarze Laken, opposite that village. The passage at Lobau was effected. The troops were moved to Kaiser-Ebersdorf, a small town opposite Lobau, on the 18th and 19th of May. Bridges had been laid from Kaiser-Ebersdorf to Lobau, and from Lobau to the left bank of the river; and several divisions, under Boudet, Molitor, Lasalle, Ferraud, Nansouty, Legrand, Marulaz, and Espagne, crossed on the 20th. They found a wood on the opposite bank, from which an Austrian detachment was expelled; and beyond were the villages of Aspern on the left, and Essling on the right, with the vast plain of Marchfeld between them, stretching to the river. The archduke Charles, who had been enabled to watch the movements of the French with a telescope, had removed his advanced posts from the Marchfeld to the Bisamberg—confident that the French were placing themselves in his power, and that he should be able to overwhelm them. One of these advanced guards—a cavalry regiment—as the French moved upon the villages, made a charge upon one of their divisions, but was received by a sharp fire from some voltigeurs, who had taken refuge in a ditch, and compelled to retire. This was the commencement of the battle of Aspern.

That battle (sometimes called the battle of Essling) was continued through the 21st and 22nd of May, being only interrupted by the few hours of night. The French, on landing, estab-

lished themselves in the two villages, and it was the object of the Austrians to drive them back to the river. The latter had the advantage in numbers, and had a great superiority in artillery. The slaughter on both sides was great; the villages were several times taken and retaken; and, at night, on the 21st, the Austrians occupied Aspern, except a few houses; but Essling remained in possession of the French. During the night, 20,000 additional troops were landed from Lobau, with a supply of ammunition, of which the French were greatly in want. The next morning the battle was renewed. The Austrians, in the form of a semicircle, moved upon the villages; their right on Aspern, where a strong detachment of their army had intrenched themselves in the cemetery; their left on Essling. Whilst the villages were gallantly defended, Napoleon ordered an attack upon the Austrian centre; and one of the most bloody contests on record again raged during the day. The divisions of the French army, who fought so bravely on the 21st, and those of Lannes and Oudinot, which, with the imperial guard, had landed during the night, were opposed by the Austrian corps of Hiller, Bellegarde, Hohenzollern, and Rosenberg. All fought as if not merely the fate of monarchies, but their own personal existence and welfare, depended on the issue. Twice the archduke himself led the Austrians in their charges on the French; repeatedly, as on the previous day, were Aspern and Essling taken and retaken; and victory appeared about to descend alternately on either host. Before evening came on, it appeared certain that the French must retreat; and, as the great bridge between the mainland and the island of Lobau had been carried away by the force of the stream, united to that of some heavy barks sent down by the archduke, their position appeared desperate. Napoleon invested Masséna with the command-in-chief, and returned to the island to arrange means for conveying back the wounded and the survivors. The fighting was again continued till night came on; and then, while the Austrians were taking some repose, the French were busily engaged in getting back to Lobau. Masséna superintended all the movements during the night; and the French boast, that not one wounded, not a single gun, nor even a cartridge, were left behind; and certainly, that the troops were able to get back to Lobau at all, was not the least remarkable circumstance connected with this memorable battle. The loss was immense. Thiers says, that it may be estimated to have been, on the side of the Austrians, 26,000 or 27,000; and 15,000 or 16,000 on the part of the French; marshal Lannes and general St. Hilaire being amongst the killed. The Austrians say that they had eighty-seven superior officers, and 4,200 privates killed, and 16,300 wounded; that they buried 7,000 dead Frenchmen on the

field, that 5,000 wounded fell into their hands, and 29,773 wounded were carried to the hospitals of Vienna. Their account is likely to be the most correct: at all events, the French were incapable, for the time, of making any other movement; and a pause in the terrible struggle took place.

Napoleon left Masséna in command at Lobau, and at midnight, on the 22nd of May, crossed the river to Vienna. There he employed himself in reorganising his army. As the aspect of affairs had changed in Italy, where prince Eugene Beauharnais, aided by Macdonald, had succeeded in driving back the archduke John, who was compelled to recross the Alps; and as the archduke Charles had summoned Chastellar to join him from the Tyrol—the army of the prince, and a part of the corps under marshal Lefebvre from the Tyrol, were expected to join the army of Germany; and all the detached corps, in different parts of the confederation, were summoned to Vienna. The island of Lobau was fortified, and Napoleon took care that nothing was wanting to the comfort of the troops, who remained inactive for six weeks, during which he was employed in bringing up reinforcements. All the various corps on which he relied appear to have joined him about the time expected; prince Eugene, on his route, inflicting a serious defeat upon the retreating Austrians, under the archduke John, whom he had overtaken, under the walls of Raab, in Hungary, on the 14th of June. On the 22nd that fortress surrendered to general Lauriston. Presburg was also taken; and much of the artillery in those two fortresses was removed to Vienna. To facilitate the passage between Lobau and Vienna, a wide bridge, for the artillery and cavalry, was constructed on piles—a wonderful work, in the circumstances under which it was undertaken and completed; and a bridge of boats was thrown across the river for the infantry. Napoleon had also a number of flat-bottomed boats constructed to facilitate his operations. By the 1st of July the corps of Masséna, Oudinot, Davoust, Bernadotte, prince Eugene, Macdonald, Marmont, and De Wrede, were collected at Vienna. The imperial guard were also there; the entire force amounting to 150,000 men, of whom 26,000 were cavalry, and 12,000 artillery, serving 550 guns.

During the six weeks which Napoleon employed in these operations, the Austrians were baffled in Poland by the prince Poniatowski; and the Poles, contrary to the advice of Napoleon, and the pledges he had given to Russia, were insisting, in all their proclamations, upon the restoration of their country; whilst the Russian troops, sent to keep the Austrians in check, were, both officers and men, evincing a disposition to join them. Throughout Germany, the spirit of opposition to France, strengthened and invigorated by the result of the battle of Aspern, was still spreading. The duke of Bruns-

wick Oels, immediately subsequent to that battle, raised a corps of volunteers, who wore a light-blue uniform, with a death's-head and cross-bones on their cloaks, which obtained for them the name of the *Death's-head Hussars*. This corps was frequently heard of from that time to the peace. Their first exploits were against Napoleon's ally, the king of Saxony, who, with his family, fled from his dominions, and took refuge in France. The duke of Brunswick occupied Dresden; the landwehr, from Bohemia, under general Aurende, overran the provinces of Saxony; Franconia was occupied by another corps, under Radivojivich; Leipsic, Bayreuth, and Bamberg fell into the hands of these friends of Austria; and when Napoleon had succeeded in concentrating so many troops in the island of Lobau and near Vienna, the insurrection against France had spread into Suabia and Westphalia; whilst a chain of Austrian posts, extending from the Elbe, by Nuremberg and Stockach, to the mountains of the Tyrol, entirely cut off the communications between France and the "grand army" of Germany.

It is difficult, under these circumstances, to account for the fact, that the archduke Charles remained, apparently, so long inactive, and allowed Napoleon to complete his arrangements, without making any attack upon the isle of Lobau, or endeavouring to retake Vienna. It is said that the archduke John disobeyed his orders, which, if they had been properly executed, would have enabled him to form a junction with Jellachich and Kollowrath, and to have thrown at least 60,000 men into the rear of Napoleon; whereas he contrived to keep in the way of prince Eugene, and had his forces entirely cut up and dispersed before he could join either those generals or his brother. But Charles did little himself. He recruited the corps engaged at Aspern and Essling; stationing Bellegarde's, Hohenzollern's, and Rosenberg's divisions, about 75,000 men, at the extremity of the plain of Marchfeld, which terminates in a chain of small hills, extending from Neusiedel to Wagram. This position might have been rendered impregnable, but little was done to defend it. He intrenched the villages of Aspern, Essling, and Enzersdorf; but took no adequate steps to prevent the French from again landing on that bank of the Danube; and although he had three other corps in the neighbourhood, making his total force about 140,000 men, with 400 pieces of cannon, he remained inactive till the French again descended, like a torrent, upon his position.

Napoleon, who had resided at the palace of Schönbrunn, quitted it on the 1st of July, and established his head-quarters on the island of Lobau. The troops, on the right bank of the Danube, began to remove to that island on the 3rd; on the 4th they were all collected there; and, in the night, they commenced their further

migration to the north, or left bank of the river. There was nothing to oppose them but a redoubt and six cannon, at a place called Maison Blanche, on the Marchfeld; and an advanced guard at Enzersdorf. These were soon in the hands of the French; and the troops continued crossing during the night—some armed boats cruising above and below Lobau, firing in every direction where anything like an enemy was supposed to be; and frequent discharges were directed on the unfortunate town of Enzersdorf. This firing, kept up on so many points, distracted the attention of the Austrians, several corps of whom marched down to the river in different directions; but they effected nothing. The landing of the French was continued through the night, and the next day. The Austrian divisions which opposed them were everywhere compelled to fall back: before night, Enzersdorf, Sachsen-gang, Raschdorf, and Rutzendorf—small villages on the Marchfeld—were in the possession of the French, with 3,000 prisoners; and 2,000 Austrians were put *hors de combat*. The Austrian line now extended from Neusiedel to Wagram, along the line of hills already mentioned; from Wagram it stretched out towards Adersklau, and was continued by Gerasdorf and Stanressdorf, to the Danube. The left, at Neusiedel, was commanded by prince Rosenberg, with whom was Hohenzollern's corps; in the centre were Bellegarde's corps and the archduke's headquarters; on their right were three *corps d'armée*, under Kollowrath, Klenau, and the prince de Reuss. The French formed one long line, extending for three leagues in front of the Austrians. Their right was under Davoust and Oudinot; in the centre was prince Eugene and the army of Italy; on the left, Bernadotte with his Saxons, and Masséna's four divisions. Marmont's corps, a corps of Bavarians, the imperial guard, and the cuirassiers, formed a reserve.

The next day, the battle of Wagram was fought. An attack made on the centre of the Austrians in the night of the 5th, had been signally defeated; and the archduke Charles and his officers did not retire to rest, but employed themselves in making arrangements for the contest which both sides had determined should take place the next day. The orders issued, however, were not complied with as they ought to have been; and hence, early in the day, some confusion ensued. Prince Rosenberg began the action at 4 A.M., being earlier than he should have done; and some other movements of the left disconcerted the arrangements of the archduke. However, the action soon became general, and 150,000 men, with 1,100 pieces of cannon, were arrayed, says Thiers, against each other. After some sharp fighting, the French left and centre had the worst of the *mêlée*, and were beaten back; whilst Davoust, on the right, with difficulty maintained his ground. Then Napo-

leon ordered a concentrated attack on the Austrian centre, which, though bravely resisted, was in the end successful; and Davoust, at last, succeeded in breaking and driving back the left. The conquerors of the French left were now taken in flank, and obliged to retire. The fighting continued till 4 P.M., when the archduke, finding all his positions forced, and disappointed in the arrival of the archduke John, whom he had ordered to advance on the 4th, gave directions for a retreat. He withdrew into Moravia, where he was joined by his brother, whose dilatory movements brought him near Wagram in the evening of the 6th. The French bivouacked on the field, Napoleon creating Berthier prince of Wagram, and raising MacDonald, Oudinot, and Marmont to the rank of marshals before the day closed.

The loss in this battle was very heavy on both sides. The French accounts state that they had between 6,000 and 7,000 killed, including three generals, and about 15,000 wounded. The Austrian loss was greater; but still the archduke had a large army in the field. Napoleon, therefore, pursued him with great caution, as he did not know what forces might be following in his rear. On the 11th of July, the two armies again encountered at Znaim, in Moravia, about fifty miles to the north of Vienna. Fighting commenced, but was interrupted by the archduke proposing an armistice, which Napoleon accepted. The terms were discussed, and signed, on the 12th, by them. The Austrians agreed immediately to evacuate the Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, and the Confederation of the Rhine; and to authorise plenipotentiaries to meet those of France, at Schönbrunn, for the purpose of concluding a definitive peace. In the interval, before the plenipotentiaries met, Napoleon established himself in the palace of Schönbrunn, and immediately commenced organising his armies, and placing them in such positions as to give him a commanding influence on the negotiations. The "grand army" was stationed in camps formed at Krems, Znaim, Brünn, Vienna, Presburg, Edenberg, and Grätz. All the troops at these positions were reclothed; the cavalry were remounted; the artillery was in capital order; and the entire force in a better condition than at any time during the war. Independent of this army, one of 30,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, was formed, under Junot, to keep guard over Suabia, Franconia, and Saxony; and to check the movements of the duke of Brunswick Oels and general Kienmayer, who were still in the field. The army of Lefebvre in the Tyrol was also recruited; as, although the Austrian troops were withdrawn, the Tyrolese refused to submit. Another army was put in course of formation at Antwerp, in pursuance of the intention of the emperor to make that port one of his most prominent points of defence

The negotiations were opened at Altenburg, a small town of Hungary, between Raab and Comorn, where the emperor Francis had retired. The plenipotentiaries were M. Champigny, on the part of France, and baron Metternich and M. de Nugent, chief of the staff of the army, on the part of Austria. The first conference did not take place till more than a month after the battle of Wagram; and then the demands put forth by Napoleon were refused by the imperial negotiators. At first the proceedings went on very slowly. Napoleon had completed the re-organisation of his army; and as the troops were living at the expense of Austria, he was in no especial hurry to conclude the treaty. For some time he adhered to his original demands; whilst the Austrians put all the arts of diplomacy in practice to produce delay, being anxious to know the result of an expedition which the English had dispatched, towards the end of July, to the coast of Flanders. It had been for some time preparing; but by the influence of the imbecility and incapacity which marked the British councils at that period, it had been delayed, till Austria was again struck down, and a diversion on her side was useless: had it been sent to Spain, it would in all probability have much sooner put an end to the war in that country.

This expedition was one of the most powerful and best-appointed armaments that ever was dispatched from British ports, being composed of thirty-five ships of the line, about 200 smaller vessels and transports, and 40,000 troops. Sir Richard Strachan commanded the fleet, and the earl of Chatham the army. The expedition sailed from Portsmouth, Dover, and the Downs, on the 28th of July. Its objects were, to take Flushing; destroy the Scheldt fleet, consisting of some fine new vessels under admiral Missiesey; burn the dockyards at Antwerp, and render the Scheldt unnavigable, by sinking masses of stones, concrete, &c., in the channels. If the fleet and army had made at once for Antwerp, all these objects might have been effected. But much time was lost before Flushing, which did not surrender, after a fierce bombardment, till the 16th of August; and then there was a difference of opinion between the admiral and the general as to the best course to be pursued. The former wanted the troops to land, with their *matériel*, and march to Batz, one of the forts which defend the Scheldt before Antwerp is reached; but the earl of Chatham would have all conveyed to that fort in the vessels, alleging the difficulty of traversing a country so intersected with arms of the sea, canals, dykes, &c. Ten days more were spent in working the transports, gun-boats, and some of the ships of the line up the east and west branches of the Scheldt; and when the main river was reached, the army was so weakened by sickness, and it

was found that the delay had enabled the French to take such decisive measures to defend Antwerp, that it was thought advisable, by a council of war, summoned by the earl of Chatham, not to proceed any further. When the news of the expedition first reached Paris, Fouché, then acting as minister of the police and the interior, proposed calling out the national guard. The measure was opposed by his colleagues, but approved by the emperor, as soon as he was aware of the state of affairs; and Bernadotte, who had returned to Paris, was sent by Fouché to take the command at Antwerp, in the place of king Louis, who had marched there with 5,000 Dutch troops. The prince-marshal, in conjunction with admiral Missiesey, had adopted those measures for the defence of the city, which caused the British officers to think that an attack would not succeed; and on communicating with the government at London, they were authorised to return to England, leaving a garrison to occupy Flushing and the island of Walcheren, on which it is situated. Up to that period, 11,000 or 12,000 troops had been put *hors de combat* by the miasmatic Walcheren fever; and those left at Flushing suffered severely. At length, in December, the island was evacuated, the fortifications of Flushing being blown up.

This expedition—and its result again greatly dimmed the military fame of England, which general Jomini said, though it had declined for a century, was completely restored by the battle of Vimiera—was a piece of good fortune for Napoleon. He wanted men much, and the levy of the national guard gave him 80,000, which he could not otherwise have obtained—for, once enrolled, he would not suffer them to be disbanded; whilst the withdrawal of the English force, without having effected its most important object, disposed Austria to be less tenacious in resisting the demands of France. In September, prince John de Lichtenstein and M. de Bubna were substituted as plenipotentiaries for M. Metternich and De Nugent; and they at last succeeded in bringing to a successful close the important commission entrusted to them. During the progress of the negotiations, so much ill-will, however, was manifested by the court of Austria, that Napoleon, having recruited his army to the amount of 150,000 men, with 500 pieces of flying artillery, and 300 large cannon in the fortresses, was on the point of recommencing hostilities. A large part of his force was concentrated near Vienna; and on the 12th of October, when reviewing these troops at Schönbrunn, a young man was apprehended, with a large unsheathed knife in his possession, who wanted to get near the emperor to assassinate him. His name was Staaps; and after being some time in prison, he was shot. At length, on the 14th of October, the treaty

was signed, six days only being allowed for its ratification. Though the terms, mitigated considerably from those first proposed, were still both severe and humiliating, the emperor Francis was not in a position to refuse ratifying them; and thus peace was once more restored. —By this treaty, his imperial majesty surrendered a large extent of territory. Salzburg, and a part of Upper Austria, were annexed to the Rhenish confederation; part of Bohemia, with Cracow and Western Galicia, were added to the duchy of Warsaw; a part of Eastern Galicia increased the already extensive empire of Russia; whilst Trieste, Carniola, Friuli, Villach, and portions of Croatia and Dalmatia, were added to France; thus connecting the kingdom of Italy with Illyria, depriving Austria of her only remaining seaport, and reducing the Adriatic coast, from one extremity to the other, under the control of Napoleon. The territory given up by the emperor, comprised 45,000 square miles, with a population of about 4,000,000. There were also secret articles to the treaty, by which the emperor Francis engaged to limit the Austrian army to 150,000 men, and to pay 85,000,000 francs (100,000,000 francs were at first demanded), in addition to the millions already received by Napoleon. This sum was to be considered as a full discharge of what it was alleged the Austrian provinces owed; and Vienna was not to be evacuated, till 30,000,000 francs were paid. —The day after the treaty was signed, Napoleon left Vienna and proceeded to Parma, where he gave directions for the transfer of most of the army serving in Germany, to Spain. Having received intelligence of the ratification being effected, and that the evacuation of Vienna was commenced,* he set out for Fontainebleau, which he reached on the 26th of October.

Peace now reigned on the continent, except in Spain and the Tyrol. In the latter, the insurgents maintained their ground for some time; and inflicted a most terrible defeat upon a division of the French and Bavarian army, in the valley of the Inn, in the month of September. But they could not maintain themselves against the force that was sent into their mountains; and Austria made no stipulations for them during the negotiations. Soon after the peace was signed, Hofer and most of their leaders being prisoners, the brave Tyrolese submitted. The gallant innkeeper was tried at Mantua before a court-martial, and shot on the 20th of February, 1810; and about thirty other Tyroleans shared the same fate. A friendly biographer of Napoleon remarks, on this melancholy episode in the history of the Tyrol—"It is impossible to decide whether the heartless passiveness of the emperor Francis, or the tyrannous

* The fortifications of Vienna, Brunn, Raab, and Grätz, were blown up and destroyed.

revenge of the emperor Napoleon, is the more to be execrated in this transaction."

When Napoleon arrived at Fontainebleau, he found many things demanding his attention; and M. Thiers describes, as "the most serious and distressing in the list," the affairs of Rome. After the occupation of that city by general Miollis, the pope took up his residence in the Quirinal; and as he refused to accept of anything from the emperor, he was reduced to such necessities as to be obliged to pledge the tiara, which had been the gift of the latter on his coronation. As no entreaties could bring the pontiff to support Napoleon's views, on the 17th of May the emperor issued a decree, declaring "the states of the pope reunited to the French empire." He alleged, as a reason for this new spoliation, that "Charlemagne, emperor of the French, his august predecessor, made a donation of various territories to the bishops of Rome," as fiefs; but the union of temporal and spiritual authority in the popes "being inconsistent with the safety of the French armies, the tranquillity and well-being of the people, and the dignity and integrity of the empire," he resumed the grants. Rome was declared an imperial and free city; and a "constitutional régime" was ordered to be organised, to come into effect on the 1st of January, 1810. The reception of this decree, and the union of the papal states to the empire, were announced, on the 20th of June, by a discharge of artillery, and the display of the tricoloured flag from the castle of St. Angelo. The pope replied by issuing a bull of excommunication against the emperor, and against all who were promoters, advisers, and counsellors, or who assisted in the execution, of the acts which deprived him of his temporal sovereignty. Copies of this bull, notwithstanding the presence of the French troops, were placarded about Rome, and the people insulted those troops in the streets. A popular commotion was apprehended; and, on the night of the 5th of July, general Radet entered the Quirinal, seized the persons of the pope and cardinal Pacca, and conveyed them, by Florence, Alessandria, and Mondovi, across the Alps, and by Grenoble, to Savona. The pope was taken to the latter place by the direction of Napoleon, who, at the same time, gave orders for the removal of the cardinals, the generals of the several religious orders, the members of the Roman chancery, the members of the courts of the Dataria and the Penitenza, and the pontifical archives, to Paris.—This treatment of the pope did not meet with the approval of the French; and public opinion, towards the close of 1809, was again tending against the emperor. Fouché, Bernadotte, and Talleyrand secretly fanned the flame of discontent. The old royalists, roused by the anger excited amongst all good catholics at the seizure of the pope, again began to

bestir themselves; and the doubtful battle of Essling; the defeat at Talavera; the expedition to the Scheldt, causing, as it did, the levy of the national guard—all contributed to strengthen the rising feeling of dislike of the Napoleonic rule; which, though checked amongst the populace by the events of the campaign and the peace—so glorious for France—was never extinguished amongst the commercial and upper classes.

Leaving the events of the peninsular war for a continuous narrative in subsequent chapters, we may remark here, that the events of the year 1809, in other quarters, were not very important, but they were uniformly unfavourable to France. A small English fleet was sent to the West Indies, which captured Martinique on the 23rd of February, and Cayenne was taken soon after.—In the month of April, several French ships of the line were blockaded in the inner roads of the Isle d'Aix, by a British squadron, inferior to the French both in number of vessels and the weight of metal. The French were well protected. The Isle of Aix, which had a garrison of 2,000 men, with thirty long 36-pounders, and several mortars mounted on batteries, covered them on one side; and on the other was the Isle of Oléron, also bristling with cannon and works. In addition, long booms were projected from each side of the harbour, converging at the extremities, so as to form two sides of a triangle, the base towards the British fleet. "This formidable obstacle" (says lord Dundonald, in his *Autobiography of a Seaman*, published in 1860) "was composed of large spars, bound by chains, and moored, along its whole double line, with heavy anchors at appropriate intervals; forming the most stupendous structure of the kind on record." The British government deemed it very desirable to destroy this fleet; and, as lord Gambier objected to the use of fire-ships (the only means of assaulting it), which he described as "a horrible mode

of warfare;" adding, that "the attempt was hazardous, if not dangerous"—lord Cochrane (now the earl of Dundonald) was employed. His lordship—who had acquired considerable knowledge of chemistry when a boy, his father being a great experimentalist—had an explosive vessel constructed, which he himself, with five volunteers, guided into the harbour, and his lordship set fire to the fuse. The terrific explosion of this vessel shattered the boom, and opened a clear passage for the fire-ships; which, however, conducted by less steady hands, did no other damage than that of alarming the French crews, who cut their cables; and every vessel except two—the *Foudroyant* and *Cassard*—drifted on shore; where they might all have been destroyed the next morning, but for the unaccountable conduct of lord Gambier, who, at fourteen miles' distance, remained immovable, notwithstanding Cochrane's signals (which were duly acknowledged), demanding assistance, as "the enemy's ships could be destroyed." Cochrane, in his little frigate *Impérieuse* (to which he had returned when he had fired the explosion vessel), was, when the tide turned and floated the French vessels, attacked by the *Calcutta*, the *Aquilon*, and the *Ville de Varsovie*. Lord Gambier then sent ships to his aid. The three vessels were burned, the crews escaping; and the result of the affair was, that the French fleet was partly destroyed, and the vessels which escaped were so much damaged, that they were rendered useless for the time, and had to undergo a thorough repair. All might have been destroyed or captured, had lord Gambier properly supported Cochrane. The admiral was brought to a court-martial on his return to England, but was acquitted.—In the autumn, on the 1st of October, the Ionian Isles were taken possession of by lord Collingwood; and on the 25th of the same month, a French squadron was chased on shore and destroyed, off the mouth of the Rhone.

CHAPTER XII.

DIVORCE AND SECOND MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON; FRENCH PENAL CODE; EDUCATION IN FRANCE; TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS; THE PAPAL QUESTION; THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM; HOLLAND; ATTEMPTS TO CONCLUDE PEACE WITH ENGLAND; FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS; DISGRACE OF FOUCHE; ANNEXATION OF HOLLAND TO FRANCE; NAPOLEON'S LICENSING SYSTEM; FURTHER ANNEXATIONS; RETALIATION OF RUSSIA; BIRTH OF THE KING OF ROMÉ; LEGISLATIVE SESSION; AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH; BERNADOTTE ELECTED CROWN-PRINCE OF SWEDEN; PREPARATIONS FOR WAR; MINOR EVENTS OF 1810-'11.

NAPOLEON did not return to Paris till the 14th of November, 1809. During the time he remained at Fontainebleau he had received Josephine, all the members of his family—of whom Louis, Jerome, and Murat, had no reason to be pleased with their reception—and many of the kings and princes, his allies; and also his ministers. Whilst he did not neglect business,

he partook of pleasure, hunting the stag being his favourite pastime. He made a point of being on horseback several hours in the day, and of having that fact noted in the *Moniteur*, to show that rumours, with respect to his health being undermined and failing, were unfounded. He appears, also, to have assumed a greater degree of dignity, and an air of more importance, than had previously characterised him. Cambacérès, in describing his first interview with him, after his return from Vienna, says—"He had an air as if he were stalking about amidst his glory;" mixed with great haughtiness. Doubtless he was then thinking of the important change he was about to make in his domestic relations.

He had long been desirous of a heir of his own body to succeed him in the empire, and there was no hope of issue by Josephine: a divorce was, therefore, resolved upon. As far back as 1807, Fouché had divined the emperor's intentions in this respect; and, without authority from Napoleon, he broke the matter to the empress, for which he was severely rebuked. Though then carried no further, Josephine never ceased to think of the communication made to her; and Napoleon's altered behaviour, when he returned from Vienna in 1809, convinced her that the time was come when she was to lose, from no fault of her own, that position in which, with all her errors of omission or commission, she had won "golden opinions" from the great majority of those with whom she came in contact, by her kindness and affability. It was on the 30th of November that the emperor announced to her his intention to annul their marriage. Prince Eugene Beauharnais and the queen Hortense had been summoned to the Tuileries, that they might support their mother by their presence; but though the communication was made with great feeling—Napoleon speaking of his love to her, which had conferred upon him his only happy moments, and attributing his conduct entirely to motives of state; and though she had long been prepared for it—the announcement overwhelmed her with affliction: she fainted, and was removed in a state of insensibility from the room. On the 15th of December, the civil contract was formally dissolved, in the emperor's cabinet in the Tuileries, in the presence of the empress-mother, the queen of Spain, the king and queen of Holland, the king and queen of Naples, the king and queen of Westphalia, the princess Borghese, the chancellor Cambacérès, and the count Regnaud de Saint Jean d'Angely—the two latter acting as *officiers de l'état civil* for the imperial family. Napoleon, in their presence, announced "the resolution to which he and the empress, his dear spouse, had come." * * * "The policy of his monarchy, the interest and the necessity of his people," rendered it necessary that he "should leave to

children after him, inheritors of his love for the people, the throne on which Providence had placed him." He had given up the hope of having children by his well-beloved spouse—but, at the age of forty, he "might entertain the hope of living long enough to bring up, after his own mind, and in his own views, the children it should please Providence to give him," from another source. Therefore the marriage was dissolved with her who "had embellished fifteen years of his life, the memory of which would remain engraved on his heart." Napoleon pronounced this speech without any signs of emotion, his voice being clear and steady, and his attitude firm. Josephine, on the contrary, could not speak—her sobs choking her voice. She put a paper into the hands of M. Regnaud, to read for her, assenting to the proposition of the emperor; and after the *senatus consulte* had been drawn up, declaratory of the dissolution of the marriage, Cambacérès had to guide her hand to sign it. The next day she left the Tuileries for Malmaison, never more to return; but she retained her rank as empress, with an annual income of 2,000,000 francs. There was some difficulty about the religious contract. The pope was the proper person to dissolve this contract—but he would not interfere. The arch-chancellor Cambacérès, however, summoned a council of bishops, who decided that the marriage was contracted without witnesses, and celebrated by cardinal Feschè, who not being a *curé*, was not a proper person to celebrate it; and it was, therefore, void: thus Napoleon became free.

As soon as the emperor had concluded the proceedings connected with his divorce, he took steps to contract an alliance with some distinguished member of an imperial or royal family. Three ladies were mentioned—the grand-duchess Anne, sister to the emperor of Russia; the daughter of the king of Saxony; and the grand-duchess, Maria-Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. The first application was made to the emperor of Russia, who referred the case to his mother, the dowager-empress. This caused considerable delay, during which Alexander induced Caulaincourt, the French ambassador, to sign a convention, stipulating that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established; that the names of Poland and Pole should disappear in all acts; that the grand-duchy of Warsaw should not be enlarged; that the Polish orders of knighthood should be abolished; and that the engagements should be binding upon the king of Saxony, as grand-duke of Warsaw. Napoleon refused to ratify this convention; and no definite answer being returned by Alexander—whilst the king of Saxony and the emperor of Austria were both anxious for the alliance—on the 6th of February, 1810, he resolved to decline the Russian, and to fix upon the Austrian, bride. The next day a messenger was sent to Vienna,

to make a formal demand of the hand of Maria-Louisa; which was at once accorded. Marshal Berthier was then sent to Vienna as ambassador extraordinary; who, on the 8th of March, made the necessary diplomatic arrangements. The marriage ceremony was performed on the 11th; the archduke Charles being proxy for Napoleon. On the 13th, the new empress left Vienna; on the 27th, Napoleon met her at Compiègne, where they remained till the 30th. On the next day the civil marriage took place at St. Cloud: the religious ceremony was repeated at Paris on the 2nd of April, in the Tuileries. On that day, Napoleon made a triumphal entry into Paris, passing through the Arc de l'Etoile, with the empress by his side; that monument, the foundation of which had but recently been laid, being temporarily erected for the occasion, so as to present nearly the appearance it has at the present day. At the Tuileries, all the members of the imperial family received the imperial pair; and the empress's train was borne by the queens of Spain, Holland, Naples, and Westphalia, to the chapel, where the ecclesiastical ceremony was performed. A household was formed for her, composed of members of the ancient *noblesse*; and in everything the pomp and ceremony of the old *régime* was revived, whilst its splendour and magnificence were exceeded.

Napoleon now seemed to be in possession of all he ever aspired to—imperial rank; an alliance with one of the oldest royal houses on the continent; despotic power in France; and, apparently, the unlimited control of Western Europe. But the causes which finally occasioned his overthrow were, even then, accumulating and gathering strength; and his marriage with Maria-Louisa, so gratifying to his pride, was not the least of those causes; for, whilst the French people disliked the Austrian alliance, that with France was equally unpopular in Austria and throughout Germany. Though Alexander had shown so much hesitation and delay in returning a decisive answer to Napoleon's suit for the hand of his sister, yet the choice of Maria-Louisa also displeased him; and his doubt and distrust of his ally, from the period of the marriage, were very ill disguised. At the moment, however, all was sunshine on the surface; and whilst it appeared that the republican faction had ceased to exist, the royalist and clerical party seemed disposed to rally round the court.

The legislative session of 1810 opened on the 1st of February, and closed on the 21st of April. It was not an unfruitful one, as the penal code, a law regulating the number of judges, and one for providing for the expense of religious worship in the communes, were passed. The penal code enumerated 480 crimes, of which 220 were offences against the state. These offences comprised the concealing of a knowledge of

crimes contemplated against the government; joining illegal societies; publishing seditious writings, prints, or caricatures; and many similar offences, which were classed as *lese-majesty*, and punishable with the galleys, or imprisonment from two to five years; whilst the higher crimes of actively engaging in schemes against the imperial *régime*, were punishable with death. Eight state prisons were established at Saumur, Ham, If, Landskrown, Pierre Chatel, Fenestrelles, Campiano, and Vincennes; where prisoners were committed on a warrant from the private council of the emperor, a report of the minister of police, or of public justice. They were confined *au secret*; all correspondence with any one outside the walls was prohibited; any gaoler who permitted or connived at such correspondence, to be dismissed from office, and imprisoned for six months. In these prisons, many distinguished individuals—not only Frenchmen, but Italians, Germans, and Swiss—were confined during the continuance of the imperial *régime*; an order from Napoleon, from his minister of police, or from his council, being sufficient to ensure the arrest of any person in any of those countries. All classes were found in these prisons; where the old revolutionists, violent democrats, and the wildest of innovators, were associated with the staunch adherents of the house of Bourbon; the worshippers of the goddess of Reason with the pious ecclesiastic; the *roué* and the vagabond with the honest and honourable observer of the laws of God and man. The majority of these prisoners were of the classes above the middle and lower ranks: in those, the despotism of Napoleon, “unparalleled for rigour and severity in modern times”—and which a decree of March 10th, 1810, re-establishing *lettres de cachet* under another name, gave him increased facilities for exercising—experienced few or no symptoms of resistance till towards the close of his career. Then the pressure of the conscription,* the terrible loss of life occasioned by his wars—which left fearful gaps in every family in the kingdom—produced a revulsion of feeling, which essentially diminished his popularity, and led to the return of the Bourbons.

Napoleon never lost sight of the measures he deemed necessary to control public opinion. While busied with the arrangements connected with his marriage, he was also occupied with the laws connected with the press; and, on the 5th of February, he issued a decree, establishing a director-general of the book-trade; subjecting all books to a rigorous censorship; and obliging all publishers and printers to take out licences, and take an oath to obey all his restrictive

* In the early days of the empire, exemptions from personal service, under the law of the conscription, could be purchased for 300 francs; later, such exemption could not be procured under 20,000 or 25,000 francs.

obligations. As this decree gave him the command of the press, so the imperial university, which he established, gave him the control of the education of his subjects; for its economy was entirely in his hands. He nominated the chancellor, or grand-master, with his salary of 150,000 francs per annum; the treasurer, the ten councillors, and the fifty inspectors, who had under their surveillance all the educational establishments in the empire. This university has been, not inaptly, termed "a vast system of instructing police, diffused over the country, in connection with, and dependent on, the central government;" and, under its influence, the communal and voluntary schools died out, or were suppressed; and all academies and seminaries became connected with, and under the control of, the university. In these institutions, whilst politics was entirely banished, and religion and morality little thought of, the physical sciences, geography, and everything that related to the art of war, were taught by able masters; and, in those pursuits, no one could deny that immense progress was made.

These measures were organised before his marriage. Previous to that event, also, he occupied himself in making various territorial arrangements, with a view of gratifying his relatives and allies. The kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and the elector of Baden, received accessions of territory, as the price of supporting the French armies still in those states. The principalities of Fulda and Hainault were constituted into the principality of Frankfort, for the prince-primate, late elector and archbishop of Mayence, who was chancellor and president of the Confederation of the Rhine; and as he was in feeble health, and had no family, the reversion was given to prince Eugene, who, by the new marriage of the emperor, had lost his prospect of succeeding to the empire. Magdeburg and Hanover were added to Westphalia, on condition that Jerome should maintain, during the war, 18,500 French troops. That member of the Bonaparte family was now declared sovereign of Hesse, Westphalia, and Hanover, having Cassel for his capital, Magdeburg for his citadel, and taking rank next to the king of Prussia, in the precedence of German princes. To Prussia, Napoleon's language was humiliating, and he demanded the immediate payment of 48,000,000 francs, out of 86,000,000, which were still due as a balance of the contributions levied upon her. Till paid, Glogau, Cüstrin, and Stettin received Saxon-Polish garrisons, which were as faithful to Napoleon as French soldiers; and thus he retained the complete command of the Oder and the Vistula. His troops were also distributed so skilfully, that, at any moment, the different *corps d'armée* could support each other, and sustain his power and influence. The corps of marshals Davoust, Masséna, and

Oudinot, which had been, successively, the basis of the grand army at Ratisbon, Aspern, and Wagram, were withdrawn from the scene of operations in Bavaria and Suabia, and were at liberty to be employed in other services. Of Oudinot's corps, several regiments, under general St. Hilaire, were distributed along the coasts of France, between Cherbourg, St. Malo, and Brest, "as a menace against England:" the remainder was cantoned near Rochefort, to be in readiness to pass the Pyrenees, if wanted. Masséna's corps was encamped at Boulogne, Brabant, and on the frontiers of Holland: to Davoust's corps the duty of occupying and watching the north of Germany was assigned. The army of Dalmatia, under marshal Marmont, was sent to Laybach; and the army of Italy was distributed in the plains of Friuli, Venice, and Lombardy.

Amidst all his power, Napoleon was embarrassed by the tacit resistance of the pope to his wishes, by the impossibility of carrying out his continental system, and by the insufficiency of his finances, notwithstanding the immense contributions he levied on Italy, Austria, and Prussia. The pope firmly refused, while a prisoner at Savona, to perform any of the functions of his office. Twenty-seven bishoprics became vacant in various parts of the empire. Napoleon nominated new prelates, but the pope would not confer the pall: he at first got over the difficulty by having them endowed with the rank of vicars-capitular, in accordance with the ancient usages of the church. The archbishopric of Paris became vacant, and Napoleon nominated his uncle, cardinal Fesché, as the new archbishop. He was already archbishop of Lyons; and as the pope refused to sanction his transfer to the see of Paris, he retained his first appointment. The cardinal Maury was then appointed; and on his acceptance of the archiepiscopal office, he was seriously remonstrated with by the pope, who, writing to him, said—"Is this the way, after having so eloquently defended the cause of the catholic church in the most stormy times, that you abandon the same church, now that you are loaded with its dignities and favours. You do not blush to take part against us, in the cause that we maintain in defence of the dignity of the church." The other cardinals, who had been brought to Paris, were twenty-eight in number. They were all ordered to attend the marriage of the emperor; but thirteen of them refused. The next day Napoleon ordered Fouché to arrest these refractory priests, strip them of their purple, and scatter them through the provinces, that they might be under the surveillance of the police. The clergy at large entered little into this quarrel with the pope. They are described as being "united, tranquil, submissive." They ignored the bull of excommunication; and

though they regarded the seizure of the pope and his imprisonment as unjustifiable measures, they were not disposed to make them cause of quarrel with the government. The bishops were quiescent or with the government; and the bishop of Orleans addressed a letter to his clergy, in which he maintained that the pope was a spiritual priest, and had no claim to temporal authority. This conduct on the part of the clergy, caused Napoleon, though he made many attempts to conciliate the pope, to care little about what was termed the "inveterate obstinacy" of the pontiff, with whom he thought he should yet come to an understanding. His acts, indeed, showed his determination to treat the opposition of Pius VII. to the deprivation of his temporalities with contempt. By a decree of the senate of the 17th of February, Rome and its territory were annexed to France: by a *senatus consultum*, issued about the time of his marriage, Rome was declared the second city of the empire; and it was provided, that the heir to the empire, so confidently expected, as the result of the marriage with Maria-Louisa, should bear the title of king of Rome, and be crowned both at Nôtre-Dame and St. Peter's. Napoleon also abolished all the sees in the Roman states; suppressed the religious orders in Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and sequestered all the ecclesiastical property of the papacy. This last step gave him 250,000,000 francs; of which he appropriated 150,000,000 to the state property of France; and the remainder to the defraying the debt of Rome, to the support of hospitals, the establishment of new sees, and the payment of the clergy who retained their benefices.

As to the continental system, as meant to ruin Great Britain, it was a complete failure. Napoleon found himself obliged, in August, 1810, to issue licences, for which he demanded a high fee, sanctioning the importation of British goods, if French manufactures were taken in exchange; and all the continental states, notwithstanding his remonstrances, openly or secretly connived at the extensive smuggling which took place. The system was, therefore, comparatively ineffective in Europe; but it occasioned great inconvenience, and raised the prices of many articles to an enormous rate. It also embroiled Napoleon with the United States of America, whose friendship he would fain have preserved. In consequence of the restrictions on commerce, imposed by France and England, the government of Washington had laid an embargo on all French and British ships in the ports of the Union. This led to an order, from Napoleon, to seize and detain all ships, and arrest all the sailors, of the States in French ports; and although, in consequence of some relaxation in the American regulations, by a decree of the 28th of April, 1811, he

revoked the Berlin and Milan decrees, as far as regarded the United States, the commercial regulations he continued to enforce, were still so vexatious, that no cordiality sprung up between the two governments.

In Europe, it was not only the governments of the independent neutral states that suffered the continental system to be violated and evaded: his brother Louis, to his great annoyance, was very lax in enforcing the system in Holland; and when his majesty arrived in Paris, on being summoned, with other members of his family, to attend the ceremony of Josephine's divorce—the meeting between the brothers was not very cordial. The emperor enumerated his reasons for being dissatisfied with Louis, whose conduct, he said, had made Holland of no more use to him, either in maritime warfare, or in enforcing the continental system, than it had been when a republic under Schimmelpennick. He adduced many specific causes of complaint, and openly intimated his intention of uniting Holland to France. Louis—who was already separated from his wife, Hortense, and whose eldest son had been made grand-duke of Berg, and taken from under his control—had no wish to lose his kingdom; and is described as behaving in a very unkingly manner. For a time, Napoleon's anger appears to have been allayed; and he imparted to his brother his desire, from various causes, for peace: suggesting to him, that, through the connection which the Amsterdam merchants had with Great Britain, he might intimate to the government at London, the imminent danger there was of the annexation of Holland to France; and that it was only by their consenting to treat for peace, that its independence could be preserved.

Louis consented to follow out the hint his brother gave him, and employed M. de Labouchere, head of the first banking-house in Holland—and who was a partner and son-in-law of Mr. Baring, the head of the chief banking-house at that time in London—to visit that city, and endeavour to open a communication with the marquis Wellesley, then foreign minister of England. The envoy had no difficulty, through his connection with the Barings, in obtaining an introduction to the noble marquis, who received him with great urbanity, listened to what he had to say with attention, but was very reserved in his answers. To Mr. Baring the marquis was more communicative. He told that gentleman, that it was a great mistake to suppose the British government was averse to peace, or that it had any desire, much less any interest, in wishing for the restoration of the Bourbons. They were quite ready to treat with Napoleon, but they distrusted his sincerity, and certainly would not treat with non-official agents; nor would they abandon Spain to Joseph, or Sicily to Murat, nor give up Malta;

and any agent sent to treat, must be furnished with full powers on these important points. As Napoleon would not relinquish Spain, there appeared to be little hope for peace; but M. de Labouchere was instructed still to keep open a communication with the marquis Wellesley, for the purpose of urging upon him the desirableness of that event; and of pointing out, that, although the emperor would not dethrone his brothers or Murat, Portugal, Sicily, Hanover, the Hanse Towns, and the Spanish colonies, remained to compensate the old sovereigns; and that it would give a more humane character to the war, were it persisted in, if the decrees and orders in council, restricting the intercourse by sea, were withdrawn on both sides.

Notwithstanding these proceedings, Napoleon did not give up the idea of annexing Holland to France; but when that design became known to his mother and sisters, they made such urgent representations against it, that he evinced a disposition to content himself, at least for the present, with a portion of the Dutch territory. He resolved to advance the frontier of the then French territory to the Waal, by which Zealand, the isles of Tholen, Bommel, and Schowen, Southern Brabant, and part of Guelders, containing the important places of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Gertruidenberg, Bois-le-Duc, Gorcum, and Nimeguen, would be added to the empire. Coupled with this loss of territory, were demands connected with military and commercial administration, which would have converted Louis into a mere automaton; but were in perfect conformity with that rule which Napoleon told Lucien must be the guide of all his relatives on whom he conferred power in other lands—viz., that that power must be exercised, not for the benefit of the country they governed, but of France. Louis at first showed a disposition to resist; it is even said that he contemplated uniting himself with England, and declaring war against France. It is certain that he sent off orders—he being still at Paris—to his ministers to fortify Amsterdam, and to refuse admission to French troops into Dutch forts. Accordingly, when a part of the old corps of Masséna, commanded by marshal Oudinot, entered Brabant, to take possession of that province, and general Maison presented himself before Bergen-op-Zoom, they found their progress arrested. Napoleon, as soon as he heard of this resistance to his wishes, sent the dukes of Otranto and Feltre to Louis; and they drew such a vivid picture of the emperor's anger, that the well-intentioned but weak-minded king yielded every point, and sent off couriers to Amsterdam, to dismiss the ministers, who only obeyed his orders. Then a treaty was concluded between the brothers—one clause of which prohibited Louis from sending ambassadors to Vienna or St. Petersburg; and Napoleon immediately wrote to his brother,

telling him that he had, for the first time, set aside his true policy, seeing how much it would distress him, and gave up the annexation of Holland, notwithstanding the political reasons which urged him to the measure; but he (Louis) "must be assured that he must make a complete change in his government," and that, on "the first cause of complaint," the annexation would take place. Louis was obliged to be content with this arrangement; and he remained in Paris, to share in the marriage *fêtes*: after they were at an end he returned to Amsterdam.

The financial position of the empire pressed itself upon the consideration of Napoleon, in addition to the various subjects already mentioned. Hitherto he had greatly exceeded the public resources, notwithstanding the immense contributions from the conquered countries. He had, says M. Thiers, "for many years passed the proper limit of expenses by about fifty millions in time of peace, and about eighty or a hundred millions in time of war." The experience of the Spanish war made him feel that the time would come when the immense armies of France must be supported by the French people; and he had raised the duties on articles of general consumption, with a view to increase the revenue—making, in 1810, the articles of tobacco and salt government monopolies. Whilst he raised the indirect, he reduced the direct taxes on real property, that he might avail himself of that source hereafter. The budget for the year amounted to 740,000,000 francs, exclusive of the payments made from the *domaine-extraordinaire*, which consisted of contributions levied on foreign countries, or paid under treaties; of the produce of movables, confiscated or seized; and of the public lands of France. The entire receipts from this source, in 1810, amounted to 750,000,000 francs; the expenditure to about 450,000,000 francs, leaving 300,000,000 francs in the treasury. Well might an historian observe—"Never, since the time of the Roman dominion, had conquered states furnished such resources to a foreign treasury."

After his marriage, Napoleon, to the casual observer, appeared for a time to have cast aside all cares of business, and to have devoted himself solely to his youthful bride; so many were the *fêtes* and rejoicings on the occasion, at most of which he was present. The union did not appear to be disagreeable to the empress, who, some little time after she became the wife of Napoleon, said to the late prince Metternich, then recently appointed foreign minister of Austria, and who visited Paris for the purpose of having interviews with the emperor and empress—"I suppose you think, at Vienna, that I live in great awe of my redoubtable husband! Ah! well! you may tell my countrymen, that he is more afraid of me than I am of him." In subsequent years, she is said to have been

warmly attached to the emperor, frequently speaking of him as "*Mon Ange!*" ("My Angel.") One of the emperor's biographers says—"She was of a gentle, complying, and artless nature, and anxiously desirous of pleasing him. He used, in comparing his two wives, to call the one 'Grace,' the other 'Innocence.' The simplicity and affability of Maria-Louisa rendered her very popular; though her qualities were not such as to excite the strong attachment which had been inspired by Josephine."

After nearly a month spent in festivities at Paris and Compiègne, Napoleon left the latter on the 27th of April, accompanied by a brilliant suite, to take his bride a tour through the provinces. They went by St. Quentin, Cambray, and the palace of Lacken, to Antwerp, where the emperor had a fleet of ten sail, ready equipped. He examined these vessels with much pride; remaining five days at Antwerp, for the purpose of thoroughly inquiring into the capabilities of the port as a naval arsenal. He was very anxious to employ the period of a continental peace to recruit his fleet; and at that time he had thirty-two vessels, besides the ten at Antwerp. There were nine in the Texel, which were to be completed by the 1st of July; two at Cherbourg, three at L'Orient, seventeen at Toulon, and one at Venice. He calculated that, by 1812, the number would be increased to 100 or 110; and that, with the necessary number of frigates and sloops, he should be able, with ease, to embark 150,000 men for any foreign expedition.

Amsterdam, Flushing, and Brussels were also visited; and the distinguished party returned to Paris by Dieppe, Havre, and Rouen. While on this journey, the emperor learned, that Fouché had been employing, as his agent, M. Ouvrard, to follow the suite of M. de Labouchere, and endeavour to open negotiations with England. Ordering Louis (through whom, as we have stated, M. de Labouchere's agency commenced) still to continue that gentleman's mission—as soon as he returned to Paris, on the 2nd of June, Napoleon held a council of ministers, and questioned Fouché, pointedly, as to his proceedings. The latter, surprised to find they had come to the emperor's knowledge, made some excuses, wanting to throw the fault upon Ouvrard, as a man who intrigued in everything. The evidence, however, from the letters which Louis had forwarded to the emperor, was too conclusive to leave any doubt as to the fact, that Ouvrard's mission originated with Fouché. The agent was seized and placed in prison, where he remained for some time. Fouché was dismissed, and Savary, duke of Rovigo, appointed minister of police, against the advice of Cambacérès, the arch-chancellor, who remarked to the emperor, that "public opinion, already somewhat estranged, was not likely to be conciliated by seeing the minister of police in a military

uniform." Notwithstanding Fouché's conduct in this affair, the emperor, at first, only transferred him from one office to another. On the 3rd of June, Napoleon wrote to him, stating that he was removed from his ministry on account of the negotiations opened with England, and his "peculiar opinions regarding the duties of the minister of police," which "were not consistent with the good of the state;" but declaring that, notwithstanding, the emperor's "confidence in his talent and fidelity was complete." A day or two after, he was appointed governor of the Roman states. Further disclosures, relative to his share in the negotiations, and proof that he had led the British government to think the emperor would depart from his declared intentions with respect to Spain, so enraged Napoleon, however, that he cancelled his new appointment, and exiled him to Aix.—In this attempt to open negotiations through M. Ouvrard, as well as in that made by M. de Labouchere, the British government evinced a firm desire for peace; and, in a brief note, the marquis Wellesley stated, that his majesty was quite ready to take part in a sincere *formal* negotiation, which should comprise all his allies, not omitting Spain.

While Napoleon was engaged in this business of Fouché's, the ambassador of Austria (prince Schwartzberg) gave a ball at the embassy, to their imperial majesties and the court. When the festivity was at its height, a fire broke out in the mansion. The emperor carried the empress in his arms from the ball-room to her carriage, and then returned to the scene of the conflagration, in which the princess Schwartzberg unhappily perished. Many of the guests were seriously injured, and the lives of several were saved by the activity of Napoleon. It is stated by his biographers, that, though he made no remark about it at the time, this event made a deep impression on Napoleon; and many persons regarded it as an evil omen, a similar accident having occurred soon after the marriage of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette.

In June, the affairs of Holland were brought to a climax. Louis found the difficulties imposed upon him by his recent treaty with the emperor were accumulating beyond his power to overcome them; and one article of the treaty, which obliged him to suffer French military posts to be established along the coast, in order to prevent all intercourse with England, produced so much popular discontent, that a member of the French embassy was insulted in the streets of the Hague. This threw Napoleon into one of those passionate excesses in which he so frequently indulged. He sent his passports to the Dutch ambassador, M. Verhuel; ordered M. de Laroche foucauld, his ambassador to Louis, and who was then at Paris, not to return to the Hague; sent instructions to M. Sérurier, the

secretary of legation, to desist from attending the court of Louis; and demanded, that all who had insulted the member of the embassy should be signally punished. This seems to have been the last trouble Louis found himself capable of encountering; for directly after the arrival of M. Verhuel at Amsterdam, he announced to his ministers, that he intended to resign the crown to his son, under the regency of his mother, the queen Hortense. Louis thought the youth of his son, and the regard Napoleon had for Hortense, would induce him to be less stringent in his demands on Holland; whilst the regent, being a woman, could submit to him with less humiliation than he (Louis) could do. His ministers reluctantly received his resignation; and a messenger was, on the day when the king communicated his intention, July the 1st, sent off to Paris, to announce the new phase in Dutch affairs to Napoleon. On the 2nd, Louis left the palace, keeping every one in ignorance of the place to which he meant to retire. It subsequently transpired, that the *locale* of his retreat was Bohemia, where he took all his family except his eldest son. The messenger bearing his resignation reached Paris on the 6th; the very day, says M. Thiers, "on which a report was presented to Napoleon, which had been drawn up to explain the reasons that rendered the annexation of Holland to the empire desirable. His resolution had been adopted, therefore, before his brother's abdication." That abdication made no alteration in the emperor's intentions; who set at nought the arrangements, and disregarded the wishes of his brother. He employed two days, after he received the intelligence, in taking the necessary preliminary measures; and, on the 9th of July, it was decreed, that "Holland was annexed to France." The Dutch territory was divided into nine departments, which were to send six deputies to the council of state, six to the senate, twenty-five to the legislative body, and two members to the court of cassation. The French system of taxation was to be substituted for the Dutch, at the close of the year; and the "continental system" was ordered to be rigidly enforced. He also directed that the prince-royal should be brought to Paris, and recognised as the grand-duke of Berg.

Napoleon followed up this annexation by two decrees—one allowing the Dutch to bring the colonial produce accumulated in their warehouses to the French markets, on paying a duty of 50 per cent. to the French treasury: the other was intended to check the contraband trade in British goods. Whilst British manufactures were still sedulously excluded, the produce of the British colonies was permitted to be imported, the importers taking out a licence, and paying the above duty. This decree was dated on the 5th of August. It was to operate throughout

the whole of the French dominions; and couriers were sent off to the Confederation of the Rhine, Austria, Russia, and all other neutral powers, recommending the governments to adopt the same system. Custom-house officers, *gens d'armes*, and troops, were everywhere employed to seize English colonial produce, and compel the owner to pay duty, or to forfeit it. In future, wherever this produce was found, and the payment of duty could not be proved, it was to be declared contraband, and seized. Napoleon raised a considerable sum by this measure, from the payment of the 50 per cent. duty, and the sale of confiscated stores.

Shortly after this decree came into effect, he extended its operation, by compelling every ship which navigated the Atlantic Ocean or the Mediterranean Sea, to take out a licence. By a decree of the 1st of November, he somewhat mitigated these regulations, as far as regarded vessels trading with the United States. This induced president Maddison to issue a proclamation, announcing, that if, by the 1st of February, 1811, England had not withdrawn all its restrictive commercial measures, the commercial interdict issued by the government at Washington, would be withdrawn with respect to France, but rigorously maintained with respect to England.

All the neutral states accepted the decree of the 5th of August, except Russia. That power, which had for some time been lax in carrying out the continental system, became still less stringent after this decree appeared, and Alexander turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances which Napoleon, through M. Caulaincourt, addressed to him. The making more annexations to France before the year closed, still further estranged the two powers. On the 13th of December, a *senatus consulte* appeared, annexing the Valais to the empire, as the department of the Simplon: and still further to enable the war against English commerce to be carried on, this document declared, that the duchy of Oldenburg, the territory of the princes of Salm and Arenberg, a portion of Hanover, and the territories of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, were converted into French departments. The princes who were to be despoiled were simply informed, that Napoleon was about to take possession of their territories; and it was intimated to the prince of Oldenburg, that out of respect to the emperor Alexander, who was his brother-in-law, the city of Erfurth would be assigned to him. The emperor of Russia deeply resented the manner in which that prince was treated; and it induced him to issue, on the 31st of December, an ukase, regulating the customs' duties of the empire; under which the importation of English colonial produce was permitted in neutral vessels: thus, in fact, Russia renounced the "continental system." By taking this step, Alexander at once revenged the slight cast

upon him with respect to the imperial marriage, the refusal of Napoleon to ratify the convention to which M. Caulaincourt had agreed with respect to Poland, and the injury inflicted on his brother-in-law. From that period, the friendship of the two sovereigns was at end, and both began to prepare for war—Napoleon at once calling out 116,000 men of the conscription for 1811.

Early in the year just named, the first wish of Napoleon's heart was gratified—he became a father. On the 20th of March, 1811, the empress gave birth to a son. During the *accouchement* her state was such, that the *accoucheur*, M. Dubois, informed the emperor, that it might be necessary to sacrifice either mother or child. "Save the mother," was Napoleon's reply, anxious as he was for an heir—"it is her right: forget that she is an empress, and act towards her as you would to the wife of a shopkeeper of the Rue St. Denis." Both were preserved; and the infant was baptized by the cardinal Maury, archbishop of Paris. He was christened Napoleon-François-Charles-Joseph; and took the title of king of Rome from the day of his birth. This event was made the cause of great rejoicing; and the constituted authorities of Paris, the senate and the council of state, all went through the ceremony, "more honoured," we think, "in the breach than in the observance," of presenting addresses to the infant king in his cradle! and, after the chief nurse had replied, defiling past him with humble reverences. The European sovereigns, including the emperor Alexander, sent ambassadors to congratulate Napoleon on what he regarded as such an auspicious event. Charles IV. of Spain, and the ex-queen, went to Paris, to tender their congratulations in person. Soon after the birth of the king of Rome, the duke of Bassano was made minister of foreign affairs, in the room of Champagny, who had been created duke of Cadore, and was nominated intendent-general of the crown. M. de Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, was also replaced as ambassador at St. Petersburg, by M. Lauriston, who arrived at the embassy on the 9th of May.

On the 16th of June, the session for 1811 of the legislative body was opened by the emperor, who, in his speech, made especial allusion to his son, who would, he said, "answer all the expectations of France, and have for their children the same feelings which he entertained for themselves." The French, he added, "will never forget, that their happiness and their glory are attached to the prosperity of this throne, which I have founded, consolidated, and aggrandised, with them, and for them. I desire this to be understood by all the French, in whatever position Providence and my will have placed them—the love of France is their first duty." New members from the departments of Holland, from the Hanse Towns, from Italy,

and from Valais, took their seats in this session; and a report on the state of the empire informed the legislature, that, since the last session, sixteen departments, 5,000,000 of people, and 100,000,000 francs of revenue, had been added to the empire. It also appeared, from this report, that France had 800,000 men under arms, of whom 350,000 were in Spain. The expenditure for the year was fixed at 954,000,000 francs, of which 148,000,000 were applied to the interest on the debt. This large sum was exclusive of those paid out of the *domaine-extraordinaire*, and the secret revenue of the police; which raised the total expenditure to near 1,500,000,000 francs. The session closed on the 25th of July.

The emperor had not yet been able to come to any agreement with the pope, who, towards the close of 1810, sent letters to the chapters, urging them not to recognise as vicars-capitular, the nominated, but uninstituted bishops. This was a source of great concern to Napoleon, though he concealed his uneasiness from the public. To meet the difficulty, he first took the opinion of an ecclesiastical commission on several questions that presented themselves; and then resolved to summon a council of the archbishops and bishops of the empire. This council met at Paris on the 11th of June; and, after going in solemn procession to Notre-Dame, where a grand mass was performed, the members proceeded to business. They could not agree, as a large proportion of the prelates were of opinion, that no acts of the body would be valid without the assent of the church. As no determination, apparently, could be come to, the emperor dissolved the council; and the duke of Rovigo arrested three bishops, those of Tournay, Troyes, and Gaud, in the night, and imprisoned them at Vincennes, without the adjudication of any tribunal, or their being allowed to give any explanation of their conduct. By the advice of cardinal Maury, a decree was then drawn up, to which eighty-five members of the council were induced to give their consent, chiefly to settle the question of the institution to bishoprics. It was provided, that six months should be allowed for nomination by the head of the state; and that the pope should, six months after the nomination, institute the nominee, according to the concordat. If, however, his holiness would not confer the pall upon the new bishop, then the metropolitan of the ecclesiastical province should be empowered to act in his place. The pope, contrary to expectation, approved of the decree, in a brief, dated the 20th of September. That document was, however, drawn up in terms that displeased the emperor, who submitted it to the council of state, that it might be seen how far its language agreed with the liberties of the Gallican church. Notwithstanding, as the pope agreed to institute the twenty-seven bishops, it

was considered that this question was, for the present, settled.

In the autumn, Napoleon and Maria-Louisa made a tour to the coasts of France, the provinces annexed the previous year, and Holland. When on this tour, the emperor was actively employed in giving instructions to those princes dependent upon him, as to the course they must take in what he considered as certain—an approaching war with Russia; in which he hoped to induce Austria and Prussia to join him. He also wanted the support of Sweden; but recent changes in that country tended to alienate the two powers. The crown-prince of Sweden died suddenly, on the 23rd of May, 1810. The king (Charles XIII.) had no children, and was not likely to have any. It became necessary, therefore, for the states-general, or diet, to provide a successor to the throne. The rival claims of the brother of the deceased crown-prince, and of Frederick VII., king of Denmark, were preferred; but, under an impression that it would be agreeable to Napoleon, the diet, on the 17th of August, elected Bernadotte prince of Pontecorvo—who was relieved from his oath of allegiance as a French subject, and took possession of his new title of crown-prince of Sweden, under the name of Charles John, on the 1st of November. The election was not in compliance with the wishes of Napoleon, between whom and Bernadotte there had been no cordial feeling since the 18th of Brumaire; as the latter always opposed the aspiring ambition and aggressive disposition of the former. The emperor, however, did not oppose the choice of the diet; but he took care to have it known that it had not been influenced by him. After his arrival at Stockholm, Bernadotte, owing to the infirmity of Charles XIII., exercised the royal authority: and he did so, as a loyal Swede, for the interests of Sweden; not as Napoleon wished, for the benefit of France. A declaration of war against England was made on the 17th of November, but hostilities never commenced; and Bernadotte declined to carry out the “continental system” in its integrity, whilst he cultivated, from the time of his elevation, amicable relations with Russia; both causes being very obnoxious to Napoleon, who, as he contemplated war with the czar, wanted to isolate him from all continental alliances.

Alexander, on the other hand, was, through his ministers, endeavouring to strengthen his interests at Vienna, Berlin, and Stockholm. At Copenhagen, any step of that kind was useless, the king being determined to adhere to the cause of Napoleon; who, however, did not place any great reliance on the assistance he could afford him. During 1811, he had arranged his plan of the campaign; determining to place his base of operations on the Oder and Vistula, and, if possible, on the Niemen. He therefore

directed his troops to advance to those points—gradually throwing garrisons, and every description of stores, into Dantzic, Thorn, and Medling, on the Vistula; Stettin, Cüstrin, and Glogau, on the Oder; and Magdeburg on the Elbe. Dantzic was made a vast dépôt for every species of war-like *matériel*; and another dépôt, as extensive, was established at Hamburg. The emperor, also, again addressed himself to cultivate the friendship of Turkey, which, since the treaty of Tilsit, he had entirely abandoned to Russia. That power had been for some time at war with the Porte; and he wished to bring his quarrel with Alexander to an issue before the latter was free from the contest. In 1811, however, the Russians had gained several advantages over the Turks, which rendered the latter inclined to peace; and negotiations were opened at Bucharest. They did not promise to terminate speedily, as the two powers could not agree upon the terms of a treaty. But the Porte—whilst refusing Alexander’s proposition, that Turkey should retain Wallachia, and give up Bessarabia and Moldavia to Russia, and demanding the *status quo ante bellum* as the condition of peace—also declined to enter into any alliance with France.

The unpopularity of France, before alluded to, increased, during 1811, in Germany. In Prussia, the most intense German spirit was cultivated. All the younger branches of the aristocracy and the traders, and many of the lower classes, led by the clergy, became members of secret societies—the *Ligue de la Vertu*, the *Ligue Germanique*, and others; the object of which was, in art, science, literature, industry, to patronise the products of Germany, and of Germany only. The king, however, who had begun to increase his army, was compelled to desist by a threat from Napoleon, that Davoust should march on Berlin if he did not. The dislike—amounting almost to detestation—to Napoleon and his policy, was nearly universal in other parts of Germany; and though his German allies raised their contingents at his bidding, “they trembled in secret,” says Thiers, “at the hatred which they found the conscription engendered” amongst their people.

As Napoleon closed 1810, by calling for the conscription of 1811, so he closed 1811, with an immediate call for 112,000 men of the levy of 1812; and as much has been said as to the cause of the terrible war of the latter year, and the admirers of Napoleon have been inclined to throw all the blame upon Alexander, it is only fair to that sovereign to quote what M. Thiers, in his *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, says on the subject. “For my own part,” writes the historian, “loving my country better than anything else in the world, but unable to sacrifice truth for its sake, I must declare, that, after having perused all the documents

relating to the subject, my decided impression is, that the emperor Alexander was sincerely averse to war. Whilst distrust of Napoleon's character impelled him to prepare for it, he would have done anything to avoid it; for, besides the great dangers with which it threatened him, it would be a condemnation of his policy—an avowal that he had committed an error in adopting the French alliance at Tilsit; and compel him to renounce Wallachia and Moldavia." This was also the opinion of M. Lauriston, Napoleon's ambassador at St. Petersburg; who, after several interviews with the emperor, wrote to Paris, to the effect, that "he was compelled to say that the emperor Alexander, although to a certain extent prepared, was not desirous of war, and would certainly not take the initiative." The emperor of Austria, now the father-in-law of Napoleon, was, of course, disposed to forward his views; but he deprecated war; and M. Metternich, then decidedly favourable to France, strongly counselled peace. "Great as was the emperor Napoleon," he said, "fortune might betray him; and although the chances were, undoubtedly, in his favour, it would be wiser not to tempt her."

The war with England was productive of several disasters to France and her allies, in 1810 and 1811. In the month of January, in the former year, a force sailed from Madras, which, on the 17th of February, captured the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, and its dependent islands also surrendered.—On the 10th of July, the isle of Bourbon was captured by the same force.—In August, a party of seamen, commanded by captain Cole, of the *Caroline* frigate, was landed on Banda, the chief of the Dutch spice islands. These gallant fellows attacked and carried the fort of Banda Neira on the 8th. It was defended by 700 regular troops, and 300 militia; but they could not stand against the daring assault of the British. The surrender of the fort was followed by that of the whole island, which proved a rich prize to the captors. In the same month, however, a French squadron captured two East Indiamen; and three English frigates, attempting to recover them, went aground, and were lost.—Later in the year, on the 3rd of December, the island of Mauritius capitulated to a British force. This was a

splendid prize. The island was well supplied with provisions, and all kinds of stores; there was much merchandise in the warehouses; and five large frigates, some smaller vessels of war, twenty-eight merchantmen, and the two English East Indiamen which had been captured, in the harbour. The garrison was sent to France; and the conquest was followed up by three frigates sailing to the island of Madagascar, destroying the French batteries at Tametava, on the coast, and routing the French troops from some other positions which they occupied. This was completely effected on the 10th of January, 1811.—In August, 1810, Murat had collected a powerful armament in Calabria, with the design of making an attempt to conquer Sicily. A French division was landed near Faro Point, which was defeated by the British, under major-general Campbell, on the 18th of September, with the loss of 900 prisoners. There was skirmishing subsequently, but no other battle. On the 3rd of October, the French, finding they could make no impression, left the island.—In March, 1811, a combined French and Italian squadron, consisting of five large frigates and six smaller vessels, had eluded the British blockading squadrons; but were encountered, on the 13th, off the Isle of Lissa, in the gulf of Venice, by five English frigates, under commodore Hoste. A fierce engagement ensued, the result of which was, for some time, doubtful. It ended in the capture of three frigates; the rest, much shattered, escaped.—In May, on the 20th, captain Schomberg captured a fine French frigate off the island of Madagascar; and, the next day, attacked and destroyed some batteries which the French had again erected on the coast of that island.—On the 21st of July, a French flotilla, of twenty-six vessels, was taken, off the coast of Calabria, by an English frigate and a sloop.—On the 8th of August the Dutch island of Java was captured. At the close of the year, Napoleon had no possessions out of Europe; and the Spanish colonies in South America having declared their independence, he had little chance, even if he succeeded in Spain, of possessing himself of the "Indies." His dream of obtaining "ships, colonies, and commerce," to rival England, must have been by this time dissipated.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WAR IN THE PENINSULA, 1809—1811; SURRENDER OF SARAGOSSA; THE FRENCH IN PORTUGAL; THEIR EXPULSION BY THE BRITISH; BATTLE OF TALAVERA; FURTHER EVENTS IN 1809; THE GUERRILLAS; EXPEDITION TO ANDALUSIA; CAPTURE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO AND ALMEIDA; BATTLE OF BUSACO; LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS; THE REGENCY OF CADIZ; CAPTURE OF TORTOSA AND BADAJOZ; BATTLE OF BARROSA; CAPTURE OF FIGUERAS; BURNING OF MANRESA; CAPTURE OF TARRAGONA.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of the Russian war that proved so fatal to Bonaparte, we will give a narrative of the contest in the Peninsula—which, though it greatly affected his fortunes, stood, from the period at which we are now arrived, almost isolated from his other movements; and the events will be better understood if given in a connected form. The quarrel with Spain was never popular in France; and the battle of Corunna, though it was followed by the departure of the British troops from that part of the Peninsula, did not tend to reconcile the French people to a continuance of the war. But the emperor would not abandon his idea of subduing Spain. He reinforced his armies there, and ordered the most energetic measures to be adopted, on his leaving the country in January, 1809, saying, that he should only be absent a few months, during which time the armies were to be commanded by the king. Marshal Soult, however, was really at the head of the army; and he never evinced any great disposition to obey the orders of Joseph.

One of the first operations, after the departure of the British, was to press the siege of Saragossa, which had been commenced by marshal Lannes on the 20th of December, 1808. The inhabitants—greatly animated and encouraged by a female, known as the Maid of Saragossa—made a resistance, of which there are few such determined ones on record. Every house was converted into a fortress, and every foot of ground was contested. The slaughter was great, and there was scarcely a house uninjured. To add to the difficulties of the besieged, an epidemic fever broke out amongst the garrison; and, on the 21st of February, it surrendered—40,000 of the troops and the inhabitants being, it is estimated, buried under the ruins of the fortifications and the houses.—Soon after its surrender, marshal Lannes left Spain.

The French were also active in the field. Marshal Soult, after the occupation of Corunna, having rested and reorganised his forces, descended from that city to the south; and crossing the frontiers of Portugal, he took Braga, from whence he advanced to Oporto, which was garrisoned by a strong Portuguese force. The French opened a bombardment upon the works; and the garrison refusing to surrender, the city was carried by assault on the 29th of March, 1809. In this affair the slaughter was terrible; the

French soldiers acting with the greatest cruelty, notwithstanding the exertions of Soult and his officers. The shrieks of women, and the cries of murdered men, were heard in every street; and it is computed that not fewer than 10,000 Portuguese perished; the French loss being 500. From Oporto, following the orders of the emperor, Soult was to proceed to Lisbon, supported by a force under marshal Victor. But his progress was arrested, very much to his surprise.

After the death of Sir John Moore, Sir John Cradock had succeeded to the chief command of the British troops. They had gone from Corunna to Lisbon; and when he heard of the advance of the French army, he had serious thoughts of returning to England. But the Portuguese offered to put their army under a British commander, and to co-operate heartily with their allies—a proposition to which the government of London assented, and major-general Beresford was nominated generalissimo of the troops of Portugal. When Soult advanced to Oporto, that officer was at Thomar, where he had established his head-quarters. He had organised some 20,000 or 30,000 men; and Sir John Cradock had increased his army to 14,500. But as there could not be less than 50,000 in the armies of Soult and Victor, Sir John did not think it advisable to advance on Oporto, and resolved to content himself with covering Lisbon and the Tagus. The British government, however, had resolved to send Sir Arthur Wellesley to take the chief command in the Peninsula. That officer landed at Lisbon on the 22nd of April, and at once entered on the discharge of his duties. He found himself at the head of 14,500 infantry, and 1,500 cavalry, with twenty-four pieces of cannon; and having been joined by general Beresford and 10,000 Portuguese, he resolved to march to the north, and endeavour to expel the French from Portugal. The united armies left Lisbon on the 7th of May, and crossed the Vouga on the 10th, where an affair took place with four regiments of French cavalry, a battalion of infantry, and some guns. The enemy were driven back with loss, as were other detachments of French troops, which had crossed to the left bank of the Douro; some retreated, as they heard of the advance of the allies. The latter pressed on, and, at Vendas Novas, fell in with a French division of about 4,000 infantry

and cavalry, which was attacked and dispersed, many prisoners being taken. The beaten enemy recrossed the Douro, destroyed the bridges, and conveyed every boat they could discover to the other bank. When Sir A. Wellesley arrived, he determined not to stop the pursuit, but to cross the river at all hazards. It was one of the most gallant operations of the war. Having fixed upon a spot where the crossing might be attempted, opposite an unfinished building on the right bank, Sir A. Wellesley ordered the first troops who got over to take possession of that building, and defend themselves there till their comrades arrived. A small skiff, after much searching, was discovered concealed amongst some rushes, in which a few peasants and a Portuguese colonel ventured across. These parties were fortunate enough to find four barges buried in the mud, which, being extricated with difficulty, were taken over, and general Paget, at the head of three companies of the Buffs, crossed, and took possession of the building. The barges were going back for reinforcements, when the French discovered the movement. Soult immediately dispatched a division to attack the building, which was successfully defended by the little garrison. The British, under generals Hill, Murray, and Sherbrooke, kept constantly passing from the left to the right bank, in the barges, and by a ford at Avintes, a little above Oporto, under cover of a well-sustained fire from several guns placed in the garden of the convent of San Agostinho, on the left bank. The French fought well for some time, till Soult, fearing he should be outflanked, ordered a retreat. It was made most precipitously, and Sir A. Wellesley and his staff entered Oporto as Soult and his followers were leaving it. They immediately took possession of the quarters of the French marshal, and ate a dinner which was preparing for him and his officers. The British did not, however, remain at Oporto. They continued the pursuit, which was, in fact, a rout; and, on the 18th of June, the French crossed the frontier, and re-entered Spain, barely 19,000 men remaining of the 26,000 which had advanced in February; their guns, stores, and baggage were abandoned to the conquerors. It appeared that they had plundered to a great extent; for almost every kind of property was found in the knapsacks which were left behind, or thrown away on the road, in their retreat: plate of all descriptions, jewellery, large sums of money, women's ornaments, and men's and women's clothes, were stored away in these receptacles, and amongst the baggage. Their sufferings in the retreat are described, by a British officer, as very great. As the allies advanced in pursuit, they found "the road strewed with wrecks of the French army; dead horses, muskets, ammunition, knapsacks, bodies of French soldiers murdered and stripped by the peasants; and now and then a

solitary soldier lying on the road-side, and dying from fear, want, and fatigue." In such cases relief was always afforded by the pursuers.

Soult had been followed into Portugal by Victor, who had defeated general Cuesta at Medellin on the 29th of March, forced the passage of the Tagus at Alcantara, and threatened Lisbon. On hearing that Soult had retreated, he also fell back on Merida. The retreating armies were followed by Sir A. Wellesley, who, on the 20th of July, formed a junction with Cuesta at Oropesa. The allies marched in the direction of Madrid. There Sir R. Wilson was also marching, by Placentia, at the head of a Portuguese brigade; as was general Venegas, from the Sierra Morena. On the march, there was a favourable opportunity for attacking the French force on the Alberche; but, it being Sunday, Cuesta refused to fight. A day or two after, on the 26th of July, the French, whom the Spaniard had been the means of saving from defeat, attacked his advanced guard; and it was only saved from destruction by the arrival of Sherbrooke's division of the British force. Victor had then been joined by Sebastiani, from Toledo; also by king Joseph and marshal Jourdain, from Madrid. These different divisions had united at Torrijos, forming an army of nearly 50,000 men. As Victor menaced the allies, the British general resolved to halt at Talavera de la Reyna, a city on the right bank of the Tagus, to the south-west of Madrid, and on the road most frequented between the Spanish and Portuguese capitals. There, on the 27th and 28th of July, he sustained an attack from the entire French army; his own not counting more than 19,000 effective men. But there were Cuesta's Spaniards—a numerous host, who, though not highly disciplined, were brave. The late marquis of Londonderry described them as fine men, but "little better than a bold peasantry, armed partially like soldiers, but completely unacquainted with a soldier's duty." Like the guerillas, however, they would have fought well had they been ably commanded; but the same authority tells us, that "the generals appeared to have been selected by one rule alone—that of seniority. They were almost all old men, except O'Donaja and Largas, evidently incapable of surmounting the difficulties, or bearing the fatigue, of one hard campaign."

The British general had taken up a good position, two miles in length, extending from the Tagus to Talavera. The Spaniards were on the right, the British on the left, where the most formidable attack was made. The French were posted on the opposite side of the Alberche, a small stream, running by Talavera, being one of the tributaries of the Tagus. They crossed that river on the morning of the 27th. The fighting commenced at noon; and the assaults

and defence were continued through the day. The French at first succeeded in throwing the 87th and 88th regiments, forming Mackenzie's division, into momentary confusion; and subsequently turned general Donkin's flank, and crowned the hill behind it. But they were beaten back, and forced from every point with great loss. A bold height—the Alatuza de Segusella, on the extreme flank of the British—had been the object of contention during the day. When the night closed, the French again attacked this position; but, after some desperate fighting, were driven off at the point of the bayonet. Then, says Maxwell, "the troops rested upon their arms; and each battalion on the ground it had occupied the preceding day. The cavalry were stretched beside their horses: all were ready for an attack; but the night passed with some slight alarms, and no serious disturbance." The fighting was resumed early the next morning, and again the French attacked the height on the left. They were broken and driven down; and repeated the attempt, but were once more repulsed. On all other points of the British line fighting continued for several hours; and twice, from the impetuosity, first of the 23rd dragoons, under colonel Seymour, and then of the guards, in pursuing the enemy, disaster was threatened to the allies. On the last occasion, if Sir Arthur Wellesley had not seen the danger, and sent the 48th to the rescue, the result would have been the utter dispersion of the guards, who were charged by the French cavalry. The fire of the 48th arrested the career of the latter: the guards rallied; the light cavalry came up, and rode upon the enemy; and the latter were soon in full retreat, leaving the ground covered with their dead. In every other part of the field the British were victorious; and if the Spaniards had made one forward movement, the French would, in the opinion of Sir A. Wellesley, have been entirely destroyed. They recrossed the Alberche in the night; having, in the two days, lost 9,000 killed and wounded, twenty guns, and several hundred prisoners. The British had thirty-six officers (major-general Mackenzie and brigadier-general Langworth being of the number), and 767 non-commissioned officers and rank and file, killed; and 195 officers, and 3,718 rank and file, wounded: the missing were ninety officers, and 644 rank and file. The Spanish loss was 1,250 killed and wounded.*

The battle of Talavera, though represented as indecisive by the French, had, for them, all the features of a defeat; as they, the assailants, were driven back on every point, and had to retrace their steps; whilst the English, the assailed, remained in possession of all the posi-

tions from which it was sought to expel them. The next day, Sir Arthur Wellesley was reinforced by general Craufurd's superb light brigade; and learning that Soult, with 35,000 men, was making a flank movement to support king Joseph, he wished to have made a forward march to meet and give him battle. Cuesta, however, over whom the English general had no control, chose to march from Talavera, and leave him entirely unsupported; and Sir Arthur, not having a sufficient number of men to encounter an army like Soult's, and not wishing to incur the fate of Sir John Moore, withdrew to Badajoz. Cuesta's desertion not only endangered the safety of the British army, but was very nearly causing the entire destruction of Sir R. Wilson's Portuguese brigade. Cut off from support by Cuesta's movement, it took possession of the pass of Banos, where it was attacked by a detached portion of Soult's army, much superior in numbers. After fighting with great bravery, and having 800 killed, the remainder were ordered, by Sir Robert, to disperse, and assemble again at Castello Branco; which they did.

At Badajoz, Sir Arthur Wellesley occupied himself in improving the discipline of his own troops, and in organising an efficient Portuguese army, which was clothed and armed by the English government, 31,000 stand of arms and suits of uniform arriving at Lisbon early in the spring of 1810. In October, Sir Arthur visited Lisbon; and it was then that he fixed upon Torres Vedras as the position to be taken for the protection of the capital, and ordered those lines of defence to be constructed, which were afterwards so famous in the history of the war.

In August, the Spanish armies were divided into those of the left, the centre, and the right. The first, under the command of the duke del Parque, extended its operations over Old Castile, Leon, the Asturias, and Galicia. The second was originally under Cuesta, who was displaced by the central junta of Seville, and general Equia appointed to succeed him. Before any action beyond mere skirmishing had taken place, this officer was also superseded by Don Juan de Areizaga, whose corps guarded Estremadura, La Mancha, and Andalusia. The third army, under generals Reding and Blake, was employed in Catalonia, against St. Cyr, and in Aragon against general Suchet. The central junta had established an executive commission of six members, to exercise all administrative functions; and the plan of this commission was, to concentrate as many men as possible, for the purpose of marching on Madrid, and taking the capital out of the hands of the French. This was contrary to the opinion of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, after the experience he had had of the Spanish troops, strongly advised that all great battles should be avoided. The result proved the wisdom of his advice. Blake attacked

* For this victory Sir A. Wellesley was raised to the peerage by the title of baron Douro and viscount Wellington.

Suchet in Aragon, and was routed with considerable loss. The Spaniards rallied, and once more giving battle, were again defeated near Belchite, twenty-two miles from Saragossa, losing all their artillery, and several thousand prisoners. The duke del Parque, about the middle of October, had nearly 30,000 men under his command. Obeying the orders of the junta to assume the offensive, he had advanced, by the route from Ciudad Rodrigo to Salamanca, as far as Tamanies, where he was attacked, on the 18th of October, by a French division under general Marchand, when skilfully posted upon a group of rocks difficult of access. At the first onset the French captured several guns, and dispersed a corps of cavalry which covered the position. But the Spaniards kept up such a furious fire, that the whole French line was driven back, and retreated. This success—the last in that campaign the Spaniards obtained—confirmed the executive commission in their opinion, that the advance upon Madrid should take place. In obedience to their orders, Areizaga commenced his march upon the capital, with a tolerably well-appointed army of 40,000 or 50,000 foot, 6,000 or 7,000 cavalry, and eighty guns. But Soult had so well disposed his forces, 60,000 in number, that the Spaniards were met on every point; and at Ocana, on the 19th of November, were completely defeated, losing between 4,000 and 5,000 killed, 15,000 prisoners, forty-six cannon, a great quantity of baggage, and 2,000 or 3,000 horses. On the 26th, Areizaga was again defeated by Sebastiani, at Alva, on the river Tormes, and the advance on Madrid was, per force, suspended.—In Catalonia, Gerona having been besieged by a division of general St. Cyr's army, under general Verdier, for six months, surrendered, after a defence, which Jones says, in his *Account of the War*, "places the name of the governor, Don Marian Alvarez de Castro, on a level with that of Palafox."

Thus the events of 1809, in the Peninsula, were favourable to the French. Madrid, threatened by the allies, had been re-entered by Joseph in triumph; the British had retired to Badajoz; the Spaniards, though a fierce guerilla war was kept up in Old Castile, Navarre, Catalonia, Aragon, and Biscay, found two of their armies in the field completely broken up and dispersed; whilst the French troops of the line from Antwerp and Walcheren, relieved by the retirement of the British, and most of the battalions, which were marching out of Austria, as the contribution levied on that country was paid, were ordered to Spain, to reinforce the French force. Still Napoleon was dissatisfied. Portugal was free, and Spain was yet unconquered. Ney was ordered to return to France, but did not obey the order; Soult was left unnoticed, to his great perplexity; Jourdain, the

chief of the staff to Joseph, and Joseph himself, were somewhat roughly censured. Napoleon showed himself indeed hard to please.

The defeats of the Spanish generals excited great astonishment amongst the Spanish people, who thought their fine armies would soon drive the French from the Peninsula; and were greatly mortified at their signal discomfitures. It was well for Spain that the spirit of the guerillas did not quail, and that their activity never slackened, whenever and wherever there was a call for their exertions. Some of these corps are described as being "without officers or commissariat, led only by instinct, and acting according to the circumstances of the moment; supplying themselves with everything they required, while they left their enemies destitute." They were, says the same authority, "always present at the precise moment when least expected, dispersed if the hostile troops were in force, and reappeared as soon as they retired." They were very fierce in their mode of warfare, neither giving nor taking quarter; and as the regular armies were dispersed, their numbers were augmented, many of the soldiers joining the bands. Though without organisation and regular officers, they had several eminent leaders, amongst whom the most distinguished were Mina (who, when he first joined the guerillas, was a student, only nineteen years of age); his uncle, of the same name; Villacampa, an old officer; L'Empecinado, and colonel Raymon-Gayan, Renovales, El Pastor, and Don Juan Sanchez. The last-named chief, when the war was commenced, was an agriculturist: but his father, mother, and sister having lost their lives in an inroad of the French, he left the plough for the sword, and became one of the most dreaded of those chiefs who, by their enterprise and daring valour, inflicted such signal losses on the French troops. The knowledge the guerillas possessed of the country was a great advantage. They would attack forces double or treble their number; intercept, and capture or destroy, convoys; cut off small detachments; and, in every way, harass and annoy the invaders: retiring, when tired of fighting, to the recesses of the woods and mountains, and completely eluding pursuit. Some of the French generals treated the guerillas very barbarously when they fell into their hands; placing them out of the pale of the law, and gibbeting them on the great roads. This was very much against the wishes of the king, who endeavoured to prevent his troops from committing these excesses, and to conciliate the Spanish people by mild and beneficent measures.

When 1810 opened, the emperor and the king differed as to the way in which the campaign was to be conducted. The former wished that the efforts of the army should be directed to the expulsion of the English; but Joseph was desirous of commencing operations by an expedition

to Andalusia; as it had been represented to him, that the Spaniards of Seville were discontented with the government of the central junta, and ready to acknowledge his authority. Marshal Soult also favoured the idea of this expedition; and Napoleon consented that it should be undertaken. He, however, wrote to Joseph, and told him that Spain must pay the cost of the war. "The whole revenue of France," he said, "would not suffice for the expenses of the Spanish army, unless he put some limit upon them. His empire was drained of men and money, and he was compelled to pause." All he would be able to afford was 2,000,000 francs per month, for the pay of the troops; Joseph must find all the rest. He added—"The king is fond of cherishing at Madrid the favourites to whom he owes no gratitude. Let him take care of the soldiers to whom he owes his crown. Should he not do this, I will deprive him of the administration of the Spanish provinces: I will govern them by the hands of my generals, and take care to collect from them, as from the other countries in which my troops have been quartered, the necessary expenses."

Joseph collected 70,000 men for the Andalusian expedition; and Masséna, whom the emperor had sent from Paris to take command of the army of Portugal, had 60,000 of the corps of Ney and Junot, 15,000 of the guard, and 10,000 cavalry under Montbrun. There was also a reserve under Drouet: together, more than 150,000 men. Soult was to command the Andalusian army under Joseph; and after that province was subdued, the emperor's orders were, that he was to detach 30,000 men, and march at their head, by the left bank of the Tagus, to Lisbon, whilst Masséna proceeded to the same city by the right bank; and that they would succeed in driving the English before them, and in compelling them to take to their ships, or surrender, his majesty had no doubt. The army advanced upon the Sierra Morena in the middle of January, 1810. The marquis de la Romana, to whom the reorganising the dispersed troops of Areizaga had been entrusted, had collected 25,000 men, but had had no time to reduce them to order and discipline, when he had to divide them into three divisions, to cover the passes of Almaden, Despena-Perros, and Villa Mourique. The troops made no effort to defend the ground they occupied; but, as the French advanced, they retired—some under Areizaga, upon Jaen, to cover Granada; others, first upon Cordova, and then to Cadiz; and a considerable portion of the force, under the marquis himself, made its way to Badajoz, followed by Mortier. The Spaniards reached the citadel first; and, as the French commander had no siege artillery, he took up a position on the Guadiana, where he could observe all who came in or went out of the fortress.

General Sebastiani, at the head of the 4th corps, pursued the Spaniards who went to Jaen, and successively occupied that place, Cordova, Granada, and Malaga; arriving at the latter on the 6th of February. At the same time, the king marched upon Seville, with the corps of marshals Mortier and Victor. The junta had left that city, for Cadiz, before 1809 closed, having first agreed to convoke the cortes early in January: but though left to themselves, the inhabitants at first showed signs of resistance. The force brought against them, however, and the threat that, if the gates were not opened, an assault would take place, and every one who resisted would be put to the sword, caused the authorities to capitulate; and, on the 1st of February, the French, with drums beating and colours flying, entered the capital of Andalusia. They found the city almost deserted. As soon as the resolution to capitulate was taken, all the upper classes who were left (many had quitted the city on the first approach of the French) went to Cadiz. The clergy and the monks had also fled, and most of the other inhabitants had dispersed themselves over the surrounding country. After a time, the conciliatory conduct of Joseph, who certainly was a benevolent and an indulgent sovereign, induced many to return.

Except Cadiz, Andalusia now lay at the feet of the French; and Victor was sent to take that important position, where a regency of six persons, substituted by the junta for the executive commission of Seville, administered the government. This regency excited a strong feeling against the central junta, several of whose members were imprisoned, though they do not appear to have been guilty of anything but misfortune: the new government also delayed the meeting of the cortes, which the central junta had ordered to be convoked. Fortunately, this body had little to do with the defence of the city. The duke d'Albuquerque had repaired there with his division; and he was joined by 4,000 British troops, under major-general Stewart, landed from the ships in the harbour. When marshal Victor appeared before the place it had been put into a good state of defence, which enabled the garrison to defy all the efforts of the assailants. An attempt of Ney on Ciudad Rodrigo, and of general Suchet on Valencia, were also defeated; the former sustained a great loss in killed and wounded. The latter, after his failure at Valencia, set down before Lerida; and, on the 23rd of April, he defeated general O'Donnell, who attempted to raise the siege, taking nearly 6,000 prisoners, with numerous cannon and colours, and a quantity of baggage. The garrison made a brave defence till the 14th of May, when the governor, Garcia Conde, found himself obliged to surrender.

The emperor, at this time, though engaged

in disputes with his brother Louis, and full of thoughts of his marriage, assumed the title of commander-in-chief of the Spanish army, which he ordered to be divided into three corps—marshal Soult to command the first, called that of the south, which occupied Granada, Andalusia, and Estremadura. Joseph was put at the head of the army of the centre, the head-quarters of which were at Madrid; and the emperor gave such orders to the marshals as confined the authority of the king within the gates of the capital. The army of Portugal was continued under Masséna, who had Ney (recently returned from Paris) and Junot for his lieutenants. The emperor also, very much to the annoyance of Joseph, converted Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, and Biscay into four military governments, and communicated, to those in his confidence, his intention of uniting them to France. The revenues of the provinces occupied by the French troops, were appropriated to the maintenance of the respective armies; Joseph's resources being limited to the taxes he could levy at Madrid. As soon as that unhappy monarch—for most unhappy his letters prove him to have been—heard of these arrangements, he left Seville in disgust for the capital; from whence he sent the marquis Almenara to Paris, where his queen then was, with letters to her, and instructions to communicate with the emperor, and obtain for him either redress for his wrongs, or permission to resign his crown. His ambassador had orders to make strong representations for the maintenance of the integrity of Spain, all of which were unheeded; and Napoleon, says Bignon, reminded his brother, "that he held in his power the prince of Asturias, Ferdinand, whom he was strongly tempted to send into Spain, and who would make no scruple, as the price of his liberty, to cede the required provinces, or do anything else that might be required of him." Instead of yielding to any of the representations made by the queen and the marquis Almenara (though on one occasion, remarked the former, in a letter to her husband, dated the 22nd of August, "he did appear somewhat softened, but said you must have patience"), the emperor ordered the various generals he had appointed, to collect all the revenues, and not to obey any instructions received from king Joseph, if they were contrary to those given by him. But, though he encroached so much on the authority of his brother, he would not hear of his resignation, and told him that he had no right to resign his throne, or give up his commission as commander-in-chief of the army of the centre, without his permission.*

The emperor directed all the operations for the summer. He ordered Soult to besiege Ba-

* The letters found in Joseph's baggage, after the battle of Vittoria, contain reports of some curious conversations the queen held with the emperor and his ministers on her husband's affairs.

dajoz as well as Cadiz; and Masséna to take Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida: the two armies were then to advance upon Lisbon, as he had directed before the opening of the spring campaign. Masséna concentrated his forces at Salamanca, and from thence marched to the south. He had then upwards of 80,000 men under his immediate command—viz., *etat-major* and *gendarmes*, 229; Regnier's corps (the 2nd), 19,232; Ney's (the 6th), 35,067; Junot's (the 8th) 26,431; a reserve of cavalry, under Montbrun, 5,117. There were, besides, three reserve corps—Drouet's, at Valladolid, 22,315; Serras's at Benavente, 15,107; and Bonnet's in Asturias, 14,885; the grand total being 138,383 men. The rear of this army was watched, and its communications kept open by a corps of 26,000 men, who occupied Biscay, Navarre, and Old Castile. Masséna sent Ney, with his corps, again to invest Ciudad Rodrigo, which is one of the frontier fortresses of Spain, forty-four miles south-west of Salamanca, in the commencement of June. The aged general, Herrasti, who commanded, made a gallant defence; but as lord Wellington did not think it prudent to risk a battle to raise the siege, he surrendered on the 9th of July. Almeida was next invested, after a brilliant affair on the Coa with the British light division, under general Craufurd, on the 24th of July. The British, greatly outnumbered, had to cross the river; but they made such a noble defence of the bridge by which they effected the passage, that the French were checked, and the British joined the main body of their army, without leaving a single trophy behind, though Masséna avowed he took both cannon and colours. Almeida is the frontier fortress of Portugal; and it was the middle of August before the French were in a condition to commence the siege. The trenches were opened on the 15th of that month; but the bombardment did not commence till the 20th. Soon after the firing began, a shell fell on a powder-magazine, which exploded, throwing down many houses, and killing nearly 500 persons. This led to the surrender of the fortress the next day; when the garrison, 5,000 in number, were made prisoners of war. In other quarters the French were everywhere successful in the field, except in Catalonia, where O'Donnell, in August and September—his little army of 6,000 men being reinforced by numerous bodies of armed peasants—defeated Schwartz's brigade, making 1,200 prisoners; and dispersed the detachments on the coasts, taking 1,500 prisoners, who were sent from Palamos to Tarragona; where a severe wound obliged the general to follow them. But he left Campoverdè, with a strong force in the field; and Napoleon, in consequence, sent strong reinforcements to Gerona, and 30,000 fresh troops into Navarre.

At the beginning of 1810 the British had been posted partly in Spain, and partly in Portugal,

lord Wellington's head-quarters being at Viseu, in the Portuguese province of Beira. When the French invaded Andalusia, the British troops were withdrawn from Estremadura; and, after the capture of Almeida, lord Wellington ordered a further retreat. He was soon followed by Masséna; but the two armies—except a few skirmishes—did not encounter till the 27th of September. On the 26th, lord Wellington had taken up a position at Busaco, a village of Beira, where he awaited the attack of the French. The Sierra Busaco, a lofty mountainous ridge, with a very steep face, covers Coimbra, the capital of the province of Beira, extending about eight miles from the river Mondego. Two heights in this ridge, the Sierra Murcella and the Sierra Alcola, command the village. Lord Wellington occupied the latter, and general Hill the former; but the commander-in-chief, observing that the movement of the French army was directed towards the Alcola, the entire allied army—25,000 British, and about the same number of Portuguese—was concentrated there. The French were not far distant. "Upon the evening of the 26th," writes captain Sherer, "the army of Portugal, a dark and dense multitude, reposed, in massive columns, at the foot of the allied position, which rose abruptly above them, to an elevation of from 200 to 300 feet." At daybreak on the 27th the battle of Busaco commenced. Attacks were made on different points of the British position, by Regnier, Ney, Marchand, and Simon; and very desperate was the fighting on both sides—the British, under Hill, Leith, Picton, Cole, and Craufurd, gallantly holding their ground. The attacks were all repulsed. The third division, under Picton, suffered the most, its right being borne down by the masses of the French. The 45th and 88th British, and 8th Portuguese regiments, were sent to aid Picton, and found the enemy keeping up a fierce fire, though two guns, planted under the eye of Wellington, were playing on their flanks with grape. The three regiments levelled their muskets and charged with the bayonet, driving the French over the mountain side with a fearful slaughter. Similar results attended the other attacks; and when the fighting ceased, the allies maintained all their positions. The loss of the British was 107 killed, 493 wounded, and thirty-one prisoners. The Portuguese had ninety killed, 512 wounded, and twenty were missing. Of the French, one general, three colonels, thirty-three officers, and 250 privates, were made prisoners; 2,000 were left dead on the field; and the wounded are said to have amounted to 6,000, most of whom were left to the tender mercies of the peasantry.—The next morning, Masséna, still greatly superior in numbers, made a flank movement, with a view of turning the British left. Lord Wellington, in consequence, quitted the heights; and having

issued a proclamation to the Portuguese, calling upon them to retire into the interior, carrying off or destroying their provisions, cattle, and stores—all which they did, subjecting themselves, with the greatest patriotism, to many privations—he conducted his army to the position which, with that strategic skill and admirable forethought that so greatly distinguished him, he had had prepared for the defence of Lisbon.

The lines of Torres Vedras, planned by lord Wellington, were executed by the corps of engineers under colonel Fletcher and captain Jones, assisted by Portuguese workmen, from 8,000 to 10,000 of whom had been employed. Lisbon stands on a peninsula, formed by the Atlantic Ocean and the Tagus. At the distance of nearly thirty miles from the city, that peninsula is traversed, from east to west, by two chains of hills, which descend to the sea on one side, and on the other to the river. These chains run in parallel lines, at the distance of from six to nine miles; and they are crossed by the four great roads which connect Lisbon with the interior. Along the further chain, from Alhandra, on the right bank of the Tagus, to Torres Vedras, on the ocean, intrenchments were thrown up, interspersed with redoubts, armed with heavy artillery. A second line of works was constructed at a distance from the first, varying from three to ten miles; and a third nearer Lisbon. The various gorges of the hills were closed by *abattis* and redoubts, and the summits were crowned with forts commanding all the avenues by which an enemy could approach, and from which deadly cross-fires could be directed on a hostile force. There were fifty-nine redoubts, containing 232 pieces of cannon, and requiring about 17,500 men to garrison them in the first line, which extended twenty-two miles. On the second line (twenty-four miles from flank to flank), there were sixty-nine redoubts and batteries, in which were mounted 319 pieces of artillery; and upwards of 18,000 men were found necessary to perform the military duties of the position. The third line was much less extensive than the other two, being only intended, should the first and second be forced, to cover the troops *en route* to the ships. The arsenal of Lisbon supplied these works with artillery; and nothing was left undone to render them perfectly impregnable. Behind them, roads were constructed, so that the communication between the different positions could be kept up with ease and rapidity. Telegraphs were also erected, and a code of signals, adopted from the navy, introduced, to transmit orders and information from point to point. These lines were garrisoned and defended by nearly 30,000 British, about the same number of Portuguese, and 8,000 Spanish troops.

The allies established themselves in the lines of Torres Vedras in the first week of October.

They had been little pressed by the French on their march, and Masséna did not arrive in front of the intrenchments till the 10th of that month. His rear had been much harassed, as he advanced, by bodies of militia and peasantry, who took possession of every town as the French troops moved out; and at Coimbra, three days after the French had quitted it, a corps of militia, under colonel Trant, captured the hospitals and stores left there, and took prisoners a number of the imperial guard. Masséna, however, pushed on, feeling convinced that the English were going to their ships; and that he should fulfil his promise to the emperor, of planting the tricolour on the walls of Lisbon. When, therefore, he came in front of the formidable works which barred his progress, he was surprised at the scene presented to him. He and Junot spent three days in examining the works and their defences, and were compelled to pronounce them impregnable. The marshal, therefore, withdrew his troops to a position between Santarem and Thomar, fifty miles to the north-east of Lisbon. There the army was established in the middle of November. Regnier's division was cantoned on the heights of Santarem; Junot's, at Torres Novas; and Ney's at Thomar. In fixing upon this position, Masséna had three objects in view—to command the passage of the Tagus; to capture Abrantes, a fortified town on the Tagus, thirty miles north of Santarem; and to blockade the English in their lines. Having made all his arrangements, he awaited reinforcements, and dispatched general Foy to Paris, to inform the emperor of the exact state of affairs. In these positions the British and French continued for the remainder of the year.

In Spain, the cortes assembled on the 24th of September, at Cadiz. Many years had elapsed since that body had met; and it was very differently constituted from what it was in former days, consisting of only one chamber. The members swore allegiance to Ferdinand VII.; appointed a regency to exercise the executive power; and then employed themselves in framing a new constitution for the kingdom, of a very democratic tendency. The regency directed itself to military matters; general Castanos, who was a member, summoning to Cadiz general Blake, and the other high officers, for the purpose of consulting them, and arranging operations in concert with the honourable Henry Wellesley, the British ambassador.

Notwithstanding the fruitless advance of Masséna into Portugal, the position of the French, at the close of 1810, was better than it was at the commencement of the year. Both the Castiles, Andalusia, Granada, Aragon, the greater part of Catalonia, Estremadura, and La Mancha, were occupied by the imperial troops; the road from Perpignan to Barcelona was opened to them; they were firmly established

on the Ebro; and only the capture of Tortosa and Tarragona was wanted to enable another irruption to be made into Valencia. The armies in these provinces were numerous and well-appointed. Soult had 75,000 men in Andalusia; Bessières had 60,000 at Valladolid, in Biscay, and Leon; Macdonald had 45,000 at Gerona and Hostalrich; Suchet, besides his garrisons, had 30,000 troops in the field; Joseph had 20,000 at Madrid; Regnier, 15,000 in Estremadura and La Mancha; and the army of Portugal numbered 50,000 effective men. No wonder that the year 1811 opened with more successes for the French arms; the Spaniards not having more than 80,000 or 90,000 badly officered and badly disciplined men, to oppose to the veteran troops and experienced commanders of the enemy.

On the 2nd of January, Suchet captured Tortosa, which was considered as the key of Southern Catalonia. The siege had commenced in December, and it surrendered after two practicable breaches had been effected; the garrison, 7,000 in number, laying down their arms. There were taken, in this fortress, 180 cannon, 30,000 shells and balls, and 150,000 pounds of powder. On the 22nd of January, Olivenza, a fortified town on the left bank of the Guadiana, near the Portuguese frontier, sixteen miles south-west of Badajoz, surrendered to Soult. The same day, the marquis de la Romana, one of the ablest and most honest of the Spanish generals, died. Before his death, he had reorganised his army, placing 10,000 men in the castle of Badajoz, and encamping the remainder on the heights of Santa Eugracia, on the right bank of the Guadiana, nearly *vis-à-vis* with that fortress, with which there was a communication by a stone bridge of twenty-eight arches. The camp was also protected by the fort of St. Christoval, on the same side of the river. On the 26th of January, Soult left Olivenza to undertake the siege of Badajoz. He arrived before that place on the 29th, and the trenches were opened on the 30th. As the siege progressed, it was found that the camp and fort were a great annoyance to the besiegers; and Soult resolved to take the one, and drive the Spaniards from the other. In the night of the 18th of February, a division of 6,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry crossed the Guadiana, both Soult and Mortier accompanying the force. On the 19th, the Spaniards were completely routed. Out of 12,000, not more than 5,000 escaped; the rest were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The siege of Badajoz was then carried on with great vigour; and, on the 11th of March, the governor surrendered. Soult devoted two days to repairing the works, organising the garrison, and replenishing the stores, and then set out for Cadiz.

The siege of that city had been kept up by marshal Victor, since he first set down before

it, early in 1810. The garrison had been considerably reinforced by English troops; and major-general Sir Thomas Graham had succeeded Sir Charles Stewart in the command. A detachment of these troops, under captain M'Laine, had greatly distinguished themselves, first in the capture, and then in the defence, of Matagorda, a fortress which commanded Cadiz. General Graham ordered it to be abandoned, when half the garrison were killed; but while it was in the hands of the British, it occupied the attention of the besiegers, and enabled the defenders of Cadiz to organise a complete system of defence, and collect reinforcements till they had 30,000 men within the walls, supported by a fleet of twenty-three ships and twelve frigates. Victor had only 20,000 men; but he had raised most formidable works, forming an immense semicircle, ten leagues in length, on which upwards of 300 pieces of cannon were mounted; and extending from Rota, a village on the north of Cadiz, to the tower of Bermeja, three leagues south of the port.

In February, 1811, an expedition was ordered by the Spanish government to sail from the harbour; land in the neighbourhood of Tarifa, or Algeiras; join a British force stationed at San Roque, near Gibraltar; and then, marching to the west, take the French besieging force in the rear. This expedition comprised 11,000 British and Spaniards; and a part of the remaining Spanish troops in Cadiz and the Isle of Leon, under general Zayas, was ordered to pass to the mainland, and co-operate with the force advancing from the west. Of the latter, the Spanish general, La Penas, was the commander-in-chief; and Sir Thomas Graham commanded the British contingent. The expedition sailed on the 20th and 21st of February, landed at Algeiras, and, advancing by the passes of the Ronda hills, halted within four leagues of the French outposts. Victor had heard of the expedition; but being uncertain of the points on which he would be assailed, he had, with 11,000 men, taken post between the roads of Conil and Medina, a position which enabled him to observe the movements of his opponents. On the 3rd of March, the Spaniards on the island of St. Leon, having thrown a bridge over the canal Santi-Petri, were crossing to the mainland, to aid general La Penas. They were, however, surprised by general Villatte, who drove them back, killed about 100, made 400 prisoners, destroyed the bridge, and then took up a position in the vicinity of the scene of action to watch the motions of the British, who, he expected, would move in that direction. The allies had halted on the Cerro de Puerco, overlooking a rugged plain, near the village of Barrosa, about sixteen miles to the south-east of Cadiz; the range now generally known as the heights of Barrosa. This position Graham

wished to hold; but Penas refused to listen to his advice; and, on the 5th, ordered him to march through a pine-wood, which skirted the centre of the plain, down to the Torre de Bermeja, about half-way to the San Petri river. He marched the Spaniards from the heights, in another direction, leaving there only three or four battalions, and as many pieces of artillery. Victor saw the movement, and sending one of his generals, Laval, against the English, he ascended the back of the Barrosa height, dispersed the Spaniards left there, and made an easy capture of their guns and baggage. The position of the British was now perilous. The Spaniards were nowhere to be seen; the French cavalry was between them and the sea; Victor, with a brigade of fresh French troops, was on the heights, and Laval close upon Graham's left flank. In this dilemma, the British general determined to become the assailant. His small and weary force, which had been under arms twenty-four hours, and had now scarcely any food, was divided into two columns, which attacked Laval and the brigade on the hill. Laval's division was formed in two lines; the British drove one upon the other, and routed both with great slaughter. The second division, under general Dilke, scaled the height, and were met by the French before they reached the summit. A hand-to-hand combat ensued; victory seemed at first to pause, uncertain on which side to incline; but the furious valour of the British soon brought on the decision. They drove their equally brave enemies to the mountain's edge, forced them over the heights, on the opposite side to that by which they had ascended, and captured their guns. The French attempted to rally; but the British artillery had by that time reached the spot, and their destructive fire rendered re-forming impossible: the French, therefore, retreated—the great fatigue of the English preventing pursuit. The British lost, in this engagement of scarcely one hour and a quarter (and it was one of the shortest and most brilliant ever fought), seven officers and 195 rank and file killed; 54 officers and 985 non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, wounded. The loss of the French was much greater: 2,000 were killed and wounded, nearly 500 made prisoners, and six guns and an eagle were taken. La Penas never came near during the action, nor did he give directions to pursue the French in their retreat. Two battalions came up just as the fighting concluded. While it was at its height, the French, under general Villatte, were found to be attempting to turn the Barrosa height by the sea. General Whittingham, with three squadrons of cavalry, kept them in check; and one squadron of the 2nd hussars, and two of the German legion, under lieutenant-colonel Ponsonby, arrived just in time to make a brilliant charge upon the retiring

foe, capturing two guns, and putting many of the troops to the sword.

An incident is connected with this battle which is worth relating, as a relief to the monotony which must, in some degree, attach to military details. Neither French nor British had any means of conveyance for the wounded, and they remained on the field, with the dead bodies, all night. The next day the British interred the latter, and took all possible care of the wounded. Amongst them was the French general Rosseau; and when he was discovered, a white poodle dog was found by his side, moaning, and licking his face and hands. It was the favourite dog of the general, which, left in quarters the previous day, when it found its master did not return, had gone in search of him, and found his body on the battle-field. The general lived three days; and, during that time, the faithful animal never left his bedside. When he was buried it established itself by the grave; from which it was, at last, attracted by general Graham, who kept the animal with him, brought it home, and it remained in his possession till his death, in Perthshire, some years afterwards.

The French were not disposed to make any further attack upon the gallant little force, which had so signally baffled their hope of driving them back to the coast; and returned to the camp before Cadiz. The British ultimately rejoined the garrison of that port.

Early in the year, Campoverdè, who had been left in Catalonia by O'Donnell, reorganised an army in the northern part of the province. Having, in a few weeks, assembled 15,000 men, he attacked Barcelona in the night of the 29th of March. He failed; but shortly after, on the 9th of April, he descended from the mountains to which he had retired, and carried the fortress of Figueras by assault—a brilliant success, which caused the greatest joy throughout the Peninsula. General Baraguay d'Hilliers immediately collected a force to blockade it; and Campoverdè, who had left a strong garrison in the place, as soon as he knew of this movement, marched on the French rear, with nearly 10,000 men. A sortie from the town, combined with an attack in the rear, would have overwhelmed the French; and to ward off this catastrophe, D'Hilliers announced to Sarsfield, who commanded the Spaniards in the field, that he had concluded an armistice with D'Erolles, who commanded the garrison, with the view to a capitulation. Sarsfield fell into the snare, suspended arms, and gave D'Hilliers time to obtain reinforcements. When he discovered the deceit which had been practised upon him, he attacked the French, and succeeded in supplying the garrison with provisions; but was ultimately obliged to retreat, with the loss of 1,100 men. Figueras was then so closely blockaded, that

famine ultimately compelled the garrison to surrender.—General Macdonald, at the commencement of these operations in Northern Catalonia, had marched from Lerida to Barcelona, by the circuitous route of Manresa. Encountering a strong opposition at the bridge, which he had great difficulty in overcoming, his troops set fire to the town, though it made no resistance, and reduced 700 buildings to ashes, including two hospitals. But the flames roused the guerillas of the hills, who, learning what had taken place, attacked Macdonald's rear-guard with such fury, that, before he reached Barcelona, he lost 1,000 men. This event—which, it appears, Macdonald could not prevent—roused the fury of the Spaniards to the highest pitch; and, on the 5th of April, Campoverdè issued a proclamation, directing that no quarter should be shown to the French who might be met with in the neighbourhood of any town which had been burned by their troops.

Another important success was achieved by the French in Catalonia. After the capture of Tortosa, Suchet remained there a few weeks to obtain the necessary reinforcements, and then undertook the siege of Tarragona, also an important fortress in the province. It is situated on a rock, washed on one side by the Mediterranean, and on the other by the Francoli, which runs by the side of the walls for some distance, and then turns into the town, dividing it into upper and lower. The upper town was, at this time, surrounded by old Roman fortifications, strengthened by modern works; and the lower was defended by regular and strong intrenchments. There was a large garrison in the place, and an English fleet kept the troops constantly supplied with stores. Tarragona was invested early in May; the trenches were opened on the 21st; and the place was taken by assault on the 28th of June. The garrison defended all the outposts with the most daring bravery. None of them were taken but by "long and murderous" assaults; and the loss of life, both on the part of the besieged and the besiegers, was immense. A few of the garrison made their escape, but upwards of 10,000 prisoners, 350 cannon, a great many muskets, twenty colours, and a quantity of ammunition and other stores, were taken. More than 5,000 of the garrison were killed, and the assailants could not have lost a much smaller number. The fall of this fortress was a great blow to the patriots, as it deprived those in Catalonia of their chief support, and entirely cut them off from their compatriots in Valencia. Suchet dismantled the lower town, but garrisoned the upper division. He placed his park of artillery and ammunition in Tortosa, making it his great dépôt; sent detachments against the various guerilla bands; captured a fortified convent on Mount Serrat; and then repaired to Saragossa, where a marshal's baton awaited him.

CHAPTER XIV.

PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, 1811; RETREAT OF MASSENA; LIFE AT HEAD-QUARTERS; OLIVENZA RETAKEN; BADAJOZ BESIEGED; BATTLE OF FUENTES D'ONORE; BATTLE OF ALBUERA; SIEGE OF BADAJOZ RAISED; CAUSES WHICH INTERFERED WITH WELLINGTON'S SUCCESSES; FRENCH DECREES AGAINST THE GUERRILLAS; THE MEASURES TAKEN TO DEFEND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES; JOSEPH'S VISIT TO PARIS; AFFAIR OF EL BODON; PERILOUS STATE OF THE ENGLISH ARMY; THE FRENCH SURPRISED AT ARROYO DEL MOLINOS; THE FRENCH IN VALENCIA; BATTLE OF SAGUNTUM; SURRENDER OF THE FORTRESS OF SAGUNTUM; CAPITULATION OF VALENCIA; FAILURE OF THE FRENCH BEFORE TARIFA; RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1811.

DURING the winter of 1810-'11, Wellington had remained in his position at Torres Vedras, and Masséna in his at Santarem. The former was well supplied with provisions; but the latter suffered in that respect, the country being completely exhausted by the Portuguese. As the famine grew more severe, discipline was with difficulty preserved. The marshal had expected both supplies and reinforcements; but neither arriving, he gave orders to "march to the north." On the 4th of March, 1811, the backward movement began; the sick and the heavy baggage being sent in advance. On the 5th the whole army was in motion, the left bank of the Mondego being taken as the line of retreat. Lord Wellington discovered, the next day, that the French were making a retrograde movement; and immediately commenced a pursuit. On reaching Santarem, it was found that the French had used every means to cover their retreat. Sentinels appeared still to be at their post, but they were men of straw; and they had carried off all their baggage. Santarem afforded a terrible picture of the horrors of war. An officer thus described the scene it presented when the allies entered—"Smoking ruins everywhere met the eye, with the accumulated filth of months, and the putrefied remains of horses and human bodies. The houses had scarcely a vestige of wood: doors, windows, ceilings, roofs—all were burnt; and, where the sick had expired, there they were left to decay! The numbers thus abandoned were great. Every church was demolished—the tombs opened in searching after hidden plate; every altar-piece destroyed; and the effluvia so offensive as to defy describing." Such was the state of many of the towns in the Peninsula.

In the retreat, the British kept close upon the rear of the French. On the 11th of March, the rear-guard, under Ney, was attacked at Pombal; but the affair was very slight. On the 12th, the French made a stand on the heights of Redinha, where Ney was attacked by the divisions of generals Picton, Park, Cole, Spencer, and Erskine's light infantry. The French claim the honour of driving the British from the heights which they assailed, and throwing them into confusion, when lord Wellington advanced with fresh troops in support; and Ney retreated,

crossing the river Soure, on the banks of which the village of Redinha is situated. He marched by Condexa to Ponte Murcella; whilst Masséna, with another column, moved by Ponte Cobreta, where he was nearly surprised and taken prisoner. On the 13th, Ney was defeated at Fonte d'Aronce, and compelled to pass the Ceira in great confusion, losing nearly 500 men, while the loss of the allies was very trifling. On the 15th there was another engagement at Sabugal, which lord Wellington described as "one of the most glorious actions the British ever were engaged in." The French were the assailants; only a part of the British army, isolated from the rest, was in position: they sustained the attack of greatly superior numbers, repulsed them, became themselves the assailants, and drove the French from the field, retaining an howitzer as a trophy of victory. The conduct of Ney, in these movements, so much displeased Masséna, that he put him under arrest.

The retreat of Masséna (which, in his despatches, he termed, "a change of position from the Zezere to the Agueda") was, as a military movement, admirable; but, as a moral one, remarks colonel Maxwell, "nothing could be more disgraceful. The country over which the retreating columns of the French army passed, was marked by bloodshed and devastation. Villages were everywhere destroyed; property wasted or carried off; and many personal outrages committed." Great cause had the Portuguese, therefore, to rejoice when, on the 5th of April, the invaders recrossed the frontier; and the British, having closely blockaded Almeida, where alone a French soldier remained in Portugal, except as a prisoner—established their head-quarters at Villa Formosa, where the time appears to have passed pleasantly. In the lines of Torres Vedras, the officers had, says the late marquis of Londonderry, "contented themselves with keeping pointers and greyhounds, and indulging, as often as opportunities offered, in the sports of shooting, coursing, and fishing; but now a taste for hunting began to prevail amongst us, and packs of fox-hounds and harriers, more or less numerous and good, were established in the different divisions of the army. At head-quarters we were fortunate enough to become possessed of an excellent pack, which

afforded us much amusement, and occupied time, which otherwise would have hung heavily on our hands. In our quarters we lived gaily and well: a spirit of good-fellowship and hospitality everywhere prevailed; and, in them, balls, private theatricals, and agreeable parties, were things of common occurrence." War undoubtedly appeared under a very different phase at Villa Formosa, to that which we have shown it presented at Santarem.

Lord Wellington devoted some days to the reorganisation of his army, and then repaired to Alemtejo, where general Beresford was stationed with a British and Portuguese force; at the head of which he had, on the 26th of March, defeated the French, when, in pursuance of the orders of Masséna, they were retiring from the town of Campo-Mayor, which they had previously occupied. After this affair the general retook Olivenza; and inflicted a considerable loss upon the French in a cavalry affair at Santos Maimona. He then commenced preparations for the siege of Badajoz. Wellington was very anxious to recover the possession of that fortress, and it was invested by a British and Portuguese force on the 22nd of April, the day after his lordship arrived at the cantonments of the allied armies in Alemtejo. The next day his lordship, with a strong escort of German and Portuguese cavalry, crossed the Caya, to make a *reconnaissance* of Badajoz. He was enabled to ascertain, pretty well, the condition of the fortress; and he also learned that Masséna would soon be on his way to relieve Almeida. Captain Sherer remarks, that there is "no feature in the military character of the French more admirable than that hopeful elasticity of mind with which they cheerfully apply themselves to repair losses and misfortune." Masséna and his troops displayed this quality. On the 5th of April they quitted Portugal, dispirited, dejected, and after having sustained several defeats, although they had well preserved their character for bravery. Before the close of the month they were reorganised; and Masséna found himself at Ciudad Rodrigo, at the head of 40,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, with which he prepared to advance to the relief of Almeida. That town stands on the right bank of the Coa, which is crossed by several bridges, one thirty miles above the town, affording a direct communication with Ciudad Rodrigo. Lord Wellington was anxious to prevent its relief; and, with that view, he collected four brigades—those of Craufurd, Campbell, Pack, and Erskine, in and near the village of Fuentes d'Onore—a pretty hamlet, situated on the left bank of a small river, the Duas Casas, which runs in a northerly direction, nearly parallel with the Coa. A guerilla force, under Don Juan Sanchez, was posted at a short distance, at once to observe the French, and support, if necessary, the British, whose entire

force did not exceed 30,800 infantry, and 1,200 horse.

On the 1st and 2nd of May, Masséna's army crossed the river Agueda by the bridge of Ciudad Rodrigo, having with it an immense convoy; the intention being at once to relieve Almeida, and furnish the garrison with the means of making a protracted defence. On coming near the fortress, he discovered the English encampment at Fuentes d'Onore, evidently formed to obstruct his march. On the 3rd, the French made a fierce attack upon the village; general Ferry, with 1,200 men, advancing first, 1,800 being left in reserve. At the onset he carried, by a determined charge, the barriers which had been raised before the principal approach to the village, and drove the British beyond the Duas Casas, following them to the left bank. Colonel Williams, who commanded, being reinforced, renewed the battle. He was soon after wounded, and the command devolved on colonel Cadogan, of the 71st. The ground won by the French was now, inch by inch, recovered; and colonel Maxwell remarks, that "probably, during the Peninsular conflicts, a closer combat was never maintained; as, in the main street, particularly, the rival troops fought fairly hand to hand." Night closed, and the English remained in possession of the village; the French being on the left bank of the Duas Casas, which, in their despatches, they call the bottom of Fuentes d'Onore. Masséna spent the next day in a *reconnaissance*, and he determined to change the front of his army, and, on the 5th, attack the British right, which he expected to drive back upon the centre, and to force both right and centre upon the left; then, following up the entire allied army to the lower Coa, he hoped completely to disorganise it. The movement was executed in the night of the 4th, and the morning of the 5th of May; but not so secretly that Wellington did not observe it, and penetrate the main design of his opponent. Fighting recommenced on the morning of the 5th; the first interchange of hostilities being between Montbrun's cavalry and Don Juan Sanchez' guerillas, who were driven back. Junot also attacked and carried Pozo Velho, a small village, where an advanced guard had been posted; and these two successes uncovered and turned the British right. Wellington now changed his position, to meet the strategy of his opponent. Still holding Fuentes, and leaving his left to rest on the Duas Casas, he ordered his right to fall back, and take up a new line at right angles with the original formation. This wing had to retire nearly two miles, in the face of the French cavalry, commanded by one of their most daring officers, Montbrun. It was, however, successfully executed; and the divisions composing the wing took up their new position on a lofty knoll, near Frenada, another

village in the vicinity of Fuentes, standing on the left bank of the Turones, a stream running between the Duas Casas and the Coa. There was some little confusion when the new *alignement* was taken up, says captain Sherer, and "Montbrun directed a general charge. He was met with so heavy a fire of artillery, and such close and steady volleys of musketry, that he drew off, leaving the ground covered with fallen horses." The battle now raged, says Sir William Napier, "throughout a vast plain; and in all the war there was not a more dangerous hour for England." The village of Fuentes d'Onore was again the scene of a bloody strife. It was defended by three regiments—the 71st, 24th, and 79th. About two o'clock, wrote the late general Picton, in a letter to his uncle, "these regiments [which, it should be remarked, were greatly outnumbered] began to give way, and fell back on more defensible ground in the rear of the village. At this moment, the 88th, under colonel Wallace, and led on by major-general Mackinnon, was ordered to move up and support them. This was done in admirable order; and they made so overwhelming a charge through the streets, that they drove the enemy out of the village with immense loss." Evening put a stop to the fighting. The right of Masséna's army was brought to a halt; the brigades which had endeavoured to take the village were withdrawn; the French troops took themselves to repose—their commanders being employed, it would seem, in disputing as to the course to be pursued the next day; whilst the British, fatigued as they were, anticipating another attack, employed themselves in throwing up intrenchments to defend the position; in which labour a brigade of the light division, that joined after the battle, assisted.

No attack, however, took place. On the 6th and 7th of May, the British were under arms at early dawn. The enemy, however, remained immovable. On the 8th and 9th, they appeared to threaten the centre of the British, but no attack was made; and on the 10th, the entire army of Masséna was seen in full retreat towards Ciudad Rodrigo, by the road on which they had advanced. The French historian of the *Consulate and the Empire* tells us, that, on the 6th, "Masséna had determined to renew the contest. But generals Fririon, Lazowski, and Eblé, who were as devoted to him as to the honour of their arms, revealed to him some sad truths he would fain have ignored, and informed him that many officers, some of them worn out with fatigue, others summoned to serve in different armies, were not sufficiently resolved to do their duty to be relied on in a desperate

attack." He therefore resolved to destroy Almeida, instead of revictualling it; and having obtained three volunteers to convey a dispatch to general Brennier, who commanded the garrison, ordering him to blow up the fortifications, he only waited till he knew, by a signal to be given (the discharge of a hundred guns), that his despatch had been received. This signal was heard in the evening of the 7th. The movements on the 8th and 9th were made to attract the attention of the British, and give Brennier time to carry out his instructions. This he did on the night of the 10th. At ten o'clock the mines were fired; the garrison sallied out; and though seen and followed by generals Pack and Cotton, the fugitives succeeded in reaching the main army. Masséna again crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo, deposited the four months' provisions he had intended for Almeida in that fortress, and then proceeded to Salamanca, to refresh and reorganise his troops.

The loss of both parties, in the two engagements of Fuentes d'Onore, was considerable. The British had 200 killed, 1,028 wounded, and 294 missing. It is estimated that not fewer than 5,000 French soldiers were put *hors de combat*. Masséna, in his despatches, claimed a victory; but as he abandoned the object for which he had advanced, gave up the town he had come to save, and left the British in possession of the ground from which he attempted to drive them, the affair had, most certainly, all the characters of a defeat. Wellington, with that generosity which distinguished him, declared, that general Brennier's exploit was equal to a victory: but his skilful and daring evasion of the blockading force had nothing to do with the battle. His lordship was very angry with general Campbell, who commanded the force that blockaded Almeida, for not being more on the alert.*

After the battle of Fuentes d'Onore, Masséna resigned the command of the army of Portugal, and was replaced by Marmont; the troops retiring to Salamanca, and being scattered round that city, "in a state of misery, discontent, and disorganisation," according to Thiers, "it is difficult to describe." Wellington, after the retirement of the French, removed his headquarters to Elvas, a fortified frontier city of Alemtejo, twelve miles to the westward of Badajoz; leaving to marshal Beresford the conduct of the siege of that important fortress. The 5th French corps, under general Latour-Maubourg, was posted at no great distance; but he was too weak to attempt to raise the siege, and he waited impatiently the arrival of marshal Soult, to whom applications for assistance had

* It is said, that an Irish officer reported Brennier's escape to general Picton, who inquired angrily, "What the devil were the —th doing?"—"Faith," replied the officer, "I suppose they were asleep."—"Asleep! What,

then, were the —th about?"—naming the next regiment on the line. "Devil a one of me can tell," replied the Irishman coolly, "but may be they were watching the —th, for fear somebody would waken them."—Maxwell.

been repeatedly sent. On the arrival of that general at Cadiz, after his defeat of the Spaniards, and the capture of Badajoz, he found that marshal Victor did not require his immediate assistance; and, on the 10th of May, with a division of about 11,000 or 12,000 men, he retraced his steps to the north, and joined the 5th corps. He was then at the head of from 18,000 to 20,000 first-rate infantry, 3,000 superb cavalry, and had forty cannon with him. On the 15th, this army arrived at Santa Martha; and Soult found that a considerable allied force was posted at Albuera, a village standing on the left bank of a river of the same name, about thirteen miles south-east of Badajoz—marshal Beresford having, on hearing of the advance of the French, raised the siege, joined the Spanish generals Castanos and Blake, and taken up that position, with a view to arrest the progress of Soult. The allies—a motley force, composed of English, Germans, Portuguese, and Spaniards—were posted on some hills to the north of the Albuera. The British divisions, commanded by brigadier-generals Cole and Stewart, were in the centre; the Spaniards, under Blake, were drawn up in a double line on the right; the Portuguese on the left; and Alten, with his German legion, was posted in the village. The cavalry, under Lumley, covered the right flank of the Spaniards. There were about 7,000 British, 8,000 Portuguese, and 16,000 Spaniards, of whom 2,000 were cavalry; besides the German legion, and thirty-two guns. The allies had, therefore, the advantage in the number of troops; but, except the British and the Germans, they were greatly inferior in character to the enemy.

There was a wood to the south of the Albuera, abutting on a plain which extended to the banks of the stream: in the wood and on the plain the French bivouacked in the night of the 15th of May. In the morning of the 16th—observing that the allies had not occupied a wooded eminence, situated in advance of a rivulet, called the Ferida, that ran past their right, and which high ground commanded the field in that direction—Soult determined to make that quarter the object of his principal attack. Accordingly, he concentrated nearly 15,000 men, consisting of the 5th and Gerard's corps, with the artillery, in that direction, while an attack was made upon the village by the remainder of the army. When the French began to cross the river, they were greatly annoyed by the guns from a Spanish battery; but they passed on, nothing heeding, and came upon the right wing of the allies, while it was making a change of front to receive them. Blake had been apprised of his danger by marshal Beresford, time enough to have been completely prepared: but his attention, and that of Castanos, was directed to the village, and the bridge over the Albuera, where fierce fighting was going on; and he had

paid no attention to his lordship's entreaties, that he would throw back his line and face outwards, till the glittering of the enemy's lances and bayonets through the wood, convinced him that the principal attack was coming in that direction. Then the necessary orders were given; but it was too late. The Spaniards were attacked while in the act of moving, thrown into confusion, broken, and driven from the heights, upon which the French immediately established themselves. While the Spaniards were in disorderly retreat, the British division advanced to regain the heights. The brigade, under general Stewart, had made its way through the broken mass of the Spaniards, reached the slope of the hill, discharged several volleys at the enemy, and were about to dash upon the solid mass opposed to them with their bayonets, when two regiments of French hussars, and one of Polish lancers, which had got round to their flank under cover of a thick mist, charged the column, killed many, and drove more unto the French line—700 men and three standards being taken. With any other soldiers the day would have been lost. But the British, as Napoleon observed subsequently, "never knew when they were beaten." Those that remained, returned again and again to the charge; and though the French, now greatly superior in numbers, not only maintained their post, but gained ground, whilst the Polish lancers captured six guns, and lord Beresford was making preparations for a retreat—movements (directed by colonel, afterwards lord, Hardinge) of Cole's and Abercromby's divisions, upon the right and left flanks, changed the fate of the day. A fearful carnage ensued; the guns were recaptured, and the British were advancing to victory, when a fearful fire from Gerard's infantry stopped them: many officers and men fell; and the whole brigade, says Sir William Napier, "staggered by the iron tempest, reeled like sinking ships." Still they were not conquered. They continued pressing on, firing as they advanced, and cheering as only British soldiers can cheer, till they drove the French before them to the farthest edge of the hill. "In vain did their reserves, joining with the struggling multitude, endeavour to sustain the fight: their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion; and the mighty mass at length giving way like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent. The rain flowed after, in streams discoloured with blood; and 1,800 unwounded men, the remnant of 6,000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill."* Up to this time, there was a mass of Spaniards which had not been engaged; and Beresford, collecting these, the German legion, and the Portuguese, forming a column of near 10,000 men, advanced up the hill, and pursued the now retreating French, of whom Gerard's

* Napier.

corps was completely dispersed; and the men, throwing aside their arms, were recrossing the stream. Another corps, under Werle, sent to their support, was also beaten, and their general killed. Their artillery, however, was well served, and arrested the pursuit. At length the fighting ceased, the French having left the north bank of the Albuera, and the allies being too much exhausted to follow up the retiring foe. The battle was a fierce and bloody one. The Spaniards lost 2,000; the Portuguese and Germans, 600; the British, 4,500; and 500 prisoners and one howitzer were carried off by the French. Soult had nearly 4,000 killed, and 6,500 wounded, of whom 800 were taken by the British.

In this hardly-fought battle, the results, as in that of Fuentes d'Onore, were in favour of the British. They remained in possession of their position, having beaten off the assailants, and immediately resumed the siege of Badajoz; whilst Soult, remaining inactive in the wood on the 17th of May, on the 18th retired to Solano, leaving such of his wounded as could not bear removal, to the generosity of the British. His retreat was covered by the heavy cavalry of Latour-Maubourg; and followed by the 3rd and 4th dragoon guards, Lumley's horse artillery, and Madden's Portuguese cavalry. They came up with the French cavalry near Usagre, a few days after they left the wood of Albuera—attacked, beat, and dispersed them, taking eighty prisoners, and killing about 100. After this affair, the pursuing troops were recalled; lord Wellington left Elvas, and joined the camp to take the direction of the siege of Badajoz, which Beresford had resumed; general Hill took the command of the 2nd division and the covering army; and Beresford returned to Lisbon to reorganise the Portuguese military administration, which was much in want of the directing head and hand.

Soult retreated to Llarena, sixty-two miles to the south-east of Badajoz, and established himself on the slope of the mountains which separate Estremadura from Andalusia. He was greatly in want of reinforcements; and they had been provided for him by the emperor, who, early in May, had ordered Marmont to collect his corps on the Tagus, and co-operate with Soult for the deliverance of Badajoz: the general of the army of the north had sent him 4,000 men, in consequence of orders from the same quarter; and Drouet was on the march to join him with 9,000 more. Marmont collected 27,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and thirty-six pieces of cannon. To deceive the English, whilst carrying out the orders of the emperor, he first made for Ciudad Rodrigo, revictualled that place, and then advanced into Estremadura, to join Soult, and enable him to raise the siege of the fortress. That garrison still made a most heroic defence; and had repulsed two assaults of the English,

in the nights of the 9th and 10th of June, with great loss to the latter. Before the second assault was made, an intercepted despatch informed lord Wellington of the enemy's movements; and as he had not sufficient force to resist the united corps of Soult and Marmont, his lordship resolved to raise the siege, and to retire upon the Caya and the mountains of Portalègre. On the 17th, he took up an excellent position, well capable of being defended by such troops as he had under his command; all the stores and heavy cannon being removed in safety to Elvas. On the 18th, Soult and Marmont effected their junction; and, on the 20th, entered Badajoz. They had now 60,000 infantry, and 2,600 cavalry—composing, the French historians say, "the best army in Europe, with the exception of that of Davoust;"—and pitched their advanced posts on heights in sight of the British, who kept close in their camp. Wellington had only 57,000 men (15,000 being Portuguese); and if the French had attacked him, it is impossible to say what might have been the result. The two marshals differed, however, as to the proper strategies to be adopted; and the consequence was, that, having reinforced the garrison of Badajoz, and made a *reconnaissance* of the English positions on the 22nd of June, without inducing Wellington to make any display of his force—Soult, on the 27th, started with his corps for Seville, where he certainly was very much wanted; and Marmont placed himself *en route* towards the Tagus. He selected the village of Naval-Moral, lying between that river and the Tiètar, for his head-quarters; and, choosing the bridge of Almaraz as the centre of the communications he had to guard, he stationed his forces so as to enable him to march upon Estremadura or Castile with equal rapidity; and then devoted his attention to the formation of magazines, the repair of his defective artillery, and the care of his sick and wounded.

Notwithstanding Napoleon had such a large army in Spain, it had been unable to effect more than one of his objects. It had raised the siege of Badajoz, but it could not compel the English to quit Spain, much less drive them out of the Peninsula. Had Wellington been better supported at this time, the war might have been sooner brought to a close. But the corruption which pervaded every part of the Portuguese administration, for some time paralysed the efforts of marshal Beresford to recruit and discipline the Portuguese army, and prevented Wellington from receiving the supplies of money and men which were promised him, and of which he stood so much in need. The army in the field was seldom more than half the number returned, and for which pay was drawn. The English subsidy was frequently diverted to other purposes; and when the government at

Lisbon found their funds running short, they resorted to anything rather than the imposition of taxes, which would have endangered their popularity. Writing, on the 12th of June, to colonel Gordon, lord Wellington said, speaking of this government—"From want of money, they can pay nobody. The hire of mules and carts is never paid; the horses die and the people desert; the commissaries have no money to buy provisions, or provide the means of transport; and hence the troops are constantly suffering; and, as I will not allow pillage, every department of the service is paralysed. In consequence, I have been obliged to incorporate the Portuguese troops with the English divisions, and both are paid from one military chest; but the evil exists to its full extent with the detached corps and garrisons." Whilst this was the case with respect to the Portuguese, there was not a Spanish army in the field worthy of the name; and the greatest jealousy prevailed amongst the generals, of each other, and of the British commander-in-chief. Combined action, to any extent, was impossible: and when the troops of the two nations were engaged together, as at Albuera, the obstinacy of the Spanish commanders first put success in jeopardy, and then prevented a proper advantage being taken of a victory when it was gained. Nor were the British government exempt from blame. The reinforcements in men, sent to Wellington, were very limited; and his lordship says, in one of his despatches—"The miserable and pitiful want of money prevents me from doing many things which might and ought to be done for the safety of the country."

The difficulties of Wellington would have been greatly increased, but for the bravery and activity of the Spanish guerillas, who were never idle when there was a possibility of their harassing the enemy, or cutting off his supplies. In May, Bessières issued two decrees—one making "the clergy, alcaldes, *curés*, and justices of every village, responsible for the exact payment of the contributions;" and the second was directed against the guerillas. By this decree—which nothing could justify—"the fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, and nephews of all individuals who had quitted their domiciles, and did not inhabit the villages occupied by the French," were declared to be "responsible, in their person and effects, for all acts of violence committed by the insurgents." Every person absent from his home eight days, was to be considered a brigand; every one found corresponding with the insurgents, was to be put to death; and "every one writing to the inhabitants of a country occupied by them," was "sentenced to ten years' imprisonment." These severe decrees, and "the authorised and regulated plunder," as Wellington termed it, of which the French were guilty in every district they occupied, kept

alive the patriotism of the Spaniards, and made them more than ever desirous to expel the invaders.

After the battle of Albuera, defensive measures were adopted, by order of the emperor, over the entire north district of the Peninsula. Astorga was evacuated and dismantled, not being considered worth employing a garrison; but the castle of Burgos was strongly fortified; formidable *têtes-de-ponts* were constructed on the Ebro, at Miranda, and the Bidassoa at Irun; the defiles between Vittoria and Bayonne were defended by blockhouses and earthworks; and a strong fort was constructed at Santona. Napoleon also sent reinforcements of men to strengthen his army, with ample supplies of ammunition and military stores. Vandermaison crossed the Pyrenees with a division of several thousand men, and joined the army of the north. A reserve was formed at Bayonne; and the divisions of Reille, Caffarelli, and Souham, with the Italian division of Severole—the four amounting to 40,000 men—were appointed to occupy Biscay, Navarre, and the northern portion of Old Castile, and to watch and keep open the communication with Bayonne. By the end of September, Napoleon had 368,000 men in Spain, of whom 314,000 were effective. Such an army appeared more than adequate to the conquest of the kingdom; but, according to Bessières, it occupied too wide an extent of country, and was too much scattered. Writing to Berthier, in June, he complained of this state of things. "We cling to dreams," he said. "Cadiz and Badajoz will swallow up all our resources; Cadiz, because it will not be taken; and Badajoz, because it can only be supported by an army. The only safe course would be, to destroy the one, and abandon, for the moment, all thought of the other. We should concentrate our forces; retain certain *points d'appui* for the protection of our magazines and hospitals, and regard two-thirds of Spain as a vast battle-field, which a single victory may either secure to, or wrest from us, until we change our whole system, and seriously set about pacifying and conquering the country." These views, though no doubt correct, were so displeasing to Napoleon, that he immediately superseded Bessières in the command of the army of the north, and ordered him to return to France.—Not only were the armies of France too widely scattered, but, in the early part of 1811, they were in want of many necessaries, and exhausted by fatigue, notwithstanding the system of plunder which was pursued, and the heavy contributions which were levied on the inhabitants. When Soult was at Seville he lived in luxury; but all the other generals, as well as their men, had to endure great privations. "When I arrived at the head-quarters of the army of the north, in January last," wrote Marmont to Berthier, "I

did not find a single grain of corn in the magazine, not a penny in the military chest; nothing anywhere but debts, and a real or fictitious scarcity, of which it is hardly possible to form an idea. Provisions, even for each day's consumption, could be obtained only by arms in our hands."

The king, in his palace at Madrid, was no better off than the officers in cantonments or in camp. He could not touch the revenues of the provinces, and those of Madrid were quite unequal to meet the demands made upon them. Many and bitter were his complaints to his brother of the marshals, who "intercepted his revenue, disregarded his orders, insulted his government, and oppressed and ruined his country." So many and so great were the difficulties by which he was surrounded, that having, early in April, 1811, received a formal letter from his brother, announcing the birth of the king of Rome, and asking him to be one of the sponsors, he resolved to go to Paris and resign his crown. He left Madrid on the 23rd of April, and met with a courteous reception from his imperial majesty, who, however, would not accept his resignation; but listened to his complaints, and promised him pecuniary aid, and that reinforcements and stores should be sent to the army. There was an agreement between the brothers, which some term a "private treaty," by which the emperor stipulated to place the army of the centre entirely under the command of the king, who was to receive one-fourth of the contributions levied in the provinces for its support; and also of the Spaniards, who, to the amount of nearly 30,000, had enlisted in his service. Half a million francs per month had been remitted from Paris, for the more urgent expenses of the king's court and household. This was to be increased to one million. The emperor still retained the direction of the armies in the field; still insisted upon the marshals corresponding with Berthier, and taking all their orders from the Tuileries. Before Joseph left Paris, Napoleon strongly pressed upon his brother the advisability of summoning a cortes at Madrid, to legislate for the country, and thus throw what he called "a miserable *canaille* of obscure agitators"—the cortes at Cadiz—into the background. Joseph promised compliance with his brother's wishes, and returned to the Spanish capital on the 16th of July. The emperor kept his promise as to reinforcing and supplying the army; but his personal engagements with Joseph were not carried out; and circumstances prevented the latter from summoning the cortes.

Both Marmont and Soult remained nearly inactive in the months of July and August, except when the latter was obliged to act against the guerillas. Towards the end of the latter month, they prepared to carry out orders given

to Masséna in March, before he resigned the command of the army of Portugal. Berthier informed that general, that it was the intention of the emperor, "after the harvest, in September, to combine a movement with the army of the south, a corps of the central army, and the army of Portugal, in order to defeat the English." The expulsion of Wellington and his troops from the Peninsula was the object to be achieved; and the emperor could not be brought to believe that success was doubtful. His marshals were much less sanguine.

In September, the allied army under Wellington was cantoned upon the line of the Agueda; and the English general was again preparing for the investment of Ciudad Rodrigo, the capture of which, as well as of Badajoz, it was the great object of the French generals to prevent. The garrison of the former fortress was reduced to the greatest distress. In the beginning of September, they were put upon half-rations; and on the 15th, general Reynaud, the governor, informed Marmont that it would be impossible for him to hold out beyond the 25th. The marshal, on receipt of this intelligence, directed general Dorsenne, who commanded the army of the north (having replaced Bessières, duke of Istria, when he was ordered to Paris), to prepare a large convoy of provisions in the neighbourhood of Salamanca. That general succeeded in getting together 900 waggons, laden with bread, flour, biscuits, and meat, and put himself at the head of above 30,000 troops, to cover their entry. Marmont, who, since the arrival of his reinforcements, had 50,000 effective men under his banners, also collected a large convoy at Bejar; and the two armies and convoys united at Tamanes on the 21st of September. These armies were both in a very effective state, thoroughly refreshed, provided with all necessary *matériel*, and exceeded 80,000 in number; having 6,000 excellent cavalry, and a good park of artillery. The centre of the British force, at this time, was at Fuente Guinaldo, on the Agueda, almost within sight of the walls of Ciudad Rodrigo; and, quite unknown to the French, Wellington had collected sixty-eight heavy guns, with all the apparatus for a siege, within sixty miles of the fortress. He had an advanced post at El Bodon, on a height commanding the road from Ciudad Rodrigo to Fuente Guinaldo. The troops cantoned there were the 5th and 77th regiments, a brigade of Portuguese artillery, a few troops of German hussars, and the 11th light dragoons, under major-general Colville. On the 23rd of September, the French approached Ciudad Rodrigo, and succeeded in sending in the convoys. This operation was superintended by general Dorsenne; while marshal Marmont advanced to the left, and reconnoitred the English position. It was deemed a favourable moment for an attack;

but none was made till the 25th. On that day, the general of cavalry, Montbrun, at the head of fourteen battalions of foot and thirty-five squadrons of horse, crossed the Agueda by the bridge of Ciudad Rodrigo, and made a furious assault upon the position of El Bodon. The French cavalry, outnumbering the whole British force, dashed up the hill, under a heavy fire from the Portuguese artillery. They were met, and repeatedly repulsed; but at last numbers prevailed: the cavalry reached the battery, sabred the gunners, and took the guns. Then was seen an act of most heroic daring. The 5th regiment, under major Ridge, rushed forward in line, drove back the cavalry, retook the guns, turned them upon the enemy, and, being supported by the 77th, fairly drove the French cavalry down the hill. Thus the post was theirs; but Wellington, seeing that a French division was advancing to cut off the only road to Guinaldo, ordered the victorious troops to join the centre at that place. The little band, shorn of many of their number, immediately descended into the plain, where they were again assailed by Montbrun and his splendid horse. Colville formed his infantry into two squares; and as the remains of the cavalry which had been on the hill were some distance in front, the 5th and 77th were completely enveloped in the mass of the French horse. Then a rolling volley was heard; the steeds recoiled, and became scattered; "the glitter of bayonets was seen," says Napier, in his eloquent language, "on the edge of the smoke; and the British regiments, unscathed, came forth, like the holy men from the Assyrian furnace!" Ere the French could recover, the English were joined by Picton, at the head of three regiments of the 3rd division; and the whole reached the camp in safety.

Had Marmont known the position of Wellington, he might have made himself master of the entire British army, which was divided at various points on the Agueda; and his lordship had not more than 15,000 men with him at Fuente Guinaldo. Neither his right nor his left wing had come up; and on the 26th, the French general had 35,000 infantry, and about 7,000 cavalry, in front of his position. The affair of the 25th was, however, not forgotten; and, uncertain what might be the number of the British, no attack was made. In the night, the other divisions came in, and Wellington ordered the army to retire to a new position, between the Coa and the source of the Agueda. The French had also been ordered to retire; and had begun their march in the night. But when the next day, it was found that Fuente Guinaldo was evacuated, they retraced their steps, and started in pursuit. One division of the British had taken the road to Aldea del Ponte. At that village a French column came

up with a brigade of the 4th division, and the village was twice taken and retaken; the British holding it till the entire army had reached its destined ground—a strong and narrow position in front of the Coa. Here, on the 28th, Wellington offered battle; but Marmont declined fighting. The former then put his troops into cantonments on both banks of the Coa, the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo being entrusted to Don Juan Sanchez. Marmont returned to his old quarters on the banks of the Tagus; and Dorsenne went to Salamanca and the Douro. Thus retracing their steps, says Thiers, "with the single satisfaction of having revictualled Ciudad Rodrigo; but with the bitter regret of having permitted the escape of the English army at the moment when it might have been overwhelmed." When Marmont was informed of the small force before him on the 26th, he exclaimed, says Napier, "Ah! Wellington! thy star, too, is bright."

Wellington left general Hill hovering on the confines of Spain and Portugal, covering Alentejo, and watching Badajoz. Soult had left general Drouet at Merida, to observe Estremadura; and authorised him to extend the levy of his contributions as far as Cáceres—a town in the northern part of the province, standing on the river of the same name, which runs through the valley of the Tagus. Drouet had placed general Gerard at the head of one of the divisions of his corps, and that officer had made excursions, for the purpose of raising supplies, as far as Cáceres. Castanos, after the dispersion of the Spaniards at the battle of Albuera, had succeeded in rallying another army, and the operations of Gerard were extremely injurious to him, as they cut off his supplies. This made it necessary that the French should be driven from that part of Estremadura; and the duty of dislodging them was entrusted to general Hill, who was assisted by a Spanish detachment. Gerard had again advanced as far as Cáceres, when he was informed that the English were ascending the valley of the Tagus, to cut off his line of communication. He did not, at first, pay any attention to the information, though, on the 27th of October, the enemy was close upon his rear. He was, on that day, at Arroyo del Molinos, twenty-seven miles to the south-east of Cáceres, where he awaited the alcalde, who had promised to bring him 1,000 oz. of gold, levied on the inhabitants. In the evening, the British had reached Alcuéscar, a short distance from Arroyo, where they lay under arms all night. In the morning, when the French were preparing to march, they were surprised to find themselves attacked. There was but little fighting. The French cavalry made off; the infantry threw down their arms, and attempted to escape; but nearly 2,000 were made prisoners, and the arms, baggage—in fact, the entire *matériel* of

the division, fell into the hands of the British. General Hill having effected the duty entrusted to him, retired to Portalègre, a frontier town of Alemtejo, and the troops went into cantonments.

We must now refer to the important movements in the south of Spain. After the capture of Tarragona—which was followed by that of Montserrat, a strong mountain fortress, and the last stronghold of independence in that part of Spain—general Suchet had established order and regular government in Aragon and Catalonia; but several bands of guerillas threatened the frontier, and kept him and his troops in constant activity. In September, he received orders from the emperor to occupy Valencia, and capture its capital; Napoleon anticipating that, when that object was effected, at least half his army might join those of Portugal and the north, and accomplish the great end and aim of his ambition, the expulsion of the English. As Suchet was obliged to leave at least 12,000 troops to guard Aragon and Catalonia, he had only about 22,000 for his new expedition; and with this force, divided into three columns, he started on the 15th of September, and on the 20th these columns had crossed the frontier, and were united on the plain of Castellon de la Plana. An army which Blake had collected and organised after the battle of Albuera, being in a distant part of the province, no opposition was made to this advance. On the 23rd, the town of Murviedro, the ancient *Saguntum*, was invested. The town is built at the foot of a rock, crowned by a strong fortress. The French attempted to take this fortress by escalade on the 28th of September, but were repulsed with great loss. Finding that a regular siege was necessary, the siege-train was sent for from Tortosa; general Compère, with his corps, being at the same time detached to invest Oropesa, a fortress Suchet had left in his rear. The artillery stopped before this fortress till its surrender, on the 10th of October, and then was taken on to Saguntum; which having been bombarded and breached, was again assaulted on the 18th, and again were the assailants repulsed, with the loss of several hundred men. The garrison had also suffered considerably; and being enabled to make signals to the vessels passing along the coast, a knowledge of their condition was conveyed to general Blake, who was in the neighbourhood of Valencia, and resolved to make an attempt to relieve them. This was the very thing Suchet wanted. He was anxious to encounter Blake's army, but reluctant to go too far from Saguntum to meet it.

Blake had about 30,000 men with him, and several distinguished officers; one being the gallant guerilla chief, Villa Campa. He left Valencia soon after he received accounts of the

straits to which the garrison of Saguntum was reduced. He approached the plain of Saguntum on the 24th of October; and the next day the two armies were face to face. Suchet had about 16,000 men to oppose to Blake's 30,000; but his troops were better commanded; and though the Spaniards fought bravely, and stood more steadily than usual, they were out-manœuvred, defeated, and retreated in disorder, leaving 1,000 killed on the field, 4,700 prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, and four flags. The French, though they admit that "the Spaniards fought desperately," yet estimate their own loss at only 700 killed and wounded. The immediate result of the victory was, that the fortress of Saguntum capitulated, and 2,500 more prisoners were taken.

Suchet, though successful in his advance, found his rear greatly harassed by guerillas, who had gained many successes. He was compelled, therefore, to detach a part of his army to clear away these active and persevering irregulars, and with the rest he blockaded Valencia, at the same time sending couriers to Paris, to demand reinforcements. The emperor attaching great importance to the conquest of Valencia, thought everything else should be subordinate to that object; and he ordered Joseph, Marmont, and Soult to send troops to Suchet; and general Reille was ordered from Navarre, in the same direction, being succeeded by general Caffarelli. Joseph and Marmont dispatched divisions from the armies of the centre and Portugal, and Reille entered Valencia at the head of two *corps d'armée*. Soult, however, could not spare any men; and they were not wanted. The reinforcements he received enabled Suchet to carry on, successfully, his operations against the capital of the province, where general Blake had taken refuge after the battle of Saguntum. So much time was lost in waiting for the reinforcements, that December closed before the city was regularly invested. Then general Blake abandoned the outer works, and retired within the *enceinte*; and having refused to surrender on the first summons, he capitulated, after a brief bombardment. On the 9th of January, 1812, the French entered the city from which they had been twice, in 1808 and 1810, repulsed; and Suchet, who appears to have possessed higher administrative talents than any other of the French marshals, soon established, in Valencia, the same order and subordination which prevailed, when he was present, in Aragon and Catalonia. He, however, levied a heavy contribution on the province, amounting to £2,000,000.

Soult, in Andalusia, had not the success which attended Suchet in Valencia. Ballasteros, one of the Spanish commanders at Albuera, had, after that battle, landed in the south, and soon was at the head of several thousand men. Soult

sent a powerful force against him; and he was obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Gibraltar. Brigadier-general Skerrit had, about that time, taken possession of Tarifa, which he garrisoned with 1,500 Spanish troops, and 500 British; and Godinot, who commanded the French division that defeated Ballasteros, was ordered to besiege and take Tarifa. He was compelled, however, chiefly from the losses his corps sustained from the raking fire of the English ships in the roadstead, to withdraw, without making any impression on the fort. Soult then sent general Laval, at the head of 7,000 men, to undertake the siege. He arrived before the walls in the middle of December; and having compelled Ballasteros, who had advanced to the northward after the discomfiture of Godinot, again to retreat to Gibraltar, he broke ground before the place on the 19th of December. The garrison then consisted of 1,800 British and 700 Spaniards; and the engineers of the former had greatly improved the defences. The walls were much injured by the 27th; and by the 30th, a breach, sixty feet wide, had been effected. The ascent was easy; and a column of the besieging force, 2,000 in number, on the 31st, at daybreak, commenced an assault, in which they were repulsed with considerable slaughter. Laval would have immediately raised the siege; but marshal Victor, who was still before Cadiz, ordered him to persist. He remained till the 4th of January, 1812, when he retreated; having first thrown his powder into the sea, and buried his heavy artillery. All the cavalry and artillery horses, and about 1,000 men, were lost in this siege.

Thus the campaign of 1811 could not be considered, on the whole, favourable to France. Except in Catalonia and Valencia, the French generals had failed in all their efforts. The

British were still in possession of Portugal. Ciudad Rodrigo, which France had sent two armies to protect, was again invested; and whilst the French troops were beginning to lose confidence, the British, who, though always brave, were, at first, found wanting in many things that constitute the good and effective soldier, had found out their deficiencies, and were greatly improved. If, therefore, the emperor had maintained the same number of men in Spain in 1812, that he did in 1811, the two armies would still have been upon a more equal footing. But, towards the close of December, he found it necessary, in order that he might have a competent army on the Vistula, to recall some of the troops who were serving in Spain. Accordingly, in January, 1812, general Dorsenne left Spain, at the head of 12,000 guards: 7,000 or 8,000 Poles were withdrawn from Suchet and Soult: the 4th battalions, which had composed the 9th corps, and twelve regiments of dragoons out of the twenty-four in the Peninsula, recrossed the frontier, to proceed to the north of Europe. In the whole, not fewer than 35,000 troops were thus taken from the armies in Spain. Ney went with them.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding their losses and privations, were not disheartened; and lord Wellington became confident of final success. In December, he sent a despatch to lord Liverpool, in which he said—"The people of the country are still disposed to resist, whenever they see a prospect of advantage. Bonaparte is yet far from having effected the conquest of that part of the Peninsula of which he has military possession. And, in truth, the devastation which attends the progress of our enemy's arms, and is the consequence of their continuance in any part of the country, is our best friend, and will, in the end, bring the contest to a conclusion."

CHAPTER XV.

CAMPAIGN IN THE PENINSULA, 1812; CAPTURE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO; POSITION OF MARMONT; SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF BADAJOZ; DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH AT USAGRE; STRENGTH OF THE FRENCH AND BRITISH ARMIES; DESTRUCTION OF THE BRIDGE OF ALMARAZ; ADVANCE OF WELLINGTON INTO SPAIN; OCCUPATION OF SALAMANCA; BATTLE OF SALAMANCA; AFFAIR OF LA SERNA; JOSEPH LEAVES MADRID, AND RETREATS TO VALENCIA; WELLINGTON AT MADRID; UNSUCCESSFUL SIEGE OF BURGOS; RETREAT OF THE ALLIES; THE FRENCH RE-ENTER MADRID; THEY SET OUT IN PURSUIT OF THE BRITISH; THEIR FAILURE IN ARRESTING LORD WELLINGTON'S RETIREMENT TO CIUDAD RODRIGO; CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN.

WHEN 1812 opened, Napoleon had reached the zenith of his fortunes. He then ruled over a wider extent of territory than had ever before been subject to the French sceptre; and except Russia and England, all the powers of Europe succumbed to his influence, and obeyed his will.

But from that time, his star, in which he put so much faith, began to pale; and on the day of the capture of Valencia, the last of his triumphs in the Peninsula, Wellington crossed the Agueda with the British army, and proceeded to gain more victories. We have stated that he

had collected a competent siege-train, for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. He took the opportunity afforded by the departure of several divisions of the army of Portugal for Valencia, to prepare for the investment of that fortress, the defences of which had been considerably strengthened by the French. The investment was regularly commenced in the night of the 8th of January, 1812, and for eleven days the siege was carried on with great vigour; the defence being equally determined and energetic. A fort, San Francisco, which covered the approach to the main fortress, was carried on the 9th. On the 14th, two convents, Santa Cruz and San Francisco, which the French had fortified, were taken by storm. On the 18th, a practicable breach was made; and soon after dark on the 19th, the final assault took place; the troops engaged in it being, the divisions of general Picton, which comprised the brigades of major-general Mackinnon and lieutenant-colonel Campbell; and the light division, under general Craufurd, consisting of major-general Vandeleur's and colonel Barnard's brigades. The garrison fought well; but, after a fierce resistance, they abandoned the intrenchments; and being driven from street to street, they at last flung down their arms, and called for quarter. They received it; but it is greatly to be regretted that victory was stained by the licentiousness of the troops, which could not be restrained for several hours. The loss of the allies in the siege and storm was 1,310 killed and wounded; the greater number of the killed on the 19th, including general Mackinnon, losing their lives by the explosion of a magazine. The gallant general Craufurd was also amongst the killed. The French had 1,000 killed and wounded; general Barrie, 80 other officers, and 1,700 men, were taken prisoners; a battering train of 44 guns, 109 pieces of artillery on the walls, an armoury and arsenal filled with military stores, and large quantities of provisions, were found in the place. It was not till the 21st that order was restored amongst the troops, exhausted by the fatigue of the siege, and the excesses committed in the public stores and private cellars after the storm. The breaches were then repaired, the trenches filled in; and the fort being rendered once more defensible, and cleared of the *débris* of the siege, was given over to Castanos, the captain-general of the province; and lord Wellington, resuming his former position at Fuente Guinaldo, prepared for another gallant adventure.

The commanders of the army of the north and of Portugal, and the general staff of king Joseph at Madrid, were alike alarmed at the rapid fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, the siege of which had occupied Masséna a month, whilst Wellington had carried it in eleven days. Marmont, as soon as he heard of its fall, turned his attention

to Salamanca, where he had strong defensive works thrown up, making use of three large convents, in the place of regular fortifications; and he established there a camp, strongly intrenched, with magazines and hospitals, for the supply of the army and the accommodation of the wounded. His entire effective force—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—numbered about 40,000. He did not think himself strong enough to attack the English with less than 50,000; and as he could not obtain reinforcements from general Caffarelli, who had succeeded Dorsenne in the command of the army of the north, or from the army of the centre (which was completely exhausted in marching from the Guadalaxara to Talavera, from Segovia to Toledo, and to and fro in other directions, with a view to keep open communications, without succeeding), he made the best arrangement of his force he could to meet the difficulties that surrounded him. He had no doubt that Wellington's next attempt would be upon Badajoz; but he did not feel himself warranted in quitting his position, and leaving Salamanca unguarded, in order to defend that fortress. He therefore dispatched a confidential aide-de-camp to the emperor, to inform him of the dangers which were gathering around him, and to suggest, that the armies of the north, of Portugal, and of the centre, should be united under one person. Napoleon refused to listen to this advice; telling Marmont, in his reply, that he was interfering in matters which did not concern him, as Badajoz was not intrusted to his care, but to the army of Andalusia, which was competent to defend it. "You must suppose the English mad," said Berthier, writing in the name of the emperor, "to imagine that they will march upon Badajoz, leaving you at Salamanca." * * * "The instructions of the emperor are precise: you are not to quit Salamanca: you are not even to reoccupy the Asturias: let your head-quarters be at Salamanca; and never cease to menace the English from thence." "Never mind Hill and the army of the south," was the language of the French war minister in another despatch. "That army is strong enough to combat five divisions of the English army. *You* should have marched on Ciudad Rodrigo, and retaken it, before the breaches were filled up, or the place provisioned."

Marmont was, however, right in his anticipation of the next enterprise of Wellington; who, Ciudad Rodrigo captured, immediately made preparations for the siege of Badajoz. As the only remaining frontier fortress, he felt it was necessary that it should be in his possession before he marched his army into the interior of Spain. His lordship had then planned the achievement which he finally accomplished—viz., to cross Spain, driving the French before him into their own country; and to its success, it was necessary that he should not leave the means

of annoyance in his rear. In his dispositions for the siege—by sending the battering train and engineers from Lisbon by sea, as if they were going to Oporto; and making arrangements apparently preliminary to the establishment of a magazine beyond the Douro—he concealed the real end of his movements. His preparations were completed by the beginning of March, and, on the 9th, the various divisions under his command commenced their advance, all converging on Badajoz. To cover the siege, general Hill was posted at Almendralejo, with 30,000 men; and Wellington himself commanded the besieging force of 22,000.

The refusal of the Portuguese regency to furnish the necessary means of conveyance, caused a delay of several days before the investment of the fortress could be completed; and enabled general Philippon, who commanded the garrison of 5,000 men, to make very complete arrangements for defence. The town of Badajoz stands at the confluence of the rivulets Calamon and Rivellas with the Guadiana, which runs in front of the walls, and of the heights of San Christoval. The castle rises above the union of the three streams. The fortifications were, when the siege began, says colonel Maxwell, “exceedingly strong—the bastions and curtains regular—while formidable outworks, the forts of Pardelaras, Picarina, and San Christoval, completed the exterior defences.” The investment was not begun till the 17th of March; it was completed on the 24th; the French having lost 300 men, and the British 150, in a desperate sortie made by the former in the night of the 19th. After the trenches were completed, the Picarina fort was first assailed and carried by storm. The bombardment was continued till the 5th of April, at which time it was known that Marmont had made a forward movement in front of Beira, and that the advance of Soult in another direction had obliged the covering army, under general Hill, to fall back in the direction of Talavera. Wellington, therefore, determined that the assault should take place on the 6th; Picton’s and Leith’s divisions, and the light divisions under major-general Colville and colonel Barnard, were selected for the enterprise, than which a more fearful one cannot be conceived. Again and again were the assaulting parties repulsed. The scaling-ladders, in one instance, were too short; and two gallant fellows, springing into a breach, pulled their comrades up after them. In another direction, “the ramparts, crowded with dark figures and glittering arms, were seen on one side; and, on the other, the red columns of the British, deep and broad, were coming on like streams of burning lava. A bright flame, shooting upwards, displayed all the terrors of the scene. It was the touch of the magician’s wand. A crash of thunder followed, and, with

incredible violence, the storming party were dashed to pieces by the explosion of hundreds of shells and powder-barrels. For an instant the light division stood on the brink of the ditch, amazed by the terrific sight; then, with a shout that matched even the sound of the explosion, flew down the ladders, or, disdaining their aid, leaped, reckless of the depth, into the gulf below; and, nearly at the same moment, the 4th division came running in, and descended with like fury.” There was a deep cut in the bottom of the ditch, in which 100 fusiliers perished; but their comrades pushed on, though a wide and deep chasm presented itself between them and the ramparts. That and other difficulties were met, encountered, and overcome, amidst what appeared the most terrible confusion. “The heavy roll and horrid explosion of the powder-barrels, the whizzing light of the blazing splinters, the loud exhortations of the officers, and the continued clatter of the muskets,” says one authority, “made a maddening din. Now a multitude bounded up the great breach, as if driven by a whirlwind; but across the top glittered a range of sword-blades, sharp-pointed, keen-edged on both sides, and firmly fixed in ponderous beams, which were chained together, and set deep in the ruins; and, for ten feet in front, the ascent was covered with loose planks, studded with sharp iron points, on which the feet of the foremost being set, the planks moved, and the unhappy soldiers, falling forward on the spikes, rolled down on the ranks behind.” Their place was taken by others, amidst the roar of a hundred cannon and several thousand muskets. “Never,” says colonel Jones, “probably never, since the discovery of gunpowder, were men more seriously exposed to its action. Shells, hand-grenades, every kind of burning composition, and missiles of every hellish variety, were hurled into the ditch. The roll of musketry was incessant; and the night was now light with the most dazzling fires; and now black with utter darkness.” A report of the slaughter which was taking place in this direction, was made to lord Wellington about midnight, and he gave orders to withdraw the 4th and light divisions, and to re-form them before daylight for another effort. But in other quarters, fighting, equally terrific, had been attended with more effect. The 5th brigade, under major-general Leith, carried a barrier, called St. Vincent. Picton’s brigade had carried the castle, having mounted the walls—notwithstanding hundreds were hurled over by logs of wood, large stones, and loaded shells, thrown by the besiegers—and driven the French before them with the bayonet. The gates were also blown open, and the town entered; the divisions which had suffered so dreadfully in the ditch, marching in through the breaches. Then Philippon, and the rest of the garrison retired to Fort San

Christoval, to surrender at daylight; and Badajoz was in possession of the British. We wish we could draw a veil over what followed. The British soldiers offered no violence to the garrison, who surrendered themselves as prisoners of war; but, says an eye-witness, "they no sooner got into the place, than they broke the reins of discipline. They drank, they plundered, they revelled in all licentiousness; and their wild orgies and frantic excesses were continued for many hours before their noble commander could possibly control them. This was at last done by extraordinary measures, severe examples, and by bringing fresh and steady troops into the town." It was nearly the last display of the kind. The discipline introduced by lord Wellington, in consequence of the excesses at this place and at Ciudad Rodrigo, so improved the character of his men, that they were subsequently hailed as friends and protectors by the Spanish people wherever they appeared.

In the siege and assault of Badajoz, the allies lost 5,000 men, about 700 being Portuguese: 317 British officers, and 3,344 non-commissioned officers and privates, having perished in the assault. The French had 1,300 killed or wounded, and 3,800 were made prisoners. Large quantities of stores, 170 heavy guns, 5,000 muskets, and 80,000 shot were found in the various forts and redoubts; but what was of more consequence, the *prestige* of the English was established. The news of the capture, remarks Thiers, threw Soult, who had advanced as far as Llerena, "into the greatest consternation, for the sole trophy of his Andalusian campaign had thus escaped him; and, should lord Wellington choose to carry forward his operations by Estremadura or Andalusia, all the routes were open to him." Napoleon blamed both Soult and Marmont for permitting the capture of the fortress; the former for doing nothing at the head of 80,000 men; and the latter, for not knowing how to modify orders given at the distance of 300 leagues. But Soult had not the number of men stated; and the orders to Marmont were so positive, that he was not justified in doing anything more than make a diversion on the side of Beira, which he did; blockading Ciudad Rodrigo, crossing the Portuguese frontier, driving back the Portuguese militia under Trant and Wilson, and sending marauding parties to overrun the Lower Beira. As soon as Badajoz had fallen, Wellington made dispositions for marching to attack the French, and Marmont immediately withdrew his men from Portugal, and retired to Salamanca. Soult also retreated, pursued by the British cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, who overtook the rear-guard of the French at Usagre, where a smart action took place. The French were broken and dispersed, pursued for several miles, and 130 prisoners taken, numbers

being killed. Soult pursued his march the remainder of the way, unmolested, and re-entered Seville on the 14th of April. The allied armies then took up cantonments on the Coa and Agueda; and the British commander again established his head-quarters at Fuente Guinaldo; Sir Thomas Graham, with 10,000 men, being left at Badajoz.

The armies on both sides required rest and reorganisation; and several weeks were spent in cantonments before active operations were resumed. When they were recommenced, it was with an immense disparity of force. Notwithstanding the troops that had been withdrawn to join the army of the Vistula, and the losses sustained in the early part of the year, the "imperial muster-roll" gives the following as the number of the French army in Spain in May, when the antagonistic forces again took the field:—

Corps.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Total.
Army of the South . . .	51,819	7,311	4,340	63,470
" " Centre . . .	15,451	3,332	420	19,203
" Portugal	62,771	4,481	3,448	70,700
" Aragon	30,421	2,976	1,980	35,377
" Catalonia	39,875	1,376	279	41,530
" the North . . .	43,492	4,443	1,163	49,098
	243,829	23,919	11,630	279,378
Old reserve at Bayonne	6,293	207	—	6,500
New do. do.	5,666	103	—	5,769
Total	255,788	24,229	11,630	291,647

Of this gross number, of 291,647 men, 26,375 were returned as detached, and 32,196 in hospital; leaving an effective force of 233,076 who were present "with the eagles." To meet this host, Wellington had 42,289 infantry, 7,558 cavalry, and 3,322 artillery; total, 53,169. There were certainly, in addition, the Spanish armies, under their various commanders, and the Portuguese, under marshal Beresford. But, including these, the collective force of efficient men was not equal to the aggregate number of the French force, and Wellington could not depend implicitly upon any troops except his own. The Portuguese, occasionally, were amenable to order, and fought well; but it was seldom, indeed, that he received any effectual support from the Spanish regular army. The guerrillas, however, still were most successful in distracting the attention, cutting off the resources, and diminishing the numbers of the French.

When operations again commenced, Napoleon, who was about to leave Paris for the banks of the Vistula and the Niemen, conferred the supreme command on his brother Joseph, whose major-general and military adviser was marshal Jourdain, an officer much attached to him. But although he found it necessary to make such an appointment (as, from the interior of Russia, it was impossible to direct the armies in Spain), such was the emperor's distrust of his brother, and dislike to Jourdain, that he could not bring himself to give peremptory orders to the

marshals to obey the former. He also decreed Catalonia to be an integral part of the French territory, dividing it into four departments. This measure added to the unpopularity of the French; whilst the doubtful orders to the marshals caused the military operations to become fluctuating and indecisive. If, instead of taking these steps, Napoleon had withdrawn his troops, and left Joseph—who had succeeded in enlisting an army of from 30,000 to 40,000 Spaniards, who served him faithfully—to fight his own way, and make his own terms, it is very probable he would have established himself on the throne. He was undoubtedly a better man and a better sovereign than Charles IX. had proved himself to be; and the Spaniards could scarcely expect that Ferdinand would make even so good a king as his father; whilst Joseph's justice, good feeling, and lenient rule, wherever he could act for himself, had made a favourable impression upon the nation. When Joseph was in London, many years after, he met general Mina (the elder) in the British metropolis, who told him that he himself, Ballasteros, Infantado, and Montijo—all grandees of Spain—had, in 1812, come to the determination of acknowledging him as sovereign, if the emperor would recall the French armies. Wellington's victories, however, and Napoleon's obstinacy, prevented this determination from being carried out.

Having suffered his men to rest through the month of April, and into May, the British general began to think that it was time to take the field once more, and to endeavour to aim a decisive blow at the French usurpation. The question was, where should that blow be delivered?—against Marmont in the north; or against Joseph and Jourdain in the centre? Thinking, with the emperor, "that the vital point in Spain was the line of communication between Bayonne and Madrid," he resolved to make a demonstration on that quarter, where Marmont was posted. First, it was necessary to destroy a bridge of boats, which the French had thrown over the Tagus at Almaraz, and by which the armies of the north and south kept up a secure communication. Sir Rowland Hill, still stationed at Almendralejo, with 10,000 infantry and 1,200 horse, for the purpose of observing Estremadura, was entrusted with the commission to destroy this bridge; and it was promptly and efficiently executed. The bridge was defended by the old tower of Miravete, by a strong *tête-de-pont*, and Fort Napoleon on the left side of the Tagus, and by Fort Ragusa on the right. The approach to Almaraz from Sir Rowland Hill's position was over a range of mountains, which descend from the Miravete tower, from which it was found impossible to lower artillery. He therefore,

in the night of the 17th of May, sent a column of infantry down the Sierra, by what is called a "goat's path," leaving his cannon at the top. When these troops reached their destination, they were enabled to conceal themselves in a deep ravine, till the thundering of the artillery upon the castle of Miravete announced the time for the attack, which was to be by escalade. About 8 A.M. on the 18th, the French garrison of Fort Napoleon crowded to the ramparts, surprised at hearing the cannon rolling in the direction of Miravete. The British, headed by major-general Howard, shortly after occasioned a still greater surprise, by dashing upon them from the ravine; and though their ladders were not so long as they ought to have been, the breadth of an intermediate ledge or *berm* enabled them to overcome the difficulty, and to mount the ramparts. A rattling volley of grape and musketry did not arrest their progress; they rushed on, drove the garrison before them, out of the fort, through the *tête-de-pont*, unto the bridge, over which the fugitives made their way at great speed. When they reached the right side, they found that three of the boats had been cut away, and the communication was broken off. Many jumped into the Tagus to avoid their pursuers, but between 150 and 300 surrendered themselves prisoners.* It was found that the commander of Fort Ragusa had abandoned his post; so that both forts, the *tête-de-pont*, and the bridge, fell into the hands of the British, with an immense quantity of stores of every description—all of which were destroyed. This gallant little affair cost the British 15 officers and 162 privates, killed and wounded. The attack on Fort Miravete in the morning was only a *feint*; but, having carried the other works, Sir Rowland retraced his steps to that post, and was commencing operations against it on the 19th, when intelligence of the advance of Soult caused him to abandon the prize as it was about to fall into his hands; and he returned to his cantonments. Marshals Soult and Marmont had received intelligence of his march, but were too late to prevent it. They both advanced in different directions; the mischief was done, however, and the British safe in their old position, before they arrived.

Lord Wellington now carried on his preparations for a forward march, from which, himself, he did not expect any great results, though he felt compelled to make it. But he sent a despatch to the war minister, detailing the facts of his position, and stating, that the French generals had only to combine to drive him back into Portugal. He therefore wished that a *feint* should be made by the English ships in the Bay of Biscay, of landing troops, in order to prevent

* The accounts of this affair differ in their statements as to who cut away the boats on the right bank. Captain Leith Hay says that it was the fugitives, who first

reached the bank. Other authorities say, that it was done by the commandant of Fort Ragusa; who was tried by a court-martial for cowardice, and shot at Talavera.

Caffarelli from proceeding to the assistance of Marmont; and that a force, which lord William Bentinck had raised in Sicily, where it was not wanted, should make a descent on Murcia or Catalonia, for the purpose of occupying the attention of the army of that province. The condition of the British army was then excellent; and its discipline was rapidly approaching that state of perfection which led lord Wellington to say, that, with the Peninsular army, as it was the last two years of the war, he would go anywhere. But, if the French marshals had been united, it would have been easy to have overwhelmed the British by numbers. There were, however, dissensions between those officers themselves; and several of them did all they could to thwart the views of the king. Soult, who was deeply offended at Jourdain's being appointed Joseph's major-general instead of himself, was very little inclined to obey any orders he received from his majesty. The king wished him to send reinforcements to Marmont, which he refused to do, because it would endanger Andalusia; and Joseph, having sent some orders to the count d'Erlon, one of his generals of division, Soult took umbrage at the royal interference, and tendered his resignation, which was accepted. Circumstances prevented it, however, from being carried out.

It was early in June when the British divisions began to concentrate: on the 13th, the cantonments on the Agueda were broken up, and the frontier crossed; on the 16th, the army having been unmolested on its march, was before Salamanca. Marmont, anticipating the approach of his opponent, after furnishing the line of the Douro, in the rear of the city, with well-garrisoned posts at Toro, Zamora, Benavente, Tordesillas, and Astorga, had broken up his camp, and had retired to a strong position covered by the Tormes. He left garrisons in each of the three convents of San Vincent, San Gaetano, and La Merced, which commanded the city; and they would, he hoped, be able to maintain those posts till he received reinforcements. When the British presented themselves, they were received by the inhabitants with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and they marched through the enthusiastic throng, by whom they were welcomed, to the heights of San Christoval, about three miles in advance of the city, where lord Wellington cantoned his troops. Soon after his arrival, the citizens besought him to deliver them from the surveillance of the French in the convents. An attempt to carry them by assault failed; but, on the 28th of June, a siege-train having arrived from Ciudad Rodrigo, they were formally invested, and, after a fierce bombardment, taken. San Vincent had made the most strenuous defence; and, standing on a perpendicular cliff, rising from the bed of the Tormes, and skilfully fortified, its capture was no mean achievement.

The French lost 1,000 men in killed and prisoners, 36 pieces of cannon, a quantity of stores, and much clothing. Several valuable officers, and 450 privates, were placed *hors de combat* in the siege. During its progress Marmont had made several demonstrations, with a view to draw out the British; but Wellington, prepared to fight if attacked, did not feel himself in a position to be the assailant: therefore they produced nothing but the marching and counter-marching of his own troops.

At midnight of the 28th, after the convents were taken, Marmont broke up his position, and began to retire to the other side of the Douro. When day broke, his entire army was in full march, and the rear-guard was seen quitting the ground. His retirement caused the greatest triumph and festivity in Salamanca. High mass was celebrated in the cathedral, where, writes captain Leith Hay, "the scene was grand and impressive. The spacious, noble building was crowded to excess; and the ceremony was performed with all the pomp and splendour of the [Roman] catholic worship. The pealing organ never poured its tones over a more brilliant, varied, or chivalrous audience. Contrasted with the sombre dresses of the numerous officiating clergy, the scarlet uniforms of the British were held in relief by the dark Spanish or Portuguese costumes. The Spanish peasant, in all the simplicity and cleanliness of his dress, appeared by the moustached and fierce-looking guerilla; while the numerous mantillas and waving fans of the Spanish ladies, attracted attention to the dark voluptuous beauties of Castile." The commander-in-chief gave a dinner after the cathedral services, and the junta a ball in the evening. The next day the soldiers had to resume their warlike duties.

The object of Marmont was, as he learned that reinforcements were on their way from the Asturias under Bonnet, and from Biscay under Caffarelli, to delay fighting till they had joined him; and he took up a good tenable position behind the strongly fortified bridges of Zamora, Toro, and Tordesillas. Wellington followed, but found the position, defended by a hundred pieces of cannon, too strong to attack. On the 7th of July, Bonnet's division joined Marmont; and Caffarelli, with, it was reported, 10,000 foot and 1,500 horse, and Joseph, with 14,000 men from the army of the centre, were rapidly advancing. Wellington, on the contrary, had no reinforcements to expect; and the diversions he recommended were not made. Lord William Bentinck had gone to Italy, instead of making a descent upon Spain: a Spanish force of 14,000 men, which might have aided him, was besieging Astorga; but though a practicable breach was effected, they would not hazard an assault, and lay idle before its walls: whilst Soult had been so successful, recently, in the bombardment of

Cadiz, that it was expected every day the city would fall, and that then a large part of the army of Andalusia would be marched to the north. These facts, and his want of money—a most effective *matériel* of war—caused lord Wellington to resolve to fall back upon Portugal. He began his retrograde movement on the 17th of July, and was narrowly observed by the French. On the 18th there was some sharp fighting, the French attacking the 4th and light divisions, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, who was supported by the cavalry of Bock, Le Marchant, and Alten. The British had to retire, which they did in good order, to the Guarena, one of the tributaries of the Douro; their cavalry having, in a spirited charge, taken 300 prisoners (including general Carrier) and a gun. That night both armies bivouacked in the valley of the Guarena, on opposite sides of the stream; but so near, “that the fixed sentinels almost received the secret whispers of each other’s watch.”

The three next days were spent in marches and counter-marches; and on the 20th, one of the most singular events occurred that was ever met with in warfare. The two armies were marching for several hours through an open country, in parallel lines, in full view of each other; the officers and men exchanging signs of courtesy, though they were so soon to be engaged in hostile conflict. “Ninety thousand combatants,” writes an eye-witness, “marched, side by side as it were, without collision, each host admiring the array of its opponents—all eyes eager in their gaze—and all ears intent for the signal sound of battle.” But the signal was not given. Both armies, to a certain extent, retraced their steps; and on the 21st of July, Wellington had his entire army concentrated in its former position, on the heights of San Christoval. Marmont followed, and stretched his centre and left wing across the Tormes—the stream on which Salamanca is situated—so as to command the road from that city to Ciudad Rodrigo; but Wellington made a corresponding movement, which prevented his communications from being interrupted; and on the morning of the 22nd, the allies were found to be established in position between two bold heights, called the Arapeiles, and the Tormes, just below the ford of Santa Maria across that river; their left resting on one of the heights, which is distinguished, in the accounts of the battle, as the “English Arapeiles.” Had Marmont been prudent, they might have been kept in that position till the king, with his 14,000 men, joined him; or compelled again to retreat, and taken at a disadvantage. But as Wellington had declined fighting when he had previously occupied the heights of San Christoval, the French general appears to have formed a mean opinion of him; and having been joined by Bonnet and by Clausel, with

a considerable reinforcement from the army of the north, he was anxious to bring on an engagement, that he might have the honour of achieving the victory himself, before he was superseded by the king and Jourdain.

Early on the day just named—the 22nd of July—Marmont rode out of the French camp, for the purpose of making a personal *reconnaissance* of Wellington’s position; but he could not discover anything that threw the least light upon what were the plans of the English general. The two armies were divided by a valley, or ravine, of some extent. The village of Calvarossa de Ariba, occupied by Foy’s division, was the pivot of the French right; their centre and left resting on a wood, which occupied the ground not far from the Tormes. Marmont, after his return from inspecting the allied position, ordered general Ferry to join Foy with his corps, and caused his centre and left to defile behind their position, along the wood by which it was backed. Observing that the rocky heights of the Arapeiles were unoccupied, he sent a body of infantry to take possession of the highest; which they effected, and crowned its summit with artillery. This movement was made about noon, and the wood concealed it till it was accomplished. The height, thus occupied, was called “the French Arapeiles;” and when it was taken, another French corps made a dash at the “English Arapeiles;” but a British regiment anticipated them, gained the height, and kept it. Whilst these movements were making, Marmont carried forward his divisions: the left, Thomiere’s, was in front, defiling opposite the allies; Sarrat’s and Maucune’s divisions were in the centre; Clausel’s in reserve; and Brennier’s in the rear, with the baggage and artillery. The valley was still kept between the two armies.

These movements, in the presence of a hostile force, could not be made unobserved. The attention of Wellington was directed to them, and he found that they rendered an alteration in the position of the allies necessary. He caused the entire army, therefore, to change its front; and Marmont, observing that the allies were in motion, imagined they were retreating to Ciudad Rodrigo. Nothing, however, was further from Wellington’s intention. Having satisfied himself as to the direction the French were taking, he descended from the height, and made the necessary arrangements for meeting the enemy. The 5th division (Leith’s), and the 4th (Cole’s), formed the right, and were stationed behind the village of Arapeiles. The 3rd division (formerly Picton’s, who had left from ill-health, and was succeeded by Sir Edward Pakenham), a corps of Spanish infantry, D’Urban’s cavalry, and two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, were in the centre. Pack’s Portuguese brigade, Bradford’s brigade, and Le Marchant’s heavy cavalry, formed the left. There were two

reserves—the 6th and 7th divisions, under Clinton and Hope, forming one; Barnard's light division, and the 1st division, composed of the guards and Germans, the other. Cotton's cavalry was placed in the rear of the 5th and 6th divisions; an artillery reserve was posted behind the dragoons; and, in the rear of all, out of the reach of fire, were the Spaniards, under Don Carlos d'España. The left of the allies was on the height; the centre between the English Arapeiles and the village; the right extended to the village of Les Torres. When formed, the allied force constituted a compact line, *en échelon*, the right being in front. Wellington had also the advantage of the French, as his line formed the chord of an arc, round which they were toiling; and the allies could make their dispositions, therefore, with much greater rapidity than their opponents.

Under the impression that the English movement was a retreat, Marmont resolved to attack their rear-guard. He moved his left forward with that intention; at the same time carrying his centre still closer to the valley, ordering Clausel to support it. He, however, gave no orders for the attack; but general Maucune, also entertaining the idea that the English were retreating, and conceiving that it was the proper moment to commence the battle, sent to request permission that he might do so. Without waiting for the return of his messenger, he ordered his men to advance, drove back the British skirmishers, and descending into the hollow which separated the two armies, was soon actively engaged with Cole's and Leith's divisions. Thomiere's division, as it came up, was attacked by Pakenham's infantry in front, and D'Urban's cavalry in flank; and the divisions on the left and right of the two armies also were engaged: thus the conflict became general. There was a varied fortune during the battle. The English 3rd division, 5th, Bradford's light brigade, and the light and heavy cavalry, were everywhere successful, cutting up and dispersing the French. But the 4th division was repulsed by Bonnet; and Pack's (composed of Portuguese regiments) was defeated in an attack upon the French Arapeiles. On observing the state of the contest in this direction, Wellington ordered the 6th and 7th divisions, under generals Hope and Clinton, to advance; then, though Bonnet stood his ground well, the British bayonet conquered, and the French retired in great confusion. After several hours' intense fighting, in which the village of Arapeiles had been taken and retaken, as well as the heights, from which the French were at last driven, the "issue was as decided a rout on the part of the French as was, perhaps, ever experienced by any army." The broken masses made for the Tormes, and many were drowned in crossing. One circumstance favoured them. There were two fords, and the

castle of Alba de Tormes commanded one of them. This castle had been held by a Spanish garrison, who had, unknown to the English commander, evacuated it the day before. The French were aware of the circumstance, and most of them made for that passage; whilst Wellington himself, with the leading regiments of the light division, made for the other ford. This, and the approaching darkness—fighting did not cease till 8 P.M.—saved the French from total destruction. As it was, they lost 134 officers and 7,000 privates prisoners; and two eagles, six standards, and eleven cannon. Marshal Marmont was struck by a shot soon after the battle commenced, which broke his arm, and inflicted a serious wound in his side. He had to give up the command to Bonnet, who, late in the day, was also wounded, when Clausel assumed the direction of what was, then, the retreat. Three generals, Thomiere, Ferry, and Desgraviere, were killed. The total number of their killed and wounded was never published; but we think it could not be less than that of the allies, which was as follows:—

	British.	Portuguese.	Spaniards.	Total.
Killed	694	304	2	1,000
Wounded . . .	4,270	1,552	4	5,826
Missing	256	182	0	438
Total	5,220	2,038	6	7,264

Amongst the officers, general Le Marchant was killed; generals Beresford, Cole, Leith, Cotton, and Alten, wounded. Lord Wellington was struck by a spent ball in the thigh.

The French were followed in their retreat, the next day, by the light division, headed by Wellington; but Clausel had been so diligent in getting his army advanced during the night, that nothing was seen of them till noon, when their rear-guard was discovered near La Serna. On the first appearance of the allies, the cavalry gave way, leaving the infantry to receive the charge of Bock's German, and Anson's brigade of English, dragoons. Formed in squares, the French did not flinch; but the charge of the Germans broke the first square: the second soon shared the same fate; and the third broke up of its own accord. The result of this affair—acknowledged by the French to have been one of the most brilliant cavalry actions during the war—was, that, with the loss of about 100 killed and wounded, 1,200 prisoners were taken by the British. The French army now fell into great confusion; but they succeeded in getting forty miles from the field of battle, the first night after it. The next day they were joined by Caffarelli, with 1,500 cavalry and artillerymen, instead of the 15,000 expected; and they continued their retreat, crossing the Douro, to Valladolid, and from thence to Burgos. Lord Wellington followed them to Valladolid, where he captured seventeen guns, and took 800 sick

and wounded prisoners. He then returned with the light division to the main army, with the intention of marching on Madrid.

Thiers describes the battle of Salamanca* as "the commencement of the ruin of French affairs in Spain." And though, from want of support, Wellington was soon obliged, for a time, to retrace his steps, the cause of king Joseph never assumed a favourable appearance after it. That monarch left Madrid to join Marmont on the 21st of July, with 14,000 men; and had reached Blasco Sancho on the 25th, where he received the intelligence of the defeat at Salamanca, and was informed that Clausel was unable to keep the field south of the Douro. He immediately retraced his steps to Madrid; from whence he wrote to the minister of war at Paris, on the 28th, stating that the few troops of the army of the centre under his command, were assembled in the environs of the capital; that "the whole provinces of the centre were evacuated, and even the important positions of the Somo-Sierra and Burgtrago;" and that "unless the emperor could discover means to make the generals of the north, of Aragon, and the south, obey him, Spain was lost, and with it the French army." He also, at the same time, ordered Soult to evacuate Andalusia, and join him. This would have increased his army to 60,000 men; and a further junction with the army of Portugal would, he imagined, constitute a force which Wellington could not resist. As, however, neither the army of Andalusia nor that of Portugal could reach Madrid immediately, and as it was announced to Joseph that Wellington was advancing upon the capital, he found it necessary to leave it. He did so accordingly, directing his march by the Tagus upon Valencia, and giving fresh orders to Soult to retreat by Murcia upon that province, instead of advancing to Madrid. He left that city on the 10th of August; the sick and wounded, who could not be taken away, being placed in the Retiro, which had been strongly fortified by the French, and garrisoned by 2,000 men, under colonel Laffond. Joseph was accompanied by a number of Spaniards who had accepted office under him, or had rallied round him on account of the personal good qualities which he was known to possess, and who were distinguished by the name of *Afrancesados*. At least 2,000 carriages are said to have left Madrid, escorted by the army of the centre; the fugitives and troops amounting to about 24,000 individuals, one-half of whom were provided with arms, whilst the supply of provisions was very scanty. When the king arrived in the neighbourhood of Aranjuez, twenty-eight miles to the south-east of

Madrid, general Treilhorn was sent with a corps of dragoons, to reconnoitre the movements of the allies. He succeeded, on the 11th, in surprising, at Majalahonda, on the banks of the Guadarama torrent, an advanced guard of Wellington's army, and capturing twenty or thirty men and three guns—a success entirely owing to the disgraceful flight of the Portuguese dragoons, who rode off without crossing a sabre, and left their comrades—a regiment of German horse artillery, whose colonel, De Jonquiers, and twenty troopers, were killed—to sustain the charge of a force double their number. The intelligence this officer brought was, that Wellington and the allied army were at the gates of Madrid; and Joseph continued his retreat under the most discouraging circumstances. The inhabitants along the route had fled, and carried off all the stores and provisions; whilst the guerillas hung on the flanks of the fugitives, harassing them in every way, and putting numbers to the sword. On the confines of the province of Valencia, marshal Suchet received Joseph with great respect, notwithstanding his fallen fortunes, and conducted him to the capital, where he arrived on the 1st of September. There he was joined by Soult, who, before he raised the siege of Cadiz and left Andalusia, had sent off a despatch to the emperor, charging the king with being leagued with England, Russia, and Bernadotte, against his brother. This despatch was placed in the hands of the commander of a vessel that sailed from Malaga. Chased by an English corvette, the captain ran his vessel on shore on the Valencian coast, landed, and, unable to forward his despatch, gave it to Suchet, by whom it was handed to Joseph. The king, expecting to find some information relative to the Andalusian army, opened it, and was surprised at its contents. He immediately transmitted it to his brother, protesting against the atrocity of the charges, and demanding the punishment and recall of Soult. The reply, which arrived in due time, was, that the emperor was at too great a distance to give any orders; that a moment might arrive when he could punish Soult if he thought fit to do so; but that that marshal was the only commander in Spain who had a "military head," and that he could not be withdrawn without danger to the army. To colonel Desprez, who took him Joseph's letter, he said, that many of the French generals took the same view as Soult, and thought the king preferred Spain to France.

When Soult arrived at Valencia, he was closeted with Joseph, and was greatly surprised when told of the letter he had written to the emperor. He

* For the battle of Salamanca, Wellington received the title of marquis from the British government, and a grant of £100,000 from the parliament to enable him to support his dignity; and the title of duke of Vittoria, and an

estate of 15,000 dollars annually; from the prince-regent of Portugal. His lordship accepted the title, but declined the estate. Spanish and Portuguese orders of knighthood were also conferred upon him.

contrived to satisfy Joseph by some means, or the latter was afraid to dismiss him from his command; for he remained at the head of the army of Andalusia, retaining all his power. On his arrival at Valencia, frequent consultations were held as to the course which it would be most desirable to pursue, to "make the English expiate their recent triumph by an overwhelming defeat." The three marshals—Jourdain, Suchet, and Soult—had each different plans; but that of Jourdain was adopted. This was, to unite the armies of the south and centre, which would amount to 56,000 men. This force, divided into two columns, was to march to the Tagus; the first column by the La Mancha route, passing Chinchilla, San Clemente, Ocana, and Aranjuez; the second, by the Cuenca route, passing Reguena, Cuenca, and Fuenti-Duena—both uniting at that point on the river where they were to effect the passage, and form a junction with the army of Portugal, now under Clausel. Accordingly, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of October, the two armies left Valencia, in the order, and by the routes, proposed. They were well provided with munitions and provisions; Soult's army never having wanted either, and Joseph's having been supplied in Valencia. No part of Suchet's force was taken from him; and all the Afrancesados, who accompanied Joseph from Madrid, remained in Valencia.

When Wellington gave up his pursuit of Clausel, and retraced his steps towards Madrid, he met with no impediment or mischance on the route, except the affair at Majalahonda; and he entered the capital in triumph on the 12th of August. However Joseph might have succeeded in attaching some persons to his government, the popular feeling at Madrid seemed to run in a direction quite adverse to his pretensions. When the allies entered the capital, Wellington had a perfect ovation. The entire population of the city appeared to have turned into the streets—many of whom strewed green boughs, flowers, and even shawls, under his horse's feet; shouting, "Long live the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo!"* "Long live Wellington!" whilst banners, tapestry, carpets, and garlands, were hung from every balcony. The next day the Retiro was invested by detachments of the 3rd and 7th divisions, under generals Pakenham and Hope; and, on the morning of the 14th, the governor surrendered. The garrison became prisoners of war; and 190 pieces of cannon, 900 barrels of powder, 20,000 stand of arms, 2,000,000 of musket cartridges, and two eagles, were found in the arsenal which the French had established in that fort. Don Carlos d'España was then declared governor of Madrid, in the name of Ferdinand VII.; and the constitution which the cortes had framed, was accepted, as it had previously been at Salamanca. Various successes,

also, attended almost simultaneously the Spanish arms. Guadalaxara, and its garrison of 700 men, surrendered to L'Empecinado; Astorga, which had been long besieged, was given up, and 1,200 prisoners taken; the French in Toro, Tordesillas, and Zamora, were closely blockaded; Jorden capitulated; the castle of Mirabete was blown up and evacuated; and Drouet, who had been, with 23,000 men, at Santa Martha, observing Hill's corps, which was too strongly intrenched for him to attack, retreated towards the Sierra Morena, followed by Hill, who eventually occupied Toledo, Yepes, and Aranjuez, covering the right of the main army, and the road from the south of Spain to Madrid.

But it was not long before Wellington's doubts as to the permanence of his successes, were proved to be well founded. He was disappointed in the expected co-operation of lord William Bentinck, his descent being made too late to be of any use in causing a diversion of the French forces: and, though general Maitland landed in Alicante, he had too small a corps to produce any effect. It was also ascertained that the French in the south were concentrating, whilst Clausel had been considerably reinforced in the north. The French troops still outnumbered the English, four or five to one; but their division, as Bessières had stated, had rendered them unable to effect those services which the emperor expected of them. They were now concentrating towards Madrid, and Wellington found the Spanish government in that capital quite unable to provide any resources for the campaign. A loan of £480,000 was promised; but such was the poverty of the inhabitants, that scarcely any of it was realised. The Spaniards, indeed, were evincing a degree of thoughtlessness which was scarcely to be expected. Whilst the poorer classes of Madrid were obtaining support from a soup-kitchen, established for them by the British officers, and which, Sir William Napier tells us, "rescued hundreds from an untimely death"—the rich, thinking the war at an end, were giving themselves up to feasts and bull-fights; and even the guerillas were returning home, or quietly settling down in the large towns, and endeavouring to realise the plunder they had collected. Thus Wellington found that the whole weight of the contest would fall upon the English; and as he expected reinforcements from England, which were to disembark at Corunna, and join him on the Douro, he resolved to move his army in that direction, and make the north the base of his future operations. He therefore left at Madrid two divisions of the British army, which had been the most exposed, and stood the most in need of repose; directed lord Hill to occupy Aranjuez, for the purpose of covering the capital; and ordered the British and Portuguese troops, who were at Cadiz, to proceed by sea to Lisbon, and from thence to march to the north, to

* A title conferred upon him by the Spanish regency.

co-operate with his army and the guards, and other reinforcements which were expected from England. His lordship himself, with four divisions, left Madrid on the 1st of September, for Valladolid.

Clausel had succeeded, by collecting the garrisons of Benavente, Zamora, and Toro, and the numerous stragglers that had wandered all over the country, in rendering the army of Portugal once more efficient, though still weak in numbers; and he had advanced some way in the direction of the capital. But he found himself unequal to contend with the British; and as Wellington pushed on to the south, he fell back successively upon Valladolid, Burgos, Briviesca, and the Ebro. Wellington arrived at Valladolid on the 7th of September; the rear-guard of the French being driven out by the advanced guard of the British. The latter followed the retiring enemy; and at Palencia, 114 miles north-west of Madrid, Wellington was joined by the Spanish army of Santocildes. His lordship had been promised 30,000 men from this source; but only 12,000, badly disciplined and badly clothed, joined the army; not more than 350 being cavalry—an arm especially wanted.

From Valladolid, Wellington directed his march on Burgos—a fine old city, formerly the capital of Old Castile, 130 miles north of Madrid. Clausel, who had broken down all the bridges which cross the numerous mountain streams in that part of Spain, and thus considerably retarded the progress of the British, at first evinced an intention to make a stand before Burgos; but not deeming his force sufficient to give battle, he continued his route, and Wellington determined to take the castle of Burgos; as, that fortress in his possession, he could have taken up his winter quarters on the banks of the Ebro. The castle was an ancient edifice, going back to the days of Moorish supremacy. It stood upon a height, at the foot of which the city was built. Two strongly intrenched lines, armed with numerous heavy cannon, had been constructed round the walls; and, on a height, called St. Michael, a hornwork was raised, which commanded the position of the castle. If Wellington had had a siege-train with him, this fortress would soon have been in his possession; but he had only some 16-pounders, which the guerillas of Avila and Biscay had received from the English fleet, and conveyed, with great labour, to Burgos. When operations were commenced, these guns were soon dismounted and silenced by the heavy artillery of the castle; and though the hornwork of St. Michael was carried in the night of the 19th of September, several assaults, made between the 22nd of that month and the 19th of October, were repulsed with great loss to the assailants.

Wellington now learned, not only that the army of Clausel had been reinforced by general

Souham and 10,000 men—which general took the command, Clausel being compelled to retire, from the effects of an old wound—but that general Caffarelli had also arrived with 12,000; and that the armies of the centre and the south were marching on Madrid. His lordship, therefore, after well weighing the difficulties of his position, resolved to retire behind the Douro; sending orders to Hill to evacuate Madrid, and join him at Salamanca, if he found that he could not defend the capital against the large French force advancing upon it. If Ballasteros, who was at the head of one of the finest set of men, and the best equipped that Spain could boast, had acted cordially with Wellington, this backward movement might have been avoided; but he refused to serve under the orders of the English general, for which the cortes deprived him of his command. But the mischief was done. His inactivity had permitted the junction of the two armies, which, 60,000 strong, were advancing from the south; and the army of Portugal consisted of 45,000 men. Wellington could not stand against the enormous odds; and, on the 21st of October, the siege of Burgos was raised.

Madrid was evacuated by the British on the 2nd of November, “amidst,” we are told, “the frequent tears and mournful silence of the inhabitants; a dense mass of whom—men, women, and children—followed the troops for miles, bewailing their departure.” On the same day, Joseph and marshal Jourdain, whose army had reached the Tagus on the 30th of October, re-entered the capital; and the French authorities say, that the inhabitants, “disgusted by the pride of the English,” received Joseph well and favourably. Most likely the feasting, bull-fighting gentry had received some intimations from the English, that their conduct was not what might have been expected. Jealousies may have arisen with them; and they, probably, were glad to see the easily-pleased king return; whilst those who followed the British, mourning their departure, were the poor, who had been preserved from starvation by their benevolence. However this may be, Joseph had no difficulty in re-establishing his authority; and on the 4th, at the head of 60,000 men, he left Madrid in pursuit of the British, taking the route of the Guadarama pass, the same that Hill had followed. L’Empecinado, and two other guerilla chiefs, immediately seized the capital, driving out the garrison, which, with all the helpless dependents of the army, had to follow the route of the king. Joseph, on the 7th, in the environs of the Douro, effected a junction with the army of Portugal—lessened by the withdrawal of Caffarelli, with his 10,000 men, whose services were necessary against Mina, De Longa, Merino, Porlier, and other guerilla chiefs, now again in activity. The force under Joseph’s command, however,

numbered 95,000 men*—"the best troops in the world," according to Thiers; whilst Wellington, even when reinforced by Hill, had not more than 80,000, British, Spaniards, and Portuguese, to oppose him. The large French force, confident of victory, advanced against the British by the route followed by Marmont previously to the battle of Salamanca; the object being, to turn the Salamanca position, and to place themselves upon the British commander's line of communications.

Wellington's retreat from Burgos had been attended with great hardships; and in its course, several sharp affairs between the cavalry of his army, and that of the army of Portugal, took place. But he succeeded, on the 8th of November, in effecting a junction with Hill's corps; and, whilst the latter was posted at Alba de Tormes, a small town on the Tormes, fourteen miles south-west of Salamanca, Wellington took post on the famous position of the Arapeiles. According to Thiers, the French generals again disputed as to the best mode of attack. There was only a feeble detachment at Calvarossa de Ariba, to connect the main army with Hill. The latter had 15,000 men at Alba; and Wellington had 52,000 British and Portuguese, including 4,000 cavalry, at the Arapeiles. There were also 14,000 Spaniards, upon whom, as experience had unfortunately shown, no reliance could be placed. His lordship had, also, in that position, eighty-nine guns. Jourdain, who had reconnoitred this position, advised the king to advance between the English generals, and cut off Hill and his 15,000; whilst Soult was for crossing the Tormes above Alba, and, turning the English position, compel them to resign it. The king, and most of the generals, approved of Jourdain's suggestion; but, ultimately, out of respect to Soult, his was adopted, and he was ordered to carry it into execution; the command of the army of the centre, that he might have ample force, being placed in his hands; and that of Portugal in the hands of the count d'Erlon. "On the 13th of November," says Thiers, "the French crossed the Tormes above Alba, and advanced as far as Nuestra Senora de Retiro. Marshal Soult had 50,000 men with him, and expected, on the following day, to pursue the forward movement uninterruptedly." That day the British commenced their retreat. They had waited some days; but, not being attacked, Wellington had sent the baggage through Salamanca; and, in the morning of the 14th, the British defiled nearly within cannon-shot of the enemy, their flank, several miles in length, being as exposed as Marmont's left wing was on the day of the battle of Salamanca. But whilst the two armies were in this position, a violent storm of rain, accompanied by a thick mist, came on, and continued for two hours. During that time no

* Thiers says 88,000; Belmas, that "the three united armies mustered 95,000 combatants."

objects could be distinguished at the distance of more than a few yards: when it cleared off, the British had safely passed the spot of danger; and the French, then attained to their full strength, saw them *en route* for Ciudad Rodrigo. Then there was mingled confusion and irritation amongst the troops under Soult, each general blaming the other for the escape of the enemy. A pursuit was made, and continued till the 16th. It produced nothing but the capture of 3,000 or 4,000 stragglers. Joseph, on the 17th, re-entered Madrid, the guerillas retiring on his approach; and, soon after, he placed his army in cantonments for the winter; the army of Portugal, in Castile; that of the centre, in the environs of Madrid; and that of Andalusia, on the Tagus, between Aranjuez and Talavera.

The retreat of the British from the Arapeiles to Ciudad Rodrigo, occupied three days, during which the distress of the troops was very great, the disorders frightful, and the loss considerable. The weather continued extremely inclement; storms of wind and rain succeeding each other the entire way. The men always yielded to intoxication at night; and, when at Ciudad Rodrigo, lord Wellington issued a very severe order on the subject. Shortly after his arrival the troops were put into winter cantonments, on the Coa and the Agueda, the left being at Lamego; the right (under Hill) at Bejar, holding the pass of Banos; and the head-quarters at Frenada.

"Such" says Thiers, "was the disastrous Spanish campaign of 1812, which, after having begun by the loss of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, was signalised by the loss of the battle of Salamanca, and ended with the retreat from Madrid, the evacuation of Andalusia, and the disgrace of permitting 40,000 or 50,000 English to escape from 85,000 or 90,000 French troops, posted on their line of communication." But this was not the entire result of the operations, which, as the English had eventually to retire to the frontiers, at a first glance, might have appeared disastrous to them. The ground lost by the French in this campaign was never recovered. Not only was Andalusia evacuated, but Murcia and Granada also. Asturias and Estremadura, from that time, remained undisturbed in the possession of the Spaniards; the imperial standards no more crossed the Sierra Morena; and we heard no more of "driving the English out of Portugal, and into the sea." The whole coast, from Corunna to Guetario, was in the hands of the allies; and the fame of the British army and of their general resounded through all Europe. The effect in Germany was electric. It revived, in connection with the events in the north, both hope and courage; and on all sides was heard the exclamation, that the star of Napoleon had set. But there were greater disasters yet in store for him and for France.

CHAPTER XVI.

CAMPAIGN IN THE PENINSULA, 1813-'14; WELLINGTON APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE SPANISH ARMIES; STRENGTH OF THE ALLIES AND THE FRENCH ARMIES; THE BRITISH IN VALENCIA; AFFAIR OF THE BIAR PASS; SIR J. MURRAY AT TARRAGONA; THE FRENCH AND THE GUERRILLAS; WELLINGTON CROSSES THE DOURO; THE FRENCH AT VITTORIA; BATTLE OF VITTORIA; ITS RESULTS; SIEGE OF SAN SEBASTIAN; SOULT APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE FRENCH ARMIES; STRENGTH AND STATIONS OF THAT ARMY, AND OF THE ALLIES; BATTLE OF THE PYRENEES; CAPTURE OF SAN SEBASTIAN, AND SURRENDER OF PAMPELUNA; FRENCH POSITIONS; BATTLE OF THE NIVELLE; FRENCH ATTACKS ON THE ENGLISH POSITIONS DEFEATED; THE ALLIES IN WINTER QUARTERS; POSITION OF SOULT; ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES INTO FRANCE; BATTLE OF ORTHES; PURSUIT OF THE FRENCH; THE WHITE COCKADE HOISTED AT BORDEAUX; THE FRENCH RETIRE TO TOULOUSE; BATTLE OF TOULOUSE; MOVEMENTS IN CATALONIA; SORTIE FROM BAYONNE; CONCLUSION OF THE WAR; WELLINGTON; JOSEPH.

SOON after Wellington had fixed his head-quarters at Frenada, the cortes at Cadiz offered to invest him with the supreme command of all the Spanish armies. His brother, the honourable Henry Wellesley, then ambassador at Cadiz, strongly urged him not to accept the offer, as the troops were all in such an inefficient state of discipline, and the officers had never acted cordially together. Having, however, so long experienced the evils resulting from divided command, and being well aware of what might have been effected if he could have directed the movements of the Spanish forces, his lordship resolved to accept the highly responsible trust, provided the cortes would agree to his demands. These were—"That officers should be appointed to command solely on his recommendation; that he should be invested with the absolute power of dismissal; and that the resources of the state, which were applicable to the pay and support of the troops, should be applied as he might direct." As the cortes demurred, and seemed inclined to refuse to acquiesce in these terms, Wellington went to Cadiz, where he arrived on the 24th of December, 1812. Soon afterwards, the news of the French disasters in Russia arrived, which inspired the Spanish legislature and people with fresh hopes. The former at once agreed to invest Wellington with the authority he demanded; and, by his advice, the Spanish forces were divided into four armies and two reserves. The first, comprising from 6,000 to 8,000 men, under general Copons, was stationed in Andalusia. The second, 20,000 strong, under Elio, in Murcia. The third, Ballasteros' army of the Sierra Morena, numbering 12,000 men, was placed under the duke del Parque. The fourth, comprising the divisions of Murillo and Carlos d'Espana, under the command of Castanos, was attached to the British and Portuguese army on the Ebro. It was, in numbers (40,000) and discipline, decidedly the most effective Spanish force in the field. The first reserve, nominally of 15,000 men, under the conde d'Abisbal (created captain-general of Andalusia), was stationed in that province and in Granada. The second reserve, of about 10,000

men, under Lacy, was stationed near San Roque. The Spaniards were to be supported by the Anglo-Sicilian army (10,000 English troops, and the German legion of 6,000), under Sir John Murray, which was shortly expected, and was to be stationed near Alicante. These arrangements completed, Wellington sailed for Lisbon, and from thence repaired to his head-quarters, where he arrived at the end of January, 1813.

There was a revolutionary democratic party in Spain, who did not look upon Wellington's elevation with complacency. They made the most ridiculous charges against him; even intimating that he wanted to make himself king of Spain; and doing all in their power to impede his operations. His lordship, however, disregarded all the malice of his enemies; and, ably aided by marshal Beresford and Sir Charles Stuart (subsequently lord Stuart de Rothesay), he applied himself to improving the condition of his army. In May, the Anglo-Portuguese army on the Coa, comprised 38,000 British infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 90 guns; and 31,000 Portuguese. Thus Wellington had nearly 200,000 men under his command.

The king, though his army had been considerably reduced by drafts into Germany, had, under the command of himself and the marshals, in the spring of 1813, 202,000 infantry and artillery, and 29,000 cavalry; but, deducting invalids, there were only 197,000 in the field. They had lost, perhaps, their best general, Soult being ordered to Germany by the emperor in February, in consequence of the representations of Joseph, who wrote to his brother, saying, that either the duke of Dalmatia or himself must quit Spain. The marshals who remained, however, do not appear to have acted more harmoniously with the king; as we find him, when writing, on the 1st of April, to the minister of war, still complaining that they would not obey him. Of these marshals, Suchet had the largest division of the French force (68,000 men) with him in Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia. That general himself, at the head of 40,000 men, occupied an intrenched camp behind the Xucar, or Jucar; his principal

magazines and military stores being transferred to Saguntum. The camp was constructed in a double range of mountains at Xativa and Moxente; and, from its position, was very strong.

The campaign of 1813 commenced in this part of the Peninsula. Sir John Murray had landed at Alicante in February, and formed a junction with Elio, with whom he marched to Suchet's camp, which they found too strong to attack. A division was therefore dispatched under general Roche, with orders to sail from Alicante to Valencia, and endeavour to take that city, and concentrate the bulk of his troops at Castalla, twenty-four miles north-west of Alicante. Before any attempt could be made on Valencia, however, lord William Bentinck—who had returned to Sicily, after his ineffective descent on the Spanish coast in the previous year—alarmed at the state of that island, and apprehensive of an invasion by Murat—recalled that part of the force which had been detached under Roche. Suchet then determined to take the offensive; and after several days spent in marching and counter-marching, he defeated the advanced guard of Elio's army at Yecla, making 1,500 prisoners, and killing 200. The same day, the garrison of Villena, twelve miles from Alicante, was made prisoners, Elio having refused to evacuate the place, though strongly advised to do so by Sir John Murray. The latter then withdrew his army through the rugged defile of Biar, near the town of that name. There they were followed by Suchet. The rear-guard, under colonel Adams, which was stationed in front of the pass, was attacked, and obliged to fall back, which it did fighting bravely, with the loss of two guns. The British main body crossed the heights; but the defeat of his rear-guard, and the superior number of the French, alarmed Murray, who gave orders to retreat. Before those orders could be carried out, the French commenced an attack; the assailants were repulsed, with immense loss, by the bravery of the English and Germans; and Suchet withdrew his men, who retreated by the pass through which they had advanced, in great confusion. They were vigorously attacked by quartermaster-general (afterwards Sir Rufane) Donkin; but, for some unaccountable reason, Murray arrested the pursuit, and Suchet was enabled to carry off his guns and ammunition waggons; but he left 1,800 dead behind him. Murray's force being much reduced by the recall of Roche's division, he did not resume offensive operations till June. In May, admiral Hallowell arrived off Alicante; and having secured his co-operation, Sir John Murray embarked his troops on the 31st of May, landed near Tarragona on the 3rd of June, and commenced the siege of that fortress. A detachment of his force, under colonel Prevost, at the same time invested San Felipe de Bala-

guer, a strong fort, on a lofty rock, commanding the carriage-road from Tortosa to Tarragona. This fort was surrendered immediately, and its garrison of 260 men were made prisoners. But Murray, though personally brave, wanted the genius to plan, and the daring to execute, great things. The siege of Tarragona languished; and hearing that 8,000 French, under Maurice Mathieu, were advancing from Barcelona, and that Suchet was approaching from Valencia, he resolved to raise the siege, though he had 20,000 troops with him, more than 10,000 of whom were British and Germans. The movement was made with such precipitation on the 12th and 13th of June, that the fine siege-train of nineteen guns was abandoned, greatly to the disgust of the soldiers. The British landed at Alicante; and, on the 27th of June, lord William Bentinck arrived and took the command.

While these events were taking place in Valencia, Clausel, recovered from his wound, took the command of about 20,000 men, detached from the army of Portugal, and proceeded into Biscay, where the guerillas had obtained great successes; having completely intercepted the communication from Bayonne to Madrid, occupied Castro, and besieged Bilbao. Napoleon, notwithstanding the difficulties in which the events of 1812 had involved him, and the many affairs in connection with the approaching campaign in Germany that engaged his attention, found time to write to both Joseph and Clausel, and give them directions as to the course they should adopt against the guerillas—or “the brigands” as the French termed them—and the allied army. He ordered Joseph to “hold Madrid and Valencia only as points of observation;” to “fix his head-quarters, not as monarch, but as general of the French forces, at Valladolid;” and “to concentrate the armies of the centre, of Portugal, and the south, around him.” The allies, he said, “could not make any serious offensive movement for several months; and he must avail himself of their forced inactivity, to put down the insurrection in the northern provinces.” To Clausel, he wrote—“Attack suddenly; pursue rapidly; aim at the Spaniards' magazines, depôts of arms, and hospitals; disorganise the insurrection, and one or two successes will pacify the whole country.” Clausel acted upon this advice, and succeeded in raising the siege of Bilbao, dispersing Mina's corps, and carrying Castro by storm. Mina, however, soon rallied again, and destroyed two regiments of French cavalry near Lerina; and though Foy, by attacking the depôts and magazines of the Biscayan guerillas, succeeded in destroying three numerous and effective battalions, the success was counterbalanced in another quarter—the guerillas being enabled, by the absence of the main body of the French army engaged in the above operations, to capture

most of the blockhouses on the high-road from Bayonne to Burgos, putting their garrisons to the sword.

Joseph was not idle whilst Clausel and Foy were engaged in Biscay and Navarre. As directed by his brother, he left Madrid, and established his head-quarters at Valladolid, from whence he sent large detachments to those generals; thus weakening his own army, at a time when Wellington was preparing for his offensive movement. That general put his army in motion on the 1st of May. Five divisions, under Sir Thomas Graham, were ordered to cross the Douro, and move through the *Tras-os-Montes* upon Zamora, 31 miles N.N.W. of Salamanca. Sir Rowland Hill was sent to cross the mountains of Estremadura, and descend on the Tormes; whilst Wellington, with two divisions of British troops, a corps of Spaniards, and a strong cavalry brigade, advanced upon Salamanca. All these movements were successfully executed, notwithstanding the difficulties of the route, especially that by the *Tras-os-Montes*. That district is wild and mountainous. The roads, at the time, were bad and narrow, the ravines of great depth, and the ascents from many of the streams which intersect the country, were so steep, that the artillery could only be drawn up with ropes. All difficulties, however, were overcome by the spirit and enterprise of the men; the line of the Douro was turned—which the French had believed impracticable; and the troops who occupied the defensive works on that river, were obliged to retire; they fell back upon Morales, after destroying the bridges at Zamora and Toro. Colonel Grant overtook the rear-guard, broke it, and besides killing many, took 200 prisoners.—On the 3rd of June, the allied army was united on the right bank of the Douro. When the marquis of Wellington passed this stream—which, in that direction, is the frontier of the two countries—he felt so confident of ultimate success, that, as soon as his horse stepped on Spanish ground, he rose in his stirrups, took off his hat, and waving an adieu to the land he had left, exclaimed, “Farewell Portugal!”—Simultaneously with the advance of the British, the Spaniards, under the duke del Parque, advanced from the Sierra Morena, into La Mancha; and the Andalusian reserve marched to the bridge of Almaraz, in order to threaten Madrid. Thus the attention of the French was divided, and that concentration of their forces, which could alone have prevented Wellington’s strategy from being carried out, was rendered impossible.

These movements, planned by the British general, and effectively performed, are classed amongst the most brilliant operations of the war. The appearance of the allies on the right bank of the Douro startled the French generals, and Valladolid was immediately evacuated. The

army fell back on Burgos, where it halted for a few days.—On the 4th of June, the allies entered Valladolid; on the 7th and 8th they crossed the Carrion, in pursuit of the enemy, whom Hill’s division and the cavalry encountered on the 12th, on the heights of Harmoza. They were commanded by count Reille; and being obliged to retire, on the 13th Burgos was evacuated; the entire French army retreating on Miranda, forty miles to the north-east of the former place. Before they left, they sprung mines and lighted matches, expecting they would explode as the British entered; but, writes an officer who was present, “the hurry, and fear, and confusion with which their preparations were made, defeated this malignant purpose. The explosion took place sooner than was expected; and the consequences fell upon the French, and not the British. Many who remained to plunder, perished, as they were lingering to load their horses in the streets and squares: 300 or 400 were blown up in the fort; and the castle was entirely destroyed.” So many of the mines failed, that the town escaped.

Wellington continued his march on the 14th and 15th of June. The enemy had retired to strong positions on the Ebro. Avoiding this route, he made a detour to their left, and conducted his army by a road the French deemed impracticable, therefore left undefended. By this road he reached Puente de Arenas, near the sources of the river; and on the 18th, before Joseph had the least idea of the approach of the allies, he learned that two of his brigades had been attacked, and lost 300 men, with their arms and baggage. The same day, Jourdain attacked Sir Thomas Graham at Osma; but he was driven back. That night the French took up a strong position behind the river Bayas, with their right on the village of Sabijana, and their left on the heights. This position Wellington attacked on the 19th, at the head of two divisions of his army. He forced the French posted there to retire upon the main body; and Joseph gave orders to fall still further back, concentrating all the men he had about him, or to whom he could dispatch messengers, on Vittoria.

Vittoria, the capital of the province of Alava, is situated in a valley, surrounded, on every side, by high grounds; and, in the distance, the Pyrenees are visible. Joseph posted his army in front of this city. It occupied a line nearly eight miles in extent; the centre covering a range of hills on the left bank of the Zadorra; the right being posted on elevated ground, overlooking the villages of Abechucho and Gamarra Mayor; and their extreme left on the lofty heights of La Puebla. Part of this wing—touching the left centre—occupied formidable ridges above the village of Sabijana de Alava. In the rear of the centre, at the village of Gomecha, a strong reserve was posted: in front

of the centre ran the Zadorra, the banks of which were lined with light troops. The bridges across that river were fortified; and a wood between the centre and the right wing was also occupied by light troops. The centre was defended by enormous batteries of field artillery; and earthworks were thrown up and armed with guns, to defend many points of this position, the importance of which may be estimated, from the fact, that there the three great roads from Logrono, Madrid, and Bilbao united, and from thence extended, in one uninterrupted line, to Bayonne. The position was in itself strong; and marshal Jourdain had taken advantage of every salient point; but it was too extensive for the number of men under his command. The immense convoys which accompanied the army—the enormous trains of equipage and baggage—and the grand dépôt which was planted there—all calling for protection, also lessened the means of defence.

The 20th of June was spent by the French in strengthening their position: by Wellington in making a careful *reconnaissance*. This done, the plan of attack for the next day was arranged. The army was ordered to be formed into three divisions. The right—comprising Sir William Stewart's division, the Portuguese division, under the conde d'Amarante, and a Spanish division, under Murillo—was commanded by Sir Rowland Hill: the centre, composed of the divisions of Sir Lowry Cole, the earl of Dalhousie, Sir Thomas Picton, and baron Alten, was led by Wellington himself: the left included the first division, general Oswald's, Longa's Spaniards, and two brigades of cavalry. This wing was under Sir Thomas Graham. The right wing was destined to storm the heights of La Puebla; the centre, to attack Vittoria in front and flank; and the left wing, to turn the French right, cross the Zadorra, and occupy the Bayonne road. That night the British army bivouacked on the Bayas. The next morning, the troops on both sides were in motion with the dawn. The French had 70,000 men in position: the allies numbered about 75,000. Wellington took his post, as soon as the allies began to move, on a lofty hill in front of the village of Arinez; from whence, with his glass, he could survey the entire field of battle, and direct the movements of the troops as circumstances might require: and Joseph, about the same time, attended by a numerous staff, and protected by his body-guard, placed himself on an eminence which commanded his right and centre. He nominally commanded; but all the dispositions had been made by marshal Jourdain, who chose the ground on which the stand was to be made.

The "battle of Vittoria" was commenced by the Spanish division, under Murillo, ascending the heights of La Puebla. They pressed forward gallantly, and many fell. Murillo was

wounded; and Sir Rowland Hill ordered colonel Cadogan and the 71st regiment to support him. That gallant officer fell at the head of his corps, of whom 400 were put *hors de combat*; but they carried the heights. Colonel O'Callaghan's brigade then assaulted the village of Sabijana, and carried it after a determined resistance. As it covered the left of their centre, the French made many attempts to retake that post; but all failed, though the British were greatly annoyed from the enemy's *tirailleurs*, who lined the ravines in the heights above, and the wood to the left of the village. Shortly after the right wing was in action, the divisions of the centre crossed the Zadorra—some by the bridge of Nanclures, others by those of Tres Puentes and Mendoza; and forming rapidly on the left bank of the river, advanced against the right of the French centre, while its left was exposed to a flank attack by a part of the allied right, led by Sir Rowland Hill. The attack on this part of the enemy's line was also successful, and it fell back on Vittoria. The only point where the allies received a check was at the village of Arinez, where the 88th regiment was repulsed in an attempt to storm it. The French fought desperately; and, for a brief space, the fortune of the day in that spot alone was in suspense. But Wellington ordered up the 45th and 74th, who ascended the height on which the village stood, drove out the French at the point of the bayonet, and Arinez was won. At another point of this attack, a British brigade (Colville's) had defeated and thrown back a French corps quite equal in numbers, and was pushing on, flushed with victory, and with great impetuosity, when two lines of French infantry arrested their progress. It was supposed they must be crushed; but the men rushed on—the French could not withstand their onset; and they swept "before them the formidable array that, circumstanced as they were, appeared calculated to produce annihilation." The left wing was equally successful in carrying out the movement entrusted to it. Two villages, Gamarra Mayor and Abechicho, were assaulted and carried, and the bridges they commanded left in possession of the victors. The entire French line was now driven back on Vittoria; but it was not yet broken: on the contrary, it presented an imposing front, protected by upwards of eighty pieces of artillery. For an hour the battle raged; the tremendous discharges from the enemy's artillery checking the advance of the allies—the great brunt of the action falling on the division known as Picton's "fighting 3rd." But though the French fought well, they were eventually obliged to retire; and when they did give way, intense confusion soon prevailed. No sooner did they begin to fall back a second time, and the allies were seen to have passed Vittoria in pursuit, than Sir Thomas Graham crossed the

Zadorra, and occupied the road to Bayonne, leaving that to Pampeluna alone open for the fugitives, who, driven through Vittoria, never made an attempt to rally. Many of the infantry, throwing away their muskets, fled to Pampeluna, which they reached, utterly broken and completely routed. Joseph himself escaped with difficulty. He had entered his coach; and being recognised, captain Wyndham made a dash at the vehicle, at the head of a squadron of the 10th hussars. Before they reached it, Joseph got out; and throwing himself into the midst of a body of horse, rode off at full speed, and distanced his pursuers. His coach was taken.

The pursuit was kept up till dark; and as the horse artillery joined in it, and fired upon the enemy when they had an opportunity, many fell. Two leagues from Vittoria, lord Wellington, who had followed the flying foe with his advanced guard, ordered a halt for the night; and the allied troops, who had been sixteen hours under arms, were able to form some estimate of the victory they had won. Never was an army so completely beaten; never, probably, did victors in a battle-field ever attain so valuable a booty. The French were enabled to carry off with them only one gun and one howitzer: 151 pieces of cannon were captured, with twenty tons of powder, 12,000 rounds of ammunition for artillery, 2,000,000 musket cartridges; the military chest, containing more than £1,000,000 in coined money (a larger sum than Joseph had ever possessed before); an immense quantity of baggage, augmented by the plunder of Madrid, Salamanca, and other places, and comprising pictures, tapestry, plate, jewellery—in fact, everything that was valuable and portable. Joseph's carriage was filled with choice pictures, collected from the Escorial, and other royal palaces. These Wellington would have restored to Ferdinand when he returned to his kingdom; but his majesty refused to receive them, and they now adorn the walls of Apsley House. There were also many ladies with the army; who, falling into the hands of the British, were at once set at liberty; but their baggage was despoiled, and their "well-stocked trunks were ransacked by many a marvelling trooper and camp-follower, who had never before had unfolded to their view the various resources in which ladies at times confide, 'to make them beautiful, or keep them neat:'" and the common soldiers were seen making a somewhat curious use of the articles which had furnished the toilette-tables of the fair captives. The countess Gazan, and many wives of the French officers, were amongst the prisoners. Their carriages were rescued from the spoil, and they were sent, next day, with a flag of truce, to Pampeluna. In men, the French lost, according to their own returns, more than 8,000; 1,000 of

* Yonge's *Life of Wellington*: 1860.

whom were prisoners. The allied loss was as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.
British	500	2,800
Portuguese	150	900
Spaniards	89	460
Total	739	4,160

The battle of Vittoria, though it did not put an end to the war, entirely destroyed any hopes that Joseph might have entertained of establishing himself on the throne of Spain; and some of its immediate results were of great significance. Six days after the battle, on the 27th of June, Madrid was finally evacuated by the French; and all the authorities of that nation, with those few Spaniards who had become Joseph's partisans, abandoned Old and New Castile, transporting themselves to the other side of the Ebro with the least possible delay. General Clausel had left Logrono, on the 21st, with 14,000 men, and arrived at Vittoria after the battle, when it was in possession of the British. He immediately retired by Logrono, Calahorra, and Tudela, upon Saragossa, pursued by 18,000 of the allies, under Wellington, who marched by Tafalla, upon Logrono; whilst 12,000 made for that town, on the side of Salvatierra. Clausel, by making a forced march of sixty miles in forty hours, escaped entire destruction, though a Spanish force, under Mina, hung upon his rear, and obliged him to abandon a considerable portion of his artillery and baggage; also the garrison of a redoubt, who were made prisoners. At length he succeeded, passing by Jaca, the frontier town of Spain in that direction, in threading the passes of the Pyrenees, and re-entering France. The fugitives from Vittoria—leaving a garrison of 6,000 men in Pampeluna, which was immediately blockaded by the British—retreated into France by the pass of Roncesvalles. They were pursued by a division of the allied force, under Sir Rowland Hill; and with only one gun, scarcely any ammunition, no baggage, no military chest, and all their papers of every description lost, no troops ever made a more melancholy retreat. After suffering some loss on the way, they also succeeded in re-entering their native country. On the 7th, Joseph Bonaparte, who, with a part of the force from Vittoria, had halted in the valley of San Estevan, was driven from that position by Hill and lord Dalhousie, and also retired into France, establishing his head-quarters at St. Jean Pied-de-Port. General Foy, who was in the neighbourhood of Durango when the battle of Vittoria was fought, no sooner heard of that event, than he collected all the small garrisons in Lower Biscay, and retreated in the direction of San Sebastian. Sir Thomas Graham was sent in pursuit; and both armies arrived at Tolosa on the same day. The French entered first. Foy

was thus enabled to barricade the streets before the British appeared, and to make a defence of several hours; which gave time for his convoys to cross the Bidassoa, and escape into France. At nightfall Foy abandoned Tolosa, retreating to Irun; and, a day or two after, he followed his convoys. In the same early days of July, the forts of Passages surrendered to Longa; Castro and Guetario were evacuated; and Pancorvo was stormed and taken by the conde d'Abisbal, who had come to the scene of action with the army of reserve from Andalusia. Thus the campaign of Vittoria had been attended with the most brilliant results. The invaders had, in three months, been deprived of all their advantages; all their strongholds, except Santona, Pampeluna, and San Sebastian, and the fortresses in Catalonia, which Napoleon ordered Suchet not to give up, had been taken, or had surrendered; the wreck of the splendid armies which had invaded the Peninsula, with the exception of the garrisons of those places, and a small force, still under Suchet on the Ebro, had retired into France; and Wellington held the passes of the Pyrenees on the side of Spain.—At this time—fearful lest the cortes should resort to rash measures of confiscating the property of the *Afrancesados* or *Juramentados*, as the adherents of Joseph were called—the British general, in an eloquent letter to Don Juan O'Donju, the Spanish minister of war, forcibly urged the government to consider the circumstances of the contest, during which “all men must have imagined that it was impossible for the powers of the Peninsula, although aided by Great Britain, to withstand the colossal power by which they were assailed, and nearly overcome;” and recommended that a general amnesty, with certain exceptions, should be granted.

The siege of Pampeluna and San Sebastian now occupied the attention of lord Wellington. The blockade of the former, commenced immediately after the battle of Vittoria, was continued, and entrusted to the conde d'Abisbal—redoubts being thrown up within 1,500 yards of the fortress, and armed with the cannon taken at Vittoria. San Sebastian, on the 7th of July, was invested by Sir Thomas Graham. It was the strongest place in Spain. A low sandy peninsula curves nearly round the bay, which forms the harbour of San Sebastian, one side being washed by the river Urumea. The peninsula is terminated, next the sea, by a craggy conical hill, called Mount Orgullo, whose base is washed by the ocean; and, on its summit, is an old castle, called La Mota. At the foot of this hill, extending to the coast, the town is built; and, at high water, the Urumea covers four feet of the scarp, being only fordable for a short time before the tide reaches its height, and for an equally brief period after it has receded. Naturally difficult to approach, the artificial defences

rendered San Sebastian, when the British general, with 10,000 men, set down before it, nearly impregnable. It was not till the 14th of July that an effective bombardment could take place. On the 17th, two of the outworks were carried by assault; on the 25th, two breaches were effected; and a mine, driven under the glacis, being exploded, an assault took place. The storming parties, during the confusion caused by the explosion of the mine, gained the breaches; but the garrison were enabled to pour upon them such an overwhelming fire of grape and musketry, that they were obliged to retire, after losing 600 men, killed and wounded. Two days after—the losses of the British and Portuguese then amounting to 204 killed, 774 wounded, and 300 missing—Wellington raised the siege, converting it into a blockade.

He took this step because another French army was approaching, with a view to force the passes of the Pyrenees. Napoleon was at Dresden when he received the intelligence of the defeat of Jourdain at Vittoria; and he ordered Soult to repair to Bayonne, to take the command of all the French forces which could be collected there, as lieutenant-general of the emperor, and, if possible, force his way back into Spain. He arrived at Bayonne on the 13th of July, and soon took measures for reorganising the *débris* of the discomfited armies assembled there, and for throwing up strong redoubts and bastions round the town. While Wellington was staying at Lezaca, superintending the blockade of Pampeluna, and Sir Thomas Graham was besieging San Sebastian, Soult succeeded in collecting and concentrating a numerous army, which he divided into the right wing, under count Reille, of 21,330 men; the centre (23,935) under Drouet, count d'Erlon; the left wing (20,265) under lieutenant-general Clausel; a reserve (17,929), under general Villatte; and 7,621 cavalry, under general Pierre Soult: here was a force of 91,080 men, to which eighty-six guns were attached. There were also several small detached corps: raising the entire force to 122,016 men, of whom, 104,710 were returned “effective.” These were exclusive of Suchet's army, estimated at more than 60,000. With this force—having provided for the defence of Bayonne—Soult occupied all the northern outlets of the passes of the Pyrenees, from that of Roncesvalles on the east, to the Bidassoa on the west; establishing his head-quarters at Ascaïn. He then, on the 22nd of July, issued a proclamation to his army, quite in the style of the emperor—in which he attributed all their disasters to the faults of the commanders, whose “timorous and pusillanimous counsels were followed:” thus, “the blame of the present situation of the army was imputable to others; the glory of repairing it should be their own.” Paying a well-deserved compliment to the “prompt, skilful, and consecutive arrangements”

of the English general, and to "the valour and steadiness of his troops," who, "however," he added, "owed to the benefit of the example of the French their present military character;" the lieutenant-general thus concluded his proclamation:—"The emperor's instructions are to drive the enemy from yonder lofty heights, which enable him proudly to survey our fertile valleys, and chase him beyond the Ebro. If won, the Spanish soil must bear your tents, and from thence your resources be drawn. No difficulties are insurmountable to your valour and devotion."

Soult put his army in motion on the 25th of July, the day that the assault on San Sebastian failed; and that night a report was brought to Wellington, that the French had been successful in defeating the allies at two of the passes, and were advancing in force on Pampeluna. "We must do the best we can to stop them," was the reply; and his lordship immediately applied himself to repair any errors that might have been committed, and make the best of his position, which was a very hazardous one—two points having to be covered at least sixty miles from each other, and the intermediate passes defended; whilst the communication was difficult and circuitous, and the nature of the country did not allow of the concentration of a strong reserve in the rear. Wellington's strategy, and the valour of his troops, enabled him to combat successfully with all these disadvantages.

His lordship had under his command only 6,750 cavalry, and 34,581 infantry, British and Germans; 1,492 Portuguese horse, and 23,459 foot; and 4,000 artillerymen and drivers: making a total of 70,282. These were exclusive of the blockading forces at San Sebastian and Pampeluna, and the Spanish corps of Longa, Murillo, and Giron. He arranged this force so as to defend the Roncesvalles pass, where a brigade of British infantry, under general Byng, and Murillo with his corps, were stationed; and the valley of Bastan, where Sir R. Hill was posted with the brigade of general Walker; a part of the second division being in the valley in reserve. Sir Lowry Cole's division was stationed at Biscaret, to support general Byng; Sir Thomas Picton was in reserve at Olaque; the conde d'Amarante, with his Portuguese, occupied the passes eastward of Maya, five leagues from Roncesvalles; general Campbell, with another Portuguese brigade, was detached to Los Alduides, in the French territory: the light and 7th divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, the town of Vera, and the Puerto-de-Echellar; keeping, from the latter points, the communication open with the valley of Bastan; the 6th division was in reserve at San Estevan. The two Spanish divisions of Longa and Giron were stationed so as to communicate with each other from Vera, and also with Sir Thomas Graham.

Greater bravery was not displayed during the war, than was now called forth on both sides, in the "battles of the Pyrenees." Soult's first enterprise was to relieve Pampeluna. He attacked, in force, on the 25th of July, the passes of Roncesvalles and Maya; Soult leading the troops directed against the former, and count Reille and general Clausel those which assailed Maya. The fighting began at noon, and continued till nightfall. "The French gained ground," said Napier, "until six o'clock; for the British, shrunk in numbers, also wanted ammunition; and a part of the 82nd, under major Fitzgerald, were forced to roll down stones, to defend the rock on which they were placed. In this desperate condition, Stewart was on the point of abandoning the mountain entirely, when a brigade of the 7th division, commanded by general Barnes, arrived from Echellar; and that officer, charging at the head of the 6th regiment, drove the French back to the Maya ridge." This was a sanguinary affair. The allies, though in the end they maintained their ground, lost 1,600 men killed and wounded; and 140 prisoners, with four pieces of cannon, were taken by the French. Whilst this animated engagement was going on, Soult, at the head of 38,000 men, attacked the pass of Roncesvalles; and though obstinately resisted, Byng was driven upon the mountains, and Murillo was obliged to fall back on Cole's division, which retreated to Lizoain. The advantage of the day was, therefore, with the French.

The English continued fighting and falling back on the 26th and 27th. On the latter day Hill was at Irurita, and Picton had taken up a position in front of Pampeluna, to cover the blockade. Lord Wellington ordered up reinforcements on the 28th; and there was hard fighting on that day, with alternate success. The British were outnumbered; but when repulsed, they generally succeeded in regaining their ground; and in the course of the day some very gallant affairs took place. On the 29th Soult manœuvred, with a view to take the allies *en flank*; which extended and weakened his positions so much, that, on the 30th, Wellington took the offensive. He attacked the French along their entire line, and, though they fought with great gallantry and resolution, entirely defeated them. Soult, throughout the day, was seen wherever danger called, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His officers imitated his example; but in vain. Slight successes were followed by decided repulses; and at last retreat was found inevitable. In the three days, they lost at least 10,000 killed and wounded. The allies had 574 killed, 3,534 wounded, and 465 missing: two generals, six colonels, and eight majors were among the wounded.—The French continued their retreat towards their own territory on the 31st; the

British pressing the pursuit vigorously by the Roncesvalles, Maya, and Donna Maria passes, and making many prisoners. "Nothing," writes a British officer, "could equal the distress of the enemy. They were completely worn down; and fatigued and disheartened as they were, the only wonder is that multitudes did not perish in the wild and rugged passes through which they had to retire." Towards the close of the day, the British light division came up with the retreating foe near the bridge of Yanzi, over the Bidassoa. A skirmish took place, and continued till night put an end to it. It ended by the French retreating over the bridge, of which the British took possession, as they did of a large portion of the enemy's baggage. Both sides lost many men.

From that time Soult made no further attempt to drive the British from the Pyrenees, and Wellington turned his attention to prosecuting the sieges of San Sebastian and Pampeluna. The former was bombarded throughout the month of August; but not with much effect till the 27th. On that day, and the three following, the old breach was reopened, and a new one made. On the 31st the assault took place. The French had prepared a mine to spring when the British entered the breach; but a shell from one of the mortars in the besiegers' batteries fell on the train, and a terrible explosion followed, at the very moment when 300 of the *élite* of the garrison stood over the spot. Thus, instead of annoying and dispersing the storming party, this mine cleared the way for their advance. The works were not yet won, however, and hundreds fell before they were. Fierce fighting continued till night, when the French were completely expelled from the town, which remained in the hands of the allies, and the usual disgraceful scenes took place.—Soult, hearing how the garrison was pushed, had resolved to make an effort to relieve them. He had, during the month, reorganised his army to a certain extent; and, on the 30th of August, he crossed the Bidassoa with about 18,000 men, composed of Villatte's and Reille's corps. Clausel, with 20,000 men, crossed the river near Vera on the 31st. On that day Soult made an attack upon a Spanish force which occupied the heights of San Marcial, on the Spanish side of the Bidassoa. They were completely defeated before an English regiment—the 85th—which Wellington had sent to assist its allies, arrived. Clausel was also beaten, though he succeeded, at first, in driving back a Portuguese brigade near Vera. Both divisions with difficulty regained the French side of the river, a heavy tempest impeding their progress, and adding to their loss, which amounted to 3,600 killed and wounded: that of the allies was 2,683—of whom 1,680 were Spaniards.—Thus

the attempt to relieve San Sebastian failed. But only the town fell on the 31st. Part of the garrison and the governor were enabled to reach the castle on Mount Orgullo, where they defended themselves till the 8th of September. On that day they surrendered; when eighty officers, and 1,736 non-commissioned officers and privates, were taken prisoners: ninety-three pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition, were found in the town and castle. In this renewed siege, the allies lost forty-four officers and 711 non-commissioned officers and privates killed; the number of wounded was 105 officers, and 1,553 privates: one officer and forty-four rank and file were missing.

On the 7th of October, the allies gallantly forced the passage of the Bidassoa, in front of Vera, losing 900 men, and the French as many. The latter were driven from the intrenched position of Puerto-de-Vera: the British bivouacked on the ground from whence they had drove the enemy; and, for the first time, slept under a French sky. Wellington established himself at Puerto-de-Vera, to await the fall of Pampeluna, which did not take place till the 31st, when the governor capitulated. It is a pleasant feature, amidst the details of carnage and strife, to find that the French garrison, who became prisoners of war, were particularly well treated, because, as the authorities stated, "their conduct towards the Spaniards had been conformable to strict discipline; and that the measures adopted by the governor during the scarcity occasioned by the blockade, had been so excellent, that not one single inhabitant died."

The fall of Pampeluna left lord Wellington at liberty to pursue such offensive measures as he thought necessary; and he resolved to advance into France, as his position could scarcely be rendered tenable against a determined attack. He had nothing to apprehend from an enemy in his rear or upon his flank: for though much was said of Suchet's army, and Soult had applied to that general for support, he was really unable to make any effective offensive movement. He was compelled, by the express command of Napoleon, to garrison so many fortresses, that, soon after the return of lord William Bentinck, he found himself obliged to break up his camp on the Xucar, which he did on the 6th of July, and retired on the Ebro. He withdrew the garrison from Tarragona, having blown up the fortifications; but he left garrisons in Lerida, Mequinenza, Monzon, Tortosa, Saguntum, Barcelona, Figueras, Morilla, Denia, and Peniscola. Elio (who, with the duke del Parque, had suffered a sad defeat at the hands of the French general Hubert shortly before), when Soult retired, occupied Valencia; and the British took possession of Tarragona. No offensive movements took place on

either side for several weeks, the British and Spaniards keeping Suchet in check. Early in September, lord William Bentinck moved from Tarragona on Villa Franca, 27 miles N.E. of that town. His advanced guard was pushed on to the pass of Ordal, twelve miles in advance of Villa Franca; and there, on the 12th, Soult attacked it with superior numbers, compelling the British to fall back, with the loss of four guns taken, and 1,000 men killed and wounded. Suchet was unable, however, to follow up this success. The French cavalry were signally beaten, a few days after, by lord Frederick Bentinck, at the head of the 28th dragoons and the German horse; and the French fell back to cantonments on the river Llobregat, one of the Catalonian streams. Part of the British returned to Tarragona; the remainder of the force, with the Spaniards, invested all the forts where Suchet had left garrisons; and thus prevented their concentration to annoy Wellington. Before the year closed, lord William Bentinck—fearing that Murat would make a descent on the island, not knowing that that intrusive sovereign of Napoleon's creation had entered into arrangements with the allies—returned to Sicily, and general William Clinton succeeded him in the command of the allies in Catalonia.

Soult had occupied the delay he gained by the long defence made by the garrison of Pampeluna in reinforcing his army, and fortifying his position on the northern bank of the Bidasoa, which was, by nature, well calculated for defence. From Bayonne, as an apex, on the north, two sides of a triangle extended to Irun and St. Jean de Luz on the sea-coast, and to St. Jean Pied-de-Port on the Nivelle. The line between these two places formed the base, and was protected by a ridge of immense rugged rocks. Three lines of works were formed in this position; one behind the other, and they are said to "have equalled those of Torres Vedras in strength and solidity." The first line ran from St. Jean de Luz to Mount Daren, and thence to St. Jean Pied-de-Port. A second was carried from St. Jean de Luz to Cambo, and it took in three camps—Espelette, Suraide, and Sarre—where the mass of the army was concentrated. A third was commenced behind Santa Pé, on the road to Ustaritz. When November came in, the works on this line were just commenced: the first and second were completed, and armed with a number of heavy cannon, which had been furnished by the arsenal at Bayonne. Many conscripts and other recruits having arrived, Soult had at least 70,000 effective men in this position. He placed them in four divisions: one, under Reille, formed the right wing, near St. Jean de Luz; a second, the centre, under Clausel, at the redoubts, behind Sarre; a third, the left, under D'Erlon, behind Ainhoué, on the right bank of

the Nivelle; the fourth, under Foy, occupied the extreme left, between St. Jean Pied-de-Port and Bidarray. Thus both as far as the nature of the position he occupied, and the number of men by whom that position was defended, Soult expected to be able to defy any attack. Indeed, he calculated upon making another inroad into Spain; and he again sent a messenger to Suchet, entreating him to put his troops in motion to join him, which that general was unable to do.

For a week after the surrender of Pampeluna, the weather was so bad that nothing could be attempted. As soon as it cleared up, Wellington reconnoitred, in person, the French position, and determined to make an attempt to carry it. The centre appeared the weakest point—near the Rhune mountains, and the bridge of Amotz, over the Nivelle; and he ordered the attack to be made in the following order:—His left wing, under Sir John Hope, who had succeeded Graham, was to make a feint on the enemy's right, in front of St. Jean de Luz; whilst Hill's and Beresford's divisions (comprising about 40,000 infantry, more than 30,000 of whom were British and Portuguese) assailed the centre at Sarre, and the left at Ainhoué. Giron's Spaniards attacked the slopes on the west of Sarre; and the light division, under Alten, with Longa's Spaniards, attacked the Lesser Rhune. The 6th division formed a reserve. The weather prevented the troops from moving till the 10th of November, when fighting commenced, at daylight, with the assault on the Lesser Rhune; and the British light division, ably supported by their allies, climbed the hill; stormed and took three redoubts which stood one beyond the other, the third on the summit; expelled the French from the elevated plateau from which the Lesser Rhune springs, and forced them to fall back in great confusion on the main body. The attacks on the enemy's left were equally successful. A battery of eighteen guns was brought to bear on the Sarre redoubts with such effect, that the garrison leaped from their intrenchments, and made off as soon as they saw the British advancing with their scaling-ladders. Hill had a long march to make before he reached the enemy's position near the bridge of Amotz: when he did, the French were seen making a rapid retreat into the low grounds near the Nivelle. General Clinton, at the head of his corps, broke through all the works guarded by D'Erlon's division, and carried the redoubts behind Ainhoué; whilst the Portuguese division and Byng's brigade stormed those in front. The French general Abbé for a time kept his ground; but he was shortly compelled to follow the other fugitives. Clausel's right wing stood firm longer than any other portion of the French; but, charged by the light division after it had won the Lesser Rhune, that also broke and fled—leaving only

one redoubt in the first line, called the "signal redoubt," and stronger than any of the others, uncaptured. This was twice assailed by the 32nd; and they were preparing for a third assault, when the garrison surrendered at discretion. Soult then hurried from St. Jean de Luz, with all his reserves, to support his flying troops; and Wellington held his men in hand, till the 6th division, which had not been engaged, came up: then he crossed the Nivelle, and drove the enemy from their second line, which induced their right, under Reille, also to fall back. Before nightfall, St. Jean de Luz and Ascain were evacuated; and the first and second lines of the enemy's works, forming six miles of intrenchments, were in possession of the British.

Looking at what the conquerors really achieved in this battle, few have surpassed it. Clausel complained, says Pellot, in *La Guerre des Pyrénées*, "that the divisions under his orders had not, in all cases, done their duty:" if they had, the British, in his opinion, could not have forced the lines without the loss of 15,000 or 20,000 men. According to colonel Batty, "the successful result of the battle was owing, in no inconsiderable degree, to the able direction of the artillery, under colonel Dickson." The French had supposed the heights were impracticable for cannon; but "mountain guns, on swivel carriages, harnessed on the backs of mules purposely trained for the service, ascended the rugged ridges, and showered destruction on the intrenchments below. The foot and horse artillery displayed a facility of movement which must have astonished the French; the artillerymen dragging the guns, with ropes, up steep precipices, or lowering them down to positions from whence they could, with more certain aim, pour out their fatal volleys." No doubt this admirable service of the artillery had great effect. It enabled the infantry to scale the heights with much less loss than they would otherwise have incurred.

The victory of the 10th was followed up by the abandonment of the third line of the French position on the next day, and Soult retired into an intrenched camp in front of Bayonne. Thus the strong position which he had employed himself for three months in completing, in order to prevent the advance of the allies into France, with fifty-one pieces of cannon, and all the field magazines, were abandoned; besides leaving 1,400 men prisoners, and having 4,265 killed and wounded. The loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, was 2,694.

Wellington cantoned his troops two miles in front of the French, his right extending to Cambo, and his left to the coast. Here the weather compelled him to remain inactive nearly a month; during which time he had great difficulty in repressing the plundering disposi-

tion of the men. The British merely wanted to obtain the means of intoxication, to which, unfortunately, they were too much addicted; but the Spaniards and Portuguese acted from a spirit of revenge, and frequently committed murders among the peasants. Wellington had every offender hung who was detected; and at last he sent all the Spaniards, except Murillo's division, out of France. By his firmness he restored discipline; and the French peasantry, who had fled, returned to their homes, and an amicable intercourse was soon established between them and the allies.

The weather having become more favourable, Wellington, on the 9th of December, resolved to force the passage of the Nive, and throw the enemy entirely back on the cannon of Bayonne. The movement was successfully carried out. The left wing, under generals Hope and Alten, advanced from St. Jean de Luz, and carried, after a vigorous resistance, all the enemy's advanced posts connected with their camp, and established themselves on heights which commanded that camp. Hill, on the right, crossed the Nive above and below Cambo; drove the French before him to Villefranche; and ultimately expelled them from that place, establishing his troops on the heights adjoining. Clinton crossed the Nive at Ustaritz by a bridge of boats; and the French who were in that neighbourhood fell back on Bayonne. Thus the passage of the Nive was effected; and Wellington cantoned his army in a position where he could intercept the navigation of the Upper Adour, by which the greater part of the supplies for the French army reached the camp. But his position was by no means a safe one. The Nive, running obliquely from south-east to north-west, divided his army; and the bad roads rendered speedy communication impracticable. Soult was aware of this, and attempted to turn it to advantage. On the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th of December, he made repeated assaults on the allied positions, attacking the left on the two former days, the right on the two latter. He had, on all occasions, nearly the advantage of two to one in the number of men, lord Wellington not being able to bring up supports in time, from the distance of one wing from the other, and the almost impassable condition of the roads. But the French were repulsed in all their attacks; the battle on the 13th being as desperate as any that was fought during the war. There was great loss on both sides. The allies, in the various engagements, had 650 killed, 3,907 wounded (including generals Hope, Robinson, Barnes, Le Cor, and Ashworth), and 504 prisoners; total, 5,061. The French lost at least 6,000 in the field; and in the night of the 10th, two German regiments came over to the allies, thus increasing the French loss to at least 8,500.

What was of more consequence, they had lost all the objects for which they fought. Wellington established himself in a position from which he was enabled to intercept the navigation of the Adour; and Soult—his army cantoned on the right bank of that river—was cut off from his principal line of communication, and compelled to depend, for forage and support, upon the vast and desolate *landes* of Bordeaux. Though in an enemy's country, the allies were in a much better condition. They were established at Urrugue, St. Jean de Luz, and other towns on the coast; and were thus not only enabled to obtain supplies by sea, but by land they got almost everything they wanted, from the rich fields of Béarn. St. Jean de Luz was declared a free port, and the most complete protection to person and property established. Telegraphs were put up in convenient positions, so that intelligence was transmitted instantaneously from post to post; and except an occasional want of money—(Wellington, on one occasion, had to borrow the sum necessary to defray the expenses of a courier he wanted to send to general Sir W. Clinton, in Catalonia)—the British, during the two months they spent in this position, had nothing to complain of.—During this period, the English and French officers became intimate, and used to meet at a narrow part of the river to talk over the campaign; the men, also, in their way, exchanged frequent courtesies with each other. For the order that prevailed—for the extinction of the system of plundering—and for the re-establishment of discipline—Wellington is entitled to by far the largest share of the credit. His other generals, and the officers of all ranks, no doubt supported him firmly and ably; but it was owing to his “noble and heroic system of protection to others, and self-denial to himself,” that, in the words of an eye-witness, “order and tranquillity profound, on the edge of the very battle-field, attended the march of the civilised army which passed the Bidassoa.”

Soult spent his season of respite in diligently training the conscripts which had reached his camp; but as the emperor made a large draft from his regular troops, his effective force, after deducting the garrisons of Bayonne and some other forts, which he dared not abandon, was reduced to 40,000 men. The allies, at the same time—though a part of the reinforcements at first destined for Wellington, were turned aside to Holland—English, Portuguese, and Spaniards, had raised their number to near 100,000, with 140 pieces of cannon. The partisans of the Bourbons in the Vendée and the western provinces of France, also made overtures to Wellington; and in January, 1814, the duke d'Angoulême arrived at his head-quarters. The British general, however, insisted upon his preserving his *incognito*; and refused to give

any encouragement to these movements of the disaffected, till he knew what were the intentions of the allied sovereigns. His own advice to lord Bathurst was, to make peace with Napoleon if all the objects could be acquired which the allies had a right to expect.

Soult occupied a formidable position, his right being protected by Bayonne, which was strongly fortified; and could be rendered, to a certain extent, inaccessible, by cutting the dykes of the Lower Adour, and inundating the country. But he did not believe he could maintain his ground; and he wrote to the emperor, proposing, that Clausel should be left in the Pyrenees with two divisions, to act on the rear of the allies; that Bayonne should be left with a garrison of 14,000 men; and he himself, with the remainder of his army, should march to Paris, where he strongly recommended the entire disposable force of the French army should be concentrated, to prevent the allies from entering the capital. Napoleon, however, would not listen to this sound advice, but commanded Soult to defend himself as long as he could on the banks of the Adour. It soon appeared that he could make no effectual resistance to the force brought against him. On the 14th of February—a hard frost having succeeded to much damp weather, and rendered the roads practicable—the allies began their advance into France. General Hill advanced against Harispe (who was at Hellette with 5,000 men) with a part of his division—another part moving to the Joyeuse streamlet; and Beresford marched against the French centre, under Clausel. It was impossible for the enemy to resist; they fell back, and the town of Jaca, which commands the pass into Aragon, capitulated. Harispe took up a strong position on the Garris mountain, in front of the Bidouze, from which he was driven by the 28th and 30th regiments the same evening, with the loss of 300 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners; the British loss being 160. The French continued retreating; and, on the 17th, they intrenched themselves near Sauveterre, on the north side of the Gave d'Oleron, a river formed by the junction, near Oleron, of two streams which rise in the Lower Pyrenees. On the 22nd, the allies attempted the passage of the Adour. Soult had destroyed, or rendered quite impassable, all the bridges over that river; but the guards, under colonel Stopford, passed over in the morning by means of a few small boats and a raft. They were instantly attacked by a detachment from Bayonne, and were in some danger, as the tide turned, and no more troops could cross for the time. But colonel Stopford had a rocket troop with him—the use of that missile having been introduced into the British army the previous summer. Two or three discharges so startled the French, that they ran off; and Stopford's men were enabled to defend

their position, where they were soon joined by more of their comrades when the tide again came in. A British squadron, under admiral Penrose, appeared that morning off the mouth of the Adour; and difficult as it was to cross the bar in that river, a number of light luggers, called *chasse-marées*, effected a passage, but not till three or four were lost, and captain Elliot and several seamen drowned. With twenty-six of these vessels, lashed to each other, and moored at head and stern to resist the effect of the current, a perfect bridge was carried across the river before night. Over this bridge Hope's division passed, drove back the troops from all the villages in front of Bayonne, and closely invested that important fortress.

In the meantime Hill had crossed the Gave d'Oleron unopposed, followed by Picton, Clinton, and Beresford. Soult, finding his position at Sauveterre untenable, fell back to Orthes, a town in the department of the Basses-Pyrénées, on the Gave de Pau. There, on the 27th of February, he was attacked by the allies, marshal Beresford charging the French right at St. Boes; while the centre was assailed by the 3rd and 6th divisions under Picton, and lord Edward Somerset's cavalry; and Hill, with the 2nd British and Le Cor's Portuguese brigade, forced the passage of the Gave de Pau at Orthes, and attacked the left. The first movements of Beresford's and Picton's divisions, who were a mile and a-half from each other, were successful; but the French opposed to the former had a park of artillery, so effectively posted, that it for some time checked the allies; and a Portuguese brigade which suffered greatly, broke up, and made a disorderly retreat. At the same time, Picton's division was repulsed in its endeavour to take up a position at the base of an eminence on which the French centre was stationed. Soult saw both these disasters; and striking his thigh, we are told, in great exultation, exclaimed, "At last, I have him!" Wellington, however, who was posted on a hill, from whence he commanded the entire field, also saw the temporary mishap which had occurred, and ordered up reinforcements, whose arrival changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy were checked where they were gaining advantages, and were ultimately driven from one point to another, till at last Soult found himself compelled to order a general retreat. At first it was made in admirable order; but as the retiring force approached a stream, called the Luy de Béarn, which was crossed by a bridge accessible only by one road, the British under Hill, with Sir Stapleton Cotton's and lord Edward Somerset's dragoons, began to press upon them. A division under general Paris made a stand, and held the pursuers in check for some time, while the main body made for the bridge. But Hill's infantry was seen to

take a direction that they feared would anticipate them at that important point; and they began to run. Hill's men ran also: the French had the advantage of being somewhat ahead; and being, also, swifter of foot, they reached the bridge first; and thus the greater part of their army crossed: but the dragoons charged three battalions, which were broken—300 being made prisoners; and 2,000 more threw down their arms. A number of scattered bands waded through the stream; and whilst they drew up on the other side, the victorious and exhausted British bivouacked on the southern shore. In this engagement, the loss of the French, in killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters, must have been very great. The British captured six guns; they had 277 killed, 1,923 wounded, and seventy missing: total, 2,270.

Soult found that he must not remain long in the vicinity of the allies; therefore, having refreshed his army with a few hours' sleep at Sault de Navailles, on the right bank of the Luy de Béarn; and having been joined by the garrison of Dax, he fell back, first on St. Sever, on the Adour, then on Agen, and from thence he took the road to Tarbes, by both banks of the Adour. He was favoured by heavy rains, which impeded the march of the allies; but, on the 2nd of March, Hill, who commanded Wellington's advanced guard, overtook him in front of Aire, on the Adour, where he had taken up a post on an eminence, to reach which, a rocky ridge had to be surmounted. This was not an easy operation. Stewart's division took the road to Aire, and attacked the right; and Da Costa's Portuguese brigade attacked the ridge, which they won; but the French rallied, drove them down the height, and followed in force, threatening utter destruction to this division. The success of general Stewart enabled Hill to send Byng to support Da Costa; and the French were, in their turn, beaten, and driven from the field and the town. In this affair, a number of prisoners were taken, independent of the killed and wounded. Soult then took the right bank of the Adour, and retreated to Plaisance and Malbourget, where, at first, he intended again to wait and give the allies battle. Lord Wellington's movements, however, rendered this plan abortive.

Bordeaux, and the district in which it was situated, had always been distinguished for royalist predilections; and since March, 1813, a royalist committee had been formed in that town, to take advantage of any circumstance that might occur, likely to advance the interest of the Bourbons. As already remarked, advances had been made to Wellington, which, as he was ignorant of the views of the allies, he could not meet. After the battle of Orthes, however, the enthusiasm of the friends of Louis XVIII., who had been joined by M. Lynch,

the mayor of the city, led them to send M. Larochejaquelein to Wellington, to ask him to occupy the city with 3,000 men. His grace resolved to send Beresford with 12,000; but instructed the gallant marshal not to take any part in political movements, but, contenting himself with stating, that the British government, though favourable to Louis XVIII., was negotiating with Bonaparte, to remain quiet and watch events. Beresford left the main army with the 4th and 7th divisions on the 8th of March, and, on the 12th, arrived before Bordeaux, which had been abandoned by the military authorities and some of the troops—the rest, conscripts, laying down their arms. The mayor and civic authorities, attended by a number of the townspeople, met the British a short distance from the city, and M. Lynch expressed his joy at their arrival. Though the authorities wore the imperial insignia, they had white cockades concealed. No sooner had the mayor concluded his few words of welcome, than shouts of “*A bas les Aigles!*” “*Vivent les Bourbons!*” arose on all sides; the tricolour was replaced by the white riband of the ancient régime; the English troops were invited triumphantly to Bordeaux; the duke d’Angoulême arrived shortly after, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm; and the mayor issued a proclamation calling on the people to rally round the lilies of France—telling them, that “it was not to subject their country, that the English, Spaniards, and Portuguese had approached their walls;” but, “they had united in the south, as others had in the north, to destroy the scourge of nations, and replace him by a monarch, the father of his people.” And “possibly,” added the municipal chief, “it is reserved for the great captain, who has already merited the glorious title of the ‘liberator of nations,’ to give his name to the glorious epoch which will produce such a happy result!”

As Wellington was quite ignorant, at that time, of the course which the allies were likely to take, he was not pleased with this movement, which, however, he could not repress. He therefore recalled Beresford; and, leaving earl Dalhousie at Bordeaux, followed Soult. That general, as soon as he learned the events at Bordeaux, addressed an impassioned and energetic proclamation to his troops. “Soldiers!” he said, “at the battle of Orthes you did your duty; the enemy’s losses surpassed yours, and his blood moistened the ground he gained. He has had the indecency, since, to provoke you and your countrymen to revolt and sedition.” * * * “Thanks to him for making known his intentions, our forces are thereby multiplied a hundredfold.” * * * “No peace with that disloyal and perfidious nation! No peace with the English and their auxiliaries, till they quit

the French territories! They have dared to insult the national honour: they have had the infamy to incite Frenchmen to become perjured towards the emperor. Wash out the offence in blood!” This proclamation had a considerable effect upon the old soldiers of the army, who were still attached to the emperor, under whom many of them had fought; and as they were eager to give battle, Soult made a movement on the right bank of the Adour, towards Tarbes, in which town his advanced pickets were placed. The troops of the two armies came in contact again on the 19th of March, near Vic Bigorre, when two French divisions, under D’Armagnac and Paris, were compelled to fall back, the loss on each side amounting to 250 men. The next day there was a more serious affair at Tarbes, when Hill’s division was ordered to drive the French outposts out of that town, and then attack Soult’s left wing; whilst Clinton, with the 6th division, and lord Edward Somerset’s and Ponsonby’s cavalry, crossed the river between Vic Bigorre and Rabestens, and assailed the right. The French fought well, but were beaten, and driven over the plain beyond Tarbes, in a state of great confusion—Hill’s division and the cavalry only being engaged; the state of the roads preventing Clinton’s division from getting up in time. Clausel’s four divisions were the only part of the French army which was not retreating: they were formed in line to arrest the pursuit; and when Clinton’s division got up, they found their advance arrested. There was no more fighting that day, as night came on; and, before morning, Soult was in full retreat for Toulouse, which he reached in four days. Wellington did not arrive till the 27th—two days after the French had gained the town; and thus Soult had been enabled to take measures both for reorganisation and defence.

He appears, up to this time, to have expected to receive support from Suchet, who was unable to afford him any, as he was closely observed by the allies. After the departure of lord William Bentinck, no more offensive movements took place in 1813. Early in the following year, a Spaniard, Van Halen—who had obtained employment on the staff of Suchet, and, by constant practice, gained the power of imitating his handwriting—addressed forged orders, purporting to come from the marshal, directing the governors of the towns held by French troops, to withdraw them, and join him, in order to concentrate themselves with the emperor’s army in France. These orders deceived the governors of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Monzon, which fortresses were evacuated and occupied by the Spaniards. Their garrisons, being waylaid on their way to Soult, had to surrender themselves prisoners. In the meantime, Napoleon had twice drafted men from Suchet, who found

himself obliged to draw the remainder of his army together, and retire to Figueras. All hostilities were terminated in this quarter by the arrival of Ferdinand on the frontier, on the 20th of March. On the 11th of December, 1813, he had signed a treaty at Valençay with Napoleon, by which, on the latter recognising him as king of Spain and the Indies, he agreed that the English troops should retire from Spain; that Port Mahon and Ceuta should never be ceded to Great Britain; that the contracting parties should mutually guarantee each other's dominions and the rights of their flags; and that pensions should be paid to Charles IV. and the queen; £300,000 to the former, and £20,000 to the latter if she survived her husband. The cortes refused to ratify this treaty, and the fortresses with French garrisons remained blockaded. But there was no more fighting in the field, and Ferdinand went to Madrid, where he resumed his authority. Clinton broke up his army—part joining lord William Bentinck, then before Genoa; and part marched to join Wellington, on the Garonne. Suchet, soon after, joined Soult, whom he did not reach, however, till after the battle of Toulouse.

Wellington's determination was to attack Soult; but he could not effect his object for several days after his arrival before Toulouse. That city stands on the right bank of the Garonne, and its suburb of St. Cyprien lies on the left bank of that river. The canal of Languedoc incloses the east and north sides of the city, joining the river a mile below it. On the east lies the suburb of St. Etienne; on the south that of St. Michael. The defences were all antiquated; and Soult knew that they could not withstand a heavy bombardment; he therefore intrenched the suburb of St. Cyprien; constructed *têtes-de-pont* on all the bridges of the canal; threw up redoubts and breastworks, and destroyed most of the bridges over the Ers, a stream which communicates with the Garonne, running through a valley bearing its name. On the 28th of March, lord Wellington attempted to place a pontoon bridge across the Garonne, but the current was rendered so strong by the heavy rains, that it was found impracticable. On the 31st, flanking batteries being established on the left bank of the stream, the engineers effected the task of laying down a bridge near Pensaguel, seven miles below Toulouse; and Hill, with two British divisions and Murillo's Spaniards, crossed over to the right bank. The roads, however, were found impassable; and the troops, the next day, re-crossed the river, and broke up the bridge. On the 3rd of April, the pontoons were placed across the river at Grenade, fifteen miles from the city. Beresford passed over with three divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, and captured a large drove of oxen, on their way to

Soult's army. But the river again rose, the rapid torrent carried away the bridge, and, till the 8th, the allies remained in their isolated position, exposed to an attack from the entire French army, which might have been marched down upon them. Soult, however, who had thrown up strong fortifications on Mount Rave, either thought it injudicious to leave them, or did not know the strength of the English force which had passed over to his side of the river; for he remained perfectly quiet behind his intrenchments. On the 8th the river subsided, the bridge was again laid down, and various divisions of the allies passed over. Wellington, taking the command in person, advanced up the valley of the Ers to Fenouillet, five miles below Toulouse; and the battle of Toulouse began by an engagement of cavalry at the bridge of Croix d'Auraote, one of those left over the Ers, where Vial's dragoons were beaten by the 18th hussars, under major Hughes, and 100 prisoners taken. It was not, however, till the 10th that the main action was fought.

On that day, Wellington had a force of 51,724 officers and privates under his command, 12,000 of whom were Spaniards. Soult's army was, in number, only 28,480; the superiority, therefore, was with the allies. When, however, the position of Soult is considered, and its many capabilities of defence, the two armies, in a military point of view, were pretty equal. Soult had with him some excellent officers—Reille, who defended St. Cyprien against Hill; D'Erlon, who was near the mouth of the canal; Daricau, at the bridge of Matabian; Villatte, on the hill of Pujade; Harispe, at the works in the centre; Jaupin, on the extreme right; and D'Armagnac, in reserve, behind Mount Rave. Fighting began at 7 o'clock A.M., by Picton and Alten's divisions driving the French advanced posts between the river and the Pujade hill, back to their redoubts on the canal, the Spaniards establishing themselves on the hill; whilst Hill forced the exterior line at St. Cyprien; and Beresford, with Clinton and Cole's divisions, crossed the bridge of Croix d'Auraote, drove the enemy out of the village of Mont Blanc, and took a flank march round their right, greatly annoyed by the cannon from Mount Rave. The principal point on the mount was the summit of Calvinet: and leaving some Portuguese artillery on the Pujade hill, Freyre and his Spaniards advanced to assault the northern angle of the redoubts thrown up there. They pressed on with great resolution till they came within range of the grapeshot, which mowed them down in vast numbers. One regiment gained a hollow way under the redoubts; but the others broke and fled, and the French leaped out of their works and pursued them. Freyre and the officers tried most gallantly to rally their men, and probably would have

succeeded had not a French brigade taken them *en flank*; they then fled in wild confusion, making for the bridge of Croix d'Auraote; and Wellington was only just in time, with the reserve artillery and Ponsonby's horse, to prevent the French from gaining possession of that bridge, which would have completely isolated Beresford's division. His lordship himself then rallied some of the Spaniards, and Freyre again led them into the battle. At the same time, Picton, who was only to have made a feigned attack upon a bridge over the canal, close to the city, converted it into a real one, and was repulsed. But on all other points where the battle raged, success sat on the banners of the allies. Redoubt after redoubt was captured; and a movement on which Soult had depended for victory, brought defeat. As the divisions of Cole and Clinton advanced, they unavoidably became separated. Soult observed this, and he thought it possible to destroy one of these divisions in detail—one being beaten before the other could join it. He therefore directed Taupin to take the 6th division (Clinton's), which was furthest in advance, in front, and general Leseur, at the head of his cavalry, to charge it in flank. Clinton, however, saw the advance of the enemy: without waiting for the attack, he met it, and, with a most gallant charge of bayonets, broke and dispersed the French infantry, Taupin being killed. The cavalry, who made a furious charge, were also repulsed; and the victorious troops, pressing on, captured the redoubt of Sypiere. Cole's division directly after came up, and Soult's communication in that quarter, with Toulouse, was threatened. He then changed his line of defence, and completely re-formed his right wing. While he was thus occupied, Beresford was waiting for his artillery, which was impeded by the bad state of the roads. When it arrived, the most desperate fighting of the day commenced in the centre of the enemy's works on the Calvinet. Here the French fought most gallantly; and four Highland regiments, the 42nd, 71st, 79th, and 92nd, for a long time sustained the brunt of the engagement on this summit of Mount Rave, where Soult had reared his strongest redoubts. Formidable in themselves, they were also defended by ditches full of water, which made them still more difficult of access. The British, however, surmounted all difficulties, captured the redoubts, and were driven out. They were thus taken and retaken several times; but at last British determination prevailed: the French were finally expelled, forced over the ridge of Mount Rave, and down the hill towards Toulouse. Wellington's troops were equally successful on the right and left; and, before nightfall, the French were driven from all their exterior works, and cooped up within the walls of the city.

The battle of Toulouse was one of the most bloody fought during the war; and the French regained something of the *prestige* they had lost at Vittoria and the Pyrenees, by the determined stand they made against superior numbers. Three days before the battle was fought, Soult received the intelligence that the allies had entered Paris; but this only determined him to defend Toulouse to the utmost, because as it contained establishments of all kinds, it was of the last importance to prevent it from falling into the hands of the allies. He took his measures for defence well; was most heroically supported by his troops; and some French historians claim for them the victory. But, as Vaudoncourt says, "the battle was, unquestionably, lost by Soult," who was driven from all his exterior works, of which the allies took possession. The loss on both sides was great. That of the allies, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 4,669, distributed amongst the three nations as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
British	312	1,795	17	2,124
Spanish	205	1,722	1	1,928
Portuguese	78	539	—	617

The French loss was not so great; it was given as 3,200 killed, wounded, and prisoners: and Soult had still 35,000 men. With these he remained quiet on the 11th, while Wellington was engaged getting up his artillery to attack the city; but, in the night, he marched out with all his men, leaving 1,600 wounded, including Harispe and two other generals, to the mercy of the victors. On the 12th, Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph, and found that a large proportion of the inhabitants had mounted the white cockade. Soult retreated on Carcassonne; and moved so rapidly, that he reached Villefranche, twenty-two miles from Toulouse, early on the 12th. At Carcassonne, he was joined by Suchet.

The battle of Toulouse was not the last blood that was shed in connection with the Peninsular war. When Wellington marched with the main body of the allies in pursuit of Soult, general Hope was left to carry on the siege of Bayonne; and he had got up his siege *matériel*, and thrown up the requisite works ready to open the bombardment, when, on the 7th of April, he heard rumours of the fall of Paris. Soon official accounts of the events of March reached the British camp, and were communicated to Thouvenot, the commander at Bayonne; who returned for answer, that "the besiegers should hear from him." He contemplated a sortie, of which the British were informed by two deserters who left the town on the night of the 13th. It took place at 3 A.M. on the 14th, when 3,000 men sallied from the place, and carried the village of St. Etienne; major-general Hay, who

defended it, being killed. Sir John Hope and his staff, unaware that the village was taken, were on their way there, when they were fired upon, Sir John's horse killed, he himself wounded, and, as two of his staff dismounted to extricate him from his horse, all were taken prisoners. The fighting continued for some time in the dark, the enemy having the advantage, as they knew where they were, and what they purposed doing; whilst the British, surprised, were in a state of confusion. But when day dawned, the guards came to the rescue, and they soon compelled the French to retreat into Bayonne. A small party of the 38th, under captain Forster, had defended themselves in a house in St. Etienne, against all attempts made to dislodge them. Whilst the guards were driving the enemy back to the city, a brigade of Germans, under general Hinuber, recovered the village, and rescued this heroic little band.—What object Thouvenot expected to attain by this sortie, it is impossible to say. The result was defeat—and a great and unnecessary slaughter on both sides. On that of the French it was estimated at 850; the British had 150 killed, 457 wounded, and 236 missing. Four days after this battle, intelligence of the recent events not having reached Barcelona, Hubert, the French commandant there, endeavoured to cut his way through the Spanish besieging force. He was defeated, and compelled to retire within the walls again; but the Spaniards lost 800 men.

It is greatly to be regretted that the events at Paris, which will be found described in another chapter, were not earlier known, as they might have been, at Toulouse and Bayonne, that the loss of life in the two last engagements might not have been incurred. The very day that Wellington entered Toulouse, at 5 P.M., a messenger arrived with intelligence of the restoration of the Bourbons. Then the English general was able to lay aside that restraint he had hitherto been obliged to assume; and he, with his officers, displayed the white cockade amidst the most enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants. A courier was sent to inform Soult of what had taken place; who at first refused to do anything more than accede to an armistice, which Wellington refused to grant. But having received official intimation of the abdication of Napoleon, he agreed to send an officer to Toulouse, to arrange a formal convention on his part, and that of Suchet, with Wellington. This

convention was signed at Toulouse on the 18th of April. By its conditions, hostilities were immediately to cease, and not to be recommenced, on either side, without a previous notice of five days. Hostilities were also to cease at Bayonne, Navarreins, and Bordeaux; the French garrisons were to be withdrawn from the places they still occupied in Spain; and an undertaking was given, by Soult and Suchet, not to remove from those fortresses any artillery, arms, ammunition, or any other military effects, belonging to the Spanish government.

Thus ended the Peninsular war. Wellington remained at Toulouse till the 30th of April, when he left for Paris, where he arrived on the 4th of May. On the 10th, he left that city for Madrid, *viâ* Toulouse; and when he arrived at the Spanish capital, Ferdinand, restored to the throne of his ancestors, confirmed all the honours which the provisional government had granted to the hero, and added to them that of captain-general of Spain. On the 23rd of June he landed in England, and soon after took his seat in the House of Lords as duke of Wellington, having been raised to the highest rank in the peerage.

We have not mentioned Joseph since he was superseded by Soult, after the battle of Vittoria. As soon as the marshal reached headquarters, Joseph retired, first to the Château de Payanne, and afterwards to Mortefontaine, where he laid down both his regal and military rank, and enjoyed greater tranquillity than he had known for many years—a tranquillity soon embittered by the disasters which befel his brother. On the 29th of December he wrote to Napoleon, telling him that, as events had brought him back to France, he should be happy to make himself of use. He knew, also, he said, what he owed to Spain; and was willing to surrender his rights to the good of humanity—happy if, by their sacrifice, he could contribute to the peace of Europe. The emperor told him, in reply, that he would be no more king of Spain; but he could come, as a prince of France, and take his place by his throne; or he could retire to his *château* in the provinces, and live in obscurity—being of no use to his family, or to France: he must decide promptly, and take his part. He did decide, and went to Paris; and, from that moment, Napoleon appears to have restored to him all his affection and confidence.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE RUSSIAN WAR; HOW ALEXANDER RESOLVED TO MEET THE FRENCH HOSTILITIES; NAPOLEON'S NEW ALLIANCES WITH PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA; HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO M. DE LAURISTON; ALEXANDER AT WILNA; STATE OF FRANCE; NAPOLEON PROCEEDS TO THE NORTH; HIS ARMIES; PROCLAMATION TO THE SOLDIERS; PASSAGE OF THE NIEMEN; ADVANCE OF THE TROOPS INTO POLAND; DISPOSITION OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY; THE FRENCH AT WILNA; POLISH GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED IN LITHUANIA; NUMBER OF FRENCH WHO ENTERED RUSSIA; RETREAT OF THE RUSSIANS; ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH; THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER AT MOSCOW; OPERATIONS OF THE TWO ARMIES; TAKING OF SMOLENSKO; ADVANCE OF NAPOLEON ON MOSCOW; KUTUSOFF APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE RUSSIAN ARMIES; BATTLE OF BORODINO; MOSCOW ENTERED BY THE FRENCH; BURNING OF MOSCOW; NAPOLEON'S ATTEMPT AT NEGOTIATION; HE RESOLVES TO RETREAT FROM MOSCOW; BATTLE OF MALO-JAROSLAVETS; THE FRENCH ARRIVE AT SMOLENSKO; FURTHER DISASTROUS RETREAT; BONAPARTE LEAVES THE ARMY; THE FRENCH QUIT THE RUSSIAN TERRITORY; LOSSES IN THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

WE left Napoleon* busily preparing for the Russian war, which Alexander was so anxious to avert, that he had resolved to send M. Nesselrode—then a young man of great promise—on a special mission to Paris, with a view to remove the existing causes for difference and disunion between the two powers. When this was made known to the emperor Napoleon, he evinced an indisposition to receive the envoy; and, at the diplomatic *levée* on the 1st of January, 1812, he scarcely addressed a word to prince Kourakin, the Russian ambassador. At the same time he was taking measures to send troops secretly to the north, it being necessary, we are told by a French authority, “that he should glide, as it were, as far as the Vistula, gaining not only ground, but also time, without provoking a rupture.” Secretly, however, as he thought his orders were given, the Russian ambassador, through a spy in the war-office, obtained a knowledge of all of them, except those for the march of the troops from Spain, and others for the departure of the army of Italy to the north, which were given in sealed despatches sent to marshals Soult and Suchet, and the prince Eugene. Prince Kourakin transmitted to St. Petersburg the information he had received: and resolved as the Russians were to brave the worst, and not to submit to any further dictation from France, the certainty that war was imminent, caused great consternation at St. Petersburg. Alexander, however, soon formed his plans, which were—to assemble two considerable armies, one on the Dwina, the other on the Dnieper, with advanced posts on the Niemen. These armies were to retreat on the approach of the French, only fighting when the latter were exhausted by hunger or fatigue. A third army, of 40,000 men, was to observe Austria, and to be united to that of the Danube; and the Russian war minister, general Barclay de Tolly, calculated, that, with the reserve, there would be 400,000 men in arms for the defence of the empire. The emperor also resolved not to make a single offensive movement; but to place Napoleon completely in the wrong, by compelling

him, if he would have war, to take the initiative; and he refused offers of alliance from England and Sweden, though he manifested the utmost willingness to keep on friendly terms with both. The idea of Nesselrode's mission to Paris was of course abandoned upon receipt of prince Kourakin's information.

Napoleon, besides giving orders, secret, as he supposed, for the march of various corps to the line on the Vistula, occupied by marshal Davoust, signed, on the 24th of February, a treaty with Prussia, by which, in consequence of his guaranteeing to the king of Prussia the territory he then had, and agreeing to give him an extension of frontier in the event of a favourable issue of the war with Russia, the king agreed to furnish 20,000 Prussian troops, under a Prussian general, but bound to obey the orders of France; and to pay 48,000,000 francs as the remainder of his war contribution; of which sum, 26,000,000 francs were to be paid in bills; 8,000,000 francs in silver, at the conclusion of the war; and, for the remaining 14,000,000 francs, he was to furnish immediately, 15,000 horses, 44,000 cattle, and a quantity of wheat, oats, and forage, according to a stipulated price. The emperor also insisted that Austria should enter into an alliance with him; but he consented, at the express wish of his ally, that it should remain secret. It was signed on the 16th of March; and, by its conditions, the two powers agreed reciprocally to guarantee each other's territories; and Austria was to furnish a corps of 30,000 men, under prince Schwartzemberg, to be ready on the 15th of May. Overtures were shortly after made to the United States of America, Napoleon wishing to draw the government of Washington into a more decisive manifestation against England; and to Sweden, at the instance of the wife of Bernadotte, who was in Paris, and intimated that the misunderstanding between the two countries was owing to M. Alquier's (the Swedish ambassador) want of address. Whilst these steps were taking, in order further to mislead Russia, M. de Lauriston was instructed to keep up an understanding at St. Petersburg; to ascribe the movement of troops solely to a desire to prevent

* See ante, p. 136.

the Russians from appropriating the rich granaries of Poland and Old Prussia; positively to deny the march of the army of Italy, except in the case of a few Tuscan and Piedmontese conscripts, who were about to rejoin their corps in Germany; and when it was impossible any longer to deny the concentration of the French army on the Oder, he was to intimate that it did not necessarily imply war; to hint at the possibility of an armed negotiation, if Russia wished; and to offer an interview between the two emperors on the Vistula. "Finally"—we copy from M. Thiers, who had all the documents under his inspection—"to prevent premature hostilities, M. de Lauriston was authorised to engage that the French armies should pause on the banks of the Vistula; but to do this only with the appearance of a negotiator so anxious for peace, that he exceeded his instructions. And, should all the artifices fail of their intended effect, M. Lauriston was to declare immediate war, demand his passports, and compel the representatives of the allied courts also to demand theirs." The emperor even went further than this. A Russian diplomatist, M. Czernicheff, was at Paris; and this person, continues M. Thiers, was requested to return to St. Petersburg, by Napoleon, to make to Alexander "an earnest declaration of his pacific intentions;" to inform the czar "that he desired only the fulfilment of the treaty of Tilsit, and was perfectly ready to substitute negotiation for war." The historian has not one word of condemnation to offer of this artfully-planned, and probably unparalleled, attempt to deceive; although he also tells us, that, on the same day that M. de Czernicheff received his pacific communication, M. de Bassano addressed a fresh despatch to M. de Lauriston; in which he informed that minister, that "Napoleon was as little desirous of an interview with Alexander, as he was of any negotiation, save that which might be conducted by the 450,000 men whom he had set in motion, and whose march would probably induce the Russian cabinet to return to the system established at Tilsit, and would replace Russia in the state of inferiority in which she was before that treaty was concluded."

Napoleon had calculated that his troops would not be able to commence the war till the middle of June; and till that time, therefore, he was most desirous that the outward relations of amity with Russia should be kept up; and that Alexander should not take any steps likely to thwart his plans, which were, to cross the Niemen, and penetrate into Russia before any effectual resistance could be made. But Alexander, in consequence of his knowledge of the real meaning of the movements of the French troops, was not to be deceived; and although he still resolved not to take the initiative in the war, he opened negotiations with England; and

—thinking it advisable to accept the offers of Bernadotte, which he had before rejected—on the 5th of April he concluded a treaty with Sweden, by which it was agreed that the czar should retain possession of Finland, and that Sweden should take possession of Norway; to enable her to do which, she was to assemble an army of 30,000 men; and Russia was to lend her one of 20,000. Norway occupied, the Swedish army was to take the French in the rear, as they advanced into Russia. Denmark was to be informed of this arrangement, and an equivalent offered her in Germany; and, if she refused her consent, war was to be declared against that power. This treaty was kept secret at the time; and it reflected no credit on Bernadotte. He wanted to get possession of Norway, and cared not, as afterwards appeared, whether it was through France or Russia that he obtained it. Soon after the treaty was signed, on the 21st of April, Alexander set out for Wilna, that he might be with his troops. M. de Lauriston, when it was announced at St. Petersburg that the emperor intended to go to Wilna, sent a courier to inform Napoleon, who instructed him to apply for leave to accompany the Russian court. He went further in his duplicity. He sent M. de Narbonne to Wilna, as a special envoy, to bear his compliments to the czar; and whilst he was to avoid all discussions foreign to his mission, he was instructed to "express a desire and even a hope, that an armed negotiation between the two sovereigns on the Niemen, would not only put an end to the existing complications, but renew the alliance between them." After hearing of the fall of Badajoz, Napoleon also offered to treat with England. He proposed to restore Sicily to the house of Bourbon, Portugal to that of Braganza, and Spain to Ferdinand VII. "France," he said, in his communication to the British government, "shall renounce all idea of extending her dominion beyond the Pyrenees. The present dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain shall be governed by a national constitution of her cortes." Not believing in the sincerity of the overture, England would not entertain it, especially as no definite reply was given to a question put by lord Castlereagh, then secretary of state for foreign affairs—whether, by "the present dynasty" of Spain, was meant that of Joseph? Soon after, in consequence of the arrest of one of his servants, who was alleged to be engaged in a conspiracy, prince Kourakin demanded his passports; but the duke de Bassano persuaded him to recall the demand; and M. de Lauriston was instructed to remonstrate at Wilna with the emperor, upon this "menacing act" of his ambassador.

After his arrival at Wilna, Alexander made a last effort, in reply to the messages received by MM. Czernicheff and De Narbonne, to come to

a definite understanding with Napoleon; and he sent instructions to the prince Kourakin for that purpose. A note addressed to the latter by the duke of Bassano, afforded the Russian ambassador an opportunity of stating the terms proposed by his imperial master. They were, that, in order to establish a neutral country between France and Russia, Prussia should be released from all engagements which bound her to act against the latter; and that the emperor should enter into a formal engagement to evacuate Prussia, and give up the strong places he held there; to diminish the garrison of Dantzic, to evacuate Swedish Pomerania, and to negotiate a treaty with Sweden. If these terms were agreed to, then the czar was willing to meet the emperor, with a view to a modification of the tariff of 1810, to the obtaining an equivalent for the duchy of Oldenburg, and for the introduction of the licensing system into Russia. This note was sent to the duke of Bassano on the 30th of April; and up to the 7th of May prince Kourakin pressed for an answer, but none was given him.

Napoleon, by that period, had brought his preparations into a sufficient state of forwardness, and he resolved to leave Paris for the north. At that time there was great discontent throughout the country, partly arising from the distress which prevailed, and partly from the burthens under which the people groaned, and which they attributed to the expensive and unnecessary wars in which the emperor's "mad ambition" prompted him to indulge. Murmurs, both loud and deep, were heard in Paris, and in every town in France, against the conscription, and the levy of the national guard, which the senate had ordered to be made, by a decree of the 13th of March, to the extent of 120,000 men. The carrying out that decree occasioned, not only complaints, but absolute riots in some towns. The taxes were also found to press heavily on the resources of the people, notwithstanding the sums raised by the issue of licenses to deal in the produce of the British colonies, the contributions drawn from foreign countries, and other extra resources. This pressure of the public burdens, and the other evils arising from the acts of the government, were greatly increased by a frightful drought which prevailed, and destroyed the crops of cereals, upon which the people mainly depended for subsistence. The price of wheat was nearly £5 per quarter, an immense price for France; and the emperor, before he left Paris, found it necessary to issue decrees, empowering the prefects to fix tariffs for the sale of wheat; and to compel farmers and others, holding that grain, to bring it to market. If these measures did something to allay popular discontent, they increased it amongst the agriculturists and corn-dealers.

However, the time had arrived when Napo-

leon felt it was imperative that he should depart for the army; and, on the 9th of May, he set out *en route* to the north, having placed the arch-chancellor, Cambacérès, at the head of the government; ordered the pope to be removed to Fontainebleau, lest he should make his escape, or be carried off from Savona; and organised several hundreds of the imperial guard, who were too old for active service, into a body-guard, for the protection of the empress and the imperial prince. The former, however, accompanied him to Dresden, where he arrived on the 16th. There he received his allies and tributary princes, and formed his plans for carrying his arms from the Vistula to the Niemen, between the 1st and 15th of June—resolving to proceed himself to that river, when he left Dresden, by Posen, Thorn, Dantzic, and Königsberg. Napoleon had collected an enormous army, which was, when he was at Dresden, nearly all concentrated on the Vistula. It was divided into eight corps, comprising about 340,000 men. Of these corps, the 4th was composed of the Italian army; the 5th of Poles; the 8th, in two divisions, of Bavarians and Germans. Besides the above corps, which were to pass the Niemen, a 9th was collecting, at the head of which, marshal Victor, who had been recalled from Spain, was to be placed. It consisted, when all the troops had joined, of 39,000 men, and was appointed to guard Germany from the Elbe to the Oder. There were, also, in detached troops, at Stettin, Cüstrin, Glogau, and Erfurth, 10,000 men; an immense cavalry depôt at Hanover; a reserve corps, under marshal Augereau, of 37,000 men; a division of 5,000, furnished by the smaller German princes; 10,000 men promised by Denmark; detachments scattered through various small posts, amounting to at least 12,000; and the men engaged in the services called for by the continental blockade, estimated at 40,000: making a total of about 490,000 troops of all arms. Besides these corps, there were, attached to the army of the Niemen, six pontoon trains; a corps of engineers; a great body of sappers, miners, pontonniers, and other workmen; with 18,000 men, who conducted the baggage train. In addition, Austria and Prussia promised to furnish, between them, from 45,000 to 50,000 men.

Napoleon left Dresden on the 29th of May, and arrived at Thorn on the 2nd of June. He then resolved, that the general movement of the army from the Vistula to the Niemen, should take place on the 6th; and that the advance should be made in the following order:—"The Saxons, under Regnier, the Poles under Poniatowski, and the Westphalians, under king Jerome—the whole under his majesty's command—were to form the right wing, and to march by the towns of Pultusk and Ostrolenka, to Grodno. The Bavarians, and the army of Italy,

were to form the centre, under prince Eugene, and, traversing Poland, were to approach the river in the environs of Prenn. The corps of Oudinot, Ney, and Davoust, and the guard, forming the left, and the great body of the army, were to follow the course of the Niemen, from Tilsit to Kowno. The artillery was to bring up the rear; and the emperor calculated, that all would be in a line along the Niemen on the 15th of June. He proposed to allow a rest there for three or four days, and then to commence active operations.

Having given the necessary orders for carrying out these arrangements, Napoleon left Thorn for Dantzic, where he arrived on the 7th; and from thence he proceeded to Königsberg, which he reached on the 12th of June. At the former place he received a communication from Bernadotte, which proved him to be as insincere and untrustworthy as Napoleon. Notwithstanding his treaty of the 5th of April with Russia, the crown-prince of Sweden offered to join his old master if Norway was secured to Sweden, and a subsidy of 20,000,000 francs paid him. Napoleon returned no answer to this communication. "*Le misérable!*" he exclaimed; "he is untrue to himself, to Sweden, and to his native country:" not seeing, that, however untrue and insincere Bernadotte was, those bad qualities were equally fertile in himself.

At Königsberg, a declaration was drawn up, and soon after published, giving Napoleon's reasons for the war; and M. Lauriston was ordered to demand his passports, but not before the 22nd of June, on which day, or the 23rd, Napoleon expected to cross the Niemen. In this declaration, the blame of the war was laid upon Russia, who, it was alleged, amongst other things, had demanded the evacuation of Prussia, as a preliminary to negotiation, which was a dishonourable condition France could not accede to. The truth was, however, that the evacuation was not demanded as a preliminary to, but as a consequence of, negotiations. Great stress was also laid on prince Kourakin's demanding his passports. "Some plausible pretext," says Thiers, "was needed for the immediate commencement of hostilities, and these were adopted for the want of better."* The plan of the campaign was also arranged at Königsberg. Napoleon's object was, to penetrate by the plains which leave the Dwina on the one side, and the

Dnieper on the other, to Moscow. The army being arrived on the Niemen, he therefore determined to take under his own command the corps of Davoust, Oudinot, and Ney, the imperial guard, and two of the four corps of cavalry reserve (the whole amounting to about 200,000 men), and, crossing the river at Kowno, to advance on Wilna. Marshal Macdonald, with 30,000 men, was to cross at Tilsit, take possession of the two banks of the river, and ensure its free navigation for the convoys. Prince Eugene, at the head of 80,000, was to cross on the right, at Prenn; and king Jerome, with 70,000, at Grodno. Before any of the corps crossed the river, the following address was read to them:—

"Soldiers! The second Polish war has commenced. The first ended at Friedland and at Tilsit! At Tilsit, Russia swore an eternal alliance with France, and war against England. She now violates her oaths, and refuses any explanation of her strange conduct. Russia is constrained by a fatality; she is about to meet her fate. Does she suppose that we are degenerate?—that we are no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offered us the choice of war or dishonour, and we made our choice without hesitation. Let us march, then; let us pass the Niemen—let us carry the war into her own territory. The second Polish war shall bring glory to the French arms; and when we conclude peace, it shall be a peace which shall destroy the ill-omened influence which Russia has exercised on the affairs of Europe during the last fifty years."

It was on the 23rd of June that Napoleon, having issued his orders to Jerome, Eugene, and Macdonald, debouched from the forest of Wilkowitz with his large army, and led them about a league and a-half above Kowno, to a spot where general Haxo had just discovered great facilities for crossing the river. Three bridges were thrown from one side to the other that night, and, before dawn, the light cavalry were on the opposite bank. The next day the infantry was formed in three columns, and crossed in fine order. They are described—when descending from the heights of the left bank, and pouring down in long files upon three points—as "resembling three irresistible torrents, filling with their waters the plain into which they poured." A few Polish lancers, who heedlessly dashed into the stream—twenty or

* In the *Mémoires* of his own reign, dictated at St. Helena, by Napoleon, to the generals who shared his captivity, he declared, that the Russian war was undertaken from the consideration, that the French empire, which he had created by so many victories, would certainly be dismembered at his death, and the sceptre of Europe would pass into the hands of a czar, unless he drove the Russians back beyond the Borysthènes, and raised up the throne of Poland, the natural barrier of the empire. The war became a necessary consequence after the violations of the treaty of Tilsit by the emperor Alexander; but it

was the before-mentioned consideration which induced him (Napoleon) to commence it. Austria, Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy then marched under the French eagles; and, he asked, was it not natural he should think of consolidating the vast empire he had raised, but on the summit of which Russia would bear with the whole weight of her power, so long as she was able to send her numerous armies, at pleasure, on the Oder? This, he asserted, was the entire secret of that war, with which no personal feelings were mixed up.

thirty in number—were drowned; but that was the only mischance; and Napoleon, his division being safe on the opposite shore of the river to that on which it stood in the morning, ordered marshal Davoust to place an advanced guard on the route to Wilna; and went himself to sleep at Kowno.

Napoleon did not give his troops the rest he at first anticipated; but, Wilna being their ultimate destination, Macdonald was ordered to advance upon Rosiena, in order to cover the navigation of the Niemen, with orders, if the Russians fell back upon the Dwina, to penetrate into Courland. Marshals Ney and Oudinot were ordered to cross the Wilia—a river which, falling into the Niemen at Kowno, flows past Wilna—and advance to that town; whilst Murat and Davoust, with their infantry and cavalry, were dispatched on the high road to Wilna, by Riconti, which place they reached on the 27th of June. Prince Eugene and king Jerome were not so forward as the corps under Napoleon and Macdonald. They did not arrive at the Niemen and commence its passage till the 28th of June—a few days after Schwartzenberg, with the Austrian auxiliary, crossed the Bug at Moguil-nica. Napoleon did not leave Kowno with his troops. He remained a few days to organise the establishment of hospitals and magazines, for the throwing up effective defensive works near the town, and for carrying bridges across the Wilia, to keep open the communications. He then followed the army to Wilna.

Before Napoleon arrived at the Niemen, the main Russian army—with Alexander nominally at its head, but whose movements were really directed by general Barclay de Tolly, a brave, intelligent officer, the scion of an old Scotch family, settled in Courland—was stationed in a semicircle round Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, and formerly the capital of Lithuania. It stands near the confluence of the Vilička and the Wilia; in 54° 41' N. lat., 25° 18' E. long., and 58 miles to the E.S.E. of Kowno, with which it communicates by the Wilia. This army was divided into six corps. One (the 1st), under Wittgenstein, formed the extreme right at Rosiena; the 5th, under count Schouvaloff, was at Olkeniki; and the 6th, under general Doctoroff, at Lida, formed the extreme left; the 2nd, under general Bagawouth; the 3rd (the Russian guard) and the 4th, under general Tonizkoff, formed the centre of the army. This army, by a chain of Cossack posts, was connected with that of prince Bagrathion, at Grodno, the capital of the province of that name, situated on a hill on the right bank of the Niemen, 90 miles S.S.W. of Wilna. Both these armies were well appointed, and composed of effective, able men; but the two did not amount to more than 130,000 in number.

We have already stated, that Alexander's plan was to retreat as the French advanced; and the route which it was determined to take from Wilna, was adopted by the advice of general Pfuhl, a Prussian, described as being "more of a *savant* than a military man." His plan was, to fall back on the transverse line of the Dwina and the Dnieper; an intrenched camp having been constructed at Drissa, on the former river. When the news arrived at Wilna that the French were crossing the Niemen, Alexander was attending a ball, given by general Benningsen at his country-house, in the neighbourhood of the capital. He put the despatches in his pocket; but the same night, on his return to Wilna, he sent M. de Balachoff, one of his aides-de-camp, with a message to Napoleon, which, if it did not produce peace—and he did not expect that result—would put the invader further in the wrong. In this message, after stating that the demand of his passports by prince Kourakin was a very insufficient cause of war, as it was entirely unauthorised by him—and denying that the evacuation of Prussia had been demanded, as a preliminary, before negotiations could commence—the czar offered, if the French did not pass the Niemen, to enter immediately into negotiations, on the basis of previous communications. The messenger dispatched, he penned a proclamation to his army, which was distributed early the next day. Having mentioned the hope he had entertained of preserving peace, notwithstanding the hostile disposition shown by the French emperor—the conciliatory measures he adopted, and their failure—he said—"Seeing, therefore, that nothing can induce the French emperor to remain at peace, all that is left for us is, to invoke the succour of the Most High, and oppose our forces to the enemy. I need not, to excite their valour, remind the officers and soldiers of their duty; for the blood of the brave Slavonians flows in their veins. Soldiers! you defend your religion, your country, and your liberty. I am with you: God is against the aggressor." Alexander also wrote a letter to the governor of St. Petersburg, informing him that the war had commenced; expressing his confidence in the zeal of his people and the bravery of his soldiers; and declaring that, as the defence of the country and of the national honour had compelled him to draw the sword, he would not return it to the scabbard as long as a single enemy remained on the Russian territory.

Barclay de Tolly, as soon as it was known that the enemy had passed the Niemen, ordered his army to fall back in the direction of the camp at Drissa. He himself remained with the rear-guard, with which he determined, should the French come up, to dispute the ground inch by inch. An order was sent, at the same time, to prince Bagrathion, to fall back on the Dnieper, keeping the course of the Minsk, in order to

render a junction with the main army easy; and the Cossacks, who had bivouacked between the armies, were to form a flying corps, under the hetman Platoff, and to harass the flank and rear of the invaders, whilst still connecting the two armies of De Tolly and Bagrathion.

Those invaders found their difficulties commence on their first march, from Kowno to Wilna. The men outstripped the provision waggons, and could get nothing to eat but what they obtained by plunder; and they committed great excesses. Murat's and Davoust's division was in advance; and was encountered, after it left Riconti, on the 28th of June, by Alexander's messenger, M. de Balachoff, who communicated his mission to those officers. He was received with great courtesy by the former, very coldly by the latter; and a courier having been dispatched to Napoleon with an account of his arrival, orders were received, that he should be detained till the French entered Wilna, when the emperor promised to grant him an interview. The receipt of the Russian message caused no delay in the march; and in the afternoon of the 28th, a corps of Murat's cavalry, under general Bruyère, dashed into the Polish capital, and were soon followed by that division of the army. A detachment of Russian infantry, cavalry, and artillery, had remained after the main army left. They received the first shock of Bruyère's corps, and then, having previously set fire to the magazines of stores and ammunition in the town, they crossed the Wilia, destroying the bridges as soon as they reached the opposite bank.

Up to this time the weather had been favourable; suddenly, however, in the evening of the 28th of June, before all the army of Davoust had entered Wilna, and when not more than half that of Italy had crossed the Niemen, they had some terrible symptoms of the "war of elements" which they would have to encounter in that climate. The sky became enveloped in thick clouds; the country was swept by heavy gales; the atmosphere, on the 29th of June, and the 1st and 2nd of July, was intensely cold: the scene which presented itself is described as being "frightful;" and to those strangers it no doubt was. The corps of marshal Ney and Oudinot appear to have suffered the least: in Davoust's army, numbers died from dysentery, brought on by having to sleep in the mud; but the army of Italy had to sustain the most fearful visitations. The troops were on both sides of the Niemen; and those on the left bank had, on the 29th of June, pitched their tents for the night, as they were not to penetrate into the interior till all had crossed. Before night came on, a dreadful storm of hail and rain, accompanied by a violent wind, and rendered more fearful by repeated flashes of lightning, swept across the country, overturning the tents, and creating

a perfect panic amongst the troops. The soldiers could get no shelter; they could not lie down on the inundated soil; and it is difficult to imagine what they had to endure for forty-eight hours. Many men died; but the storm was particularly destructive to the horses, of which thousands were destroyed; and the road was covered with their dead bodies, and with waggons abandoned in consequence of their loss. The army at length completed the passage of the river, and advanced upon Nowoi-Troki; but there were many deserters: so there were from the army under Davoust; and not less than from 25,000 to 35,000 Bavarians, Italians, Würtembergers, Spanish and French, left their colours, and pillaged alike the abandoned waggons and the castles of the nobles of Poland, which stood in their route.

Oudinot's corps was the first that came into action. That corps and Ney's were somewhat in advance of the rest of the army; and, when they crossed the Wilia, in the neighbourhood of Wilna, the latter followed in the route which they understood the corps of Bagawouth had taken; the former proceeding to Janow. On the road from that place to Wilkomir, the French came up with Wittgenstein's division, and an action took place, in which the Russians were defeated with the loss of 400 men. The fighting was going on while Davoust's and Murat's division was entering Wilna. Napoleon arrived at that town on the 29th of June, and his arrival was the signal for general enthusiasm amongst the Poles. The diet assembled at Warsaw declared the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland; called upon all Poles in the Russian army to quit the ranks of their country's enemy; and sent an address to Napoleon, in which they exulted, that "the day of their restoration was arrived—that the land of the Jagellons and the Sobieskis was to resume all its glory." Napoleon's reply somewhat damped their ardour. He approved of their efforts; authorised their continuance; and hoped that Lithuania, Samogitia, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine, would imitate the grand-duchy of Warsaw. But, he added, "I have guaranteed the integrity of the Austrian dominions, and can sanction no movement which can endanger the peaceable possession of her Polish provinces." He, however, gave to Lithuania a distinct and independent government, under a Saxon officer, count Hogendorp. It was divided into four secondary governments—viz., Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, and Bialystok; over each of which was placed a commission of three members, with an intendant—all subordinate to the governor-general. These commissions were charged with the levying of troops, the raising of taxes, and the maintenance of order throughout the province. The emperor detained M. de Balachoff at Wilna while he made these arrangements;

and, when they were concluded, he gave the envoy the promised interview. He received him courteously, but rejected his propositions. Indeed, remarks Thiers, "neither Alexander nor Napoleon could now spare time for negotiations—the questions between them had arrived at that state, in which they could only be resolved by the sword." The interview between the emperor and the envoy was prolonged; and the latter, having partaken of the imperial hospitality, left Wilna.

Before we follow Napoleon and his devoted troops in that enterprise which ended so disastrously, we will, from the best authority—the papers in the war-office at Paris, giving the state of the troops at the various "morning calls"—place before our readers the number of men who, at various points, entered Russia between the 23rd of June, when the 1st division, under Napoleon, crossed the Niemen, and the 3rd of July, when the corps of prince Eugene and king Jerome were all on its right bank.* The different divisions are given as follows:—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Horses.†
Imperial Guard	41,094	6,279	16,322
1st Corps—Davoust	68,627	3,424	11,417
3rd " Ney	35,755	3,587	8,039
4th " Eugene	42,430	2,368	10,057
5th " Poniatowski	32,159	4,152	9,438
8th " Vandamme	15,885	2,050	3,477
1st " of Cavalry—Nansouty	—	12,077	13,014
2nd " " Montbrun	—	10,436	11,125
3rd " " Grouchy	—	9,676	10,451
4th " "	—	7,994	8,766
General Staff—Berthier	3,075	908	1,748
Total	239,025	62,951	103,854

Thus the total number of men that crossed the Niemen was 301,976; and they had with them about 1,000 pieces of cannon, and an enormous quantity of baggage.

Napoleon calculated that the Russians would concentrate at the camp at Drissa, of the existence of which he was well aware. He formed his plans accordingly. They were—to send Davoust, with a part of his division, and king Jerome, against Bagrathion; whilst the remainder of Davoust's troops, those of prince Eugene, and Murat's cavalry, advanced on Drissa, taking the intrenched camp on both flanks; thus cutting off the routes to St. Petersburg and Moscow, surrounding the Russian position, and leaving the occupants no option, but to surrender. Possibly, had the Russians remained at Drissa, this might have been the result; and had Jerome properly supported Davoust, Bagrathion's army must have suffered severely. But so slow were the movements of the king of Westphalia, that the Russian general was enabled to pursue his route nearly unmolested. His rear-guard only

came in contact with the French, who were beaten on two successive days: and he arrived at Bobrinsk, on the Beresina, on the 8th of July. On that day Davoust was at Minsk; and, shortly after, Jerome, being ordered by Napoleon to put himself under the marshal's orders, quitted the army, rather than submit to what he considered an indignity. Davoust then pushed on to Mohilow, where Bagrathion was also hastening. The French reached the town first, and, strongly intrenching themselves in the neighbourhood, awaited the arrival of the Russians. They were about 30,000 in number, and were attacked, on the 23rd of July, by 20,000 Russians, under general Raefskoi. The French occupied a strong position in the defiles of a forest, between Saltanowka bridge and Fatowa mill, on the banks of the Mischowska, and were defended by earthworks, and a considerable number of guns. The Russians could make no impression upon them, and were obliged to retreat, after losing about 3,000 men: the French loss was quite as great; but, in their accounts, they say they had only 28,000 men opposed to 60,000. The day after the battle, Bagrathion was joined by a large body of Cossacks, under the hetman Platoff: he did not, however, renew his attack on the French. Continuing his retreat by Nov-Bichow (a circuitous route), he crossed the Dnieper, and joined the main army at Smolensko, on the 3rd of August.

That army reached the camp at Drissa without any interruption. The camp had been prepared with the utmost care. It was defended by ten redoubts, and 354 pieces of cannon, and could accommodate 100,000 men. But when it was taken possession of, it was found, that should an assault of the French be successful, there were so many impediments to a retreat, that it was considered unadvisable to remain there. On the 14th of July, therefore, Barclay de Tolly began to retire by the banks of the Dwina, to Witepsk. The troops reached Polotsk on the 16th; and there Alexander, by the advice of his generals, left the army, and proceeded to Moscow, where he was received with the most loyal affection. The nobles at once voted a levy of one man in ten from their serfs; and the commercial body furnished 24,000 men, with money enough to support them. From Moscow, Alexander went to St. Petersburg, where he found the old Russian nobles very indignant against Barclay de Tolly. The retreat of the army vexed and annoyed them; and they loudly expressed their opinion, that a Russian general would have led the troops to victory.

Napoleon left Wilna on the 16th of July, having been gratified, before his departure, by the receipt of intelligence, that the United States had declared war against Great Britain. He had nearly 200,000 men with him; and, on arriving at Drissa, was surprised to find the camp deserted. Remaining a few days at Glubokoe,

* The abstracts of these official documents are found in *L'Histoire de l'Empire Napoleon*, by Capefigue; and the *Imperial Muster-Rolls*, by Chambray.

† The number of horses include those of the artillery and baggage trains.

by which the Russians gained time that was very precious to them, he then took the road to Witepsk, reaching the Dwina on the 24th of July. The Russian head-quarters had been established at Witepsk the previous day; and when the French advanced guard arrived at Ostrowno on the 25th, it was found that the Russian general had assembled all his forces, about 80,000 in number, in the neighbourhood of the former city; the advanced guard, of 12,000 men, being strongly posted on the wooded heights, near Ostrowno. On the 25th, 26th, and 27th, there was hard fighting between detached corps of both armies, in which the Russians were beaten; losing nearly 4,000 men killed and wounded, from 700 to 800 prisoners, and eight pieces of cannon. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, Barclay de Tolly had resolved to give battle on the 28th; but, in the afternoon of the 27th, he received the intelligence of Bagrathion's change of route, in consequence of the check at Mohilow; and that his intention was to join the main army at Smolensko. Barclay de Tolly resolved, therefore, to retire in the night; and so well was the movement effected, that not a gun, a baggage waggon, or a straggler was left behind; and when the French, the next morning, discovered that the camp was evacuated, they found it impossible, for some time, to tell whether the enemy had taken the road to St. Petersburg or Moscow, so well had De Tolly masked his movements. At length the rear-guard was seen retiring, in excellent order, across the plain towards Smolensko. It was attacked by the French chasseurs, who were driven back, and many killed.

The French were now suffering as much from the heat, as they subsequently did from the cold; and they were also short of food. They occupied Witepsk on the 28th of July, and the emperor would have immediately advanced on Smolensko; but the march had scarcely commenced, when men and horses fell exhausted, the want of nourishment causing both to be overpowered by the heat. The march was therefore arrested; a few days' repose resolved upon; and the army returned to Witepsk, where the emperor established himself in the palace of the governor. He immediately employed his cavalry to scour the neighbourhood, and get provisions for themselves and the rest of the army; ordered a reserve of food for eight or ten days to be collected; and, resolving to make Orcha and Witepsk his *points d'appui* on the Dwina and the Dnieper, he directed hospitals and magazines to be established at both those places. A detailed inspection of his army, made at this time, established the fact, that his loss of men had been very great.

All the French troops did not remain inactive at Witepsk. De Tolly, on his route to Smolensko, detached Wittgenstein, with 25,000 men, to take up a position on the Dwina, so as to cover the

road to St. Petersburg. Oudinot, with 27,000, was sent to oppose him; and, on the 30th of July, a severe action took place at the village of Jakoubowo, in which the Russians, at first defeated, were ultimately victorious, Oudinot losing 4,000 men. Joined, shortly after, by St. Cyr and 12,000 Bavarians, Oudinot resumed offensive operations, and Alexander ordered Wittgenstein to be reinforced by 16,000 men from Finland, as he considered it of the first importance that the road to the capital should be protected. In another direction, Macdonald entered Courland, took Mitau, and invested Riga with Prussian troops. The Austrians, under Schwartzenberg, had hitherto been idle. They were now ordered to head-quarters, as the emperor Francis wished them either to be independent, or to be commanded by Napoleon himself, who did not feel it safe to entrust his rear solely to an Austrian corps.

At Witepsk, Napoleon, almost for the first time, assembled his generals together in a council of war; and the question, whether the army should winter there, or advance? was seriously discussed. The majority—Berthier, Lobau, Caulaincourt, Duroc, and Daru—were for establishing winter quarters at that town; Murat and Davoust were for going forward. This was Napoleon's own wish, and he resolved to march on Smolensko, and from thence to Moscow. Whilst at Witepsk, the emperor learnt that peace had been concluded at Bucharest between Russia and Turkey; that by a convention with England, that power agreed to pay the czar a subsidy of £800,000; and Alexander undertook, if the successes of the French endangered his fleet, to send it to England for security. At Witepsk, Napoleon was also first informed of the treaty, concluded in the previous April, between Russia and Sweden. Though these events were all against him, they did not cause him to falter in his resolution: Moscow was still the goal of his ambition.

At the same time that Napoleon resolved to advance on Smolensko, the Russians—the armies of Barclay de Tolly and Bagrathion having formed a junction—emboldened by the scattered position of the French, resolved to take offensive operations. They commenced on the 7th of August, by advancing, in three columns, on the French positions. At Inkowa, Platoff, with his Cossacks, defeated the advanced guard of Murat's cavalry, under Sebastiani, taking 500 prisoners. This appears to have been the first warning Napoleon received of their approach. He instantly sent couriers to all his commanders, ordering them to concentrate round his head-quarters; and on the 13th he commenced his march from Witepsk, crossing the Dnieper by three pontoon bridges, with a view to turn the left of the enemy. Ney and Murat, with the leading column, almost as soon as they landed,

came up with a Russian corps of 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse, under general Newerofskoi, which was falling back on Smolensko. This corps was attacked by 18,000 French cavalry, and it showed how the Russians could fight. Formed into two hollow squares at first, and as the numbers decreased, into one, they slowly retreated, though charged during the day at least forty times, and reached Kortinia, with the loss of 1,200 killed and wounded, and five pieces of cannon. The next day a junction was formed with general Raefskoi, and the united body reached Smolensko, where, on the 15th of August, the French army also arrived; the Russian main army, under Barclay de Tolly and Bagrathion, being then at Krasnoi, twenty-eight miles distant.

Smolensko is a venerable old city, of about 20,000 inhabitants, built on two hills, between which a narrow channel of the Dnieper runs, the communication being kept up by two bridges across the stream. It was defended by an old wall, thirty-five feet high, and eighteen feet thick; in which were thirty lofty towers; and in front was a shallow dry ditch, a covered way, and a glacis. Three gates gave access to the town, which were well protected, and a great many cannon were mounted on the walls. On the 16th of September, early in the morning, Ney's corps, by order of the emperor, attacked the principal tower, called the citadel, but was repulsed by Raefskoi, with considerable loss. The French were now rapidly collecting on one side of the town, while the Russian main army was advancing from Krasnoi on the other. Anxiously was the arrival of the latter expected by the gallant little band withinside the town: and when it reached the gates, and began to defile into Smolensko, great was the joy of the beleaguered troops and inhabitants. The defenders of Smolensko now numbered nearly 140,000 men; the assailants amounted to 150,000.

When Barclay de Tolly ascertained the amount of the force which was collected in front of Smolensko, he again, in opposition to the advice of Bagrathion and the principal officers, resolved not to hazard a general battle; and placing a strong rear-guard in Smolensko, at 4 A.M. on the 17th of August the troops began to defile out of the city, taking the road to Moscow. Bagrathion commanded the retiring force; De Tolly, with the corps of Doctoroff and Bagawouth, remained at Smolensko. Napoleon, when he saw the army was retreating, and unable to find a ford by which he could cross the river and reach them, ordered an attack to be made on the town. It commenced at 2 P.M., and the French, under Ney, Davoust, and Lobau, soon established themselves in the suburbs. But though about 150 cannon were emitting their showers of ball upon the ramparts, no impres-

sion was made upon them; and the assailants were unable to drive the defenders from the gates. Evening came, and interrupted the bombardment; when the darkness of night was dispersed by the flames from the burning houses in the city. Before the firing had ceased, the houses near the ramparts had been ignited by the shells of the besiegers; and the greater part of the edifices in the city being of wood, the flames spread rapidly. During the night, the garrison and many of the inhabitants retired; and the French, the next day, took possession of a ruined city, from which everything living appeared to have fled; all the wounded having been withdrawn, the magazines destroyed, and the bridges over the Dnieper broken down. On both sides a number of men—several thousand on each—had been sacrificed in the attack and defence of the previous day.

The Russians, under Bagrathion, took the road to Moscow; the corps which left Smolensko, under De Tolly, started along that to St. Petersburg, finding that the former was commanded by the French artillery; and, on the 18th of August, by a circular flank march, succeeded in joining Bagrathion. On the 19th, bridges being re-established across the Dnieper, Ney passed over and advanced, on the Moscow road, as far as Valtelina, where De Tolly had left a rear-guard of 5,000 men, to cover his movement from the St. Petersburg road. They were strongly posted on the side of a ravine—a little stream, called the Kolodnia, flowing in their front. Attacked by 25,000 French troops, the Russian general, Tonizkoff, who commanded, was compelled to retire. He was soon reinforced by fresh troops, and eight pieces of heavy artillery; Ney was also joined by general Gudin, with 12,000 men: thus, though the Russian force was raised to 25,000, the French were greatly superior in strength. The former, however, successfully defended their position, but with the loss of 6,000 men. The French lost 8,000, general Gudin being amongst the killed. The Russian general was taken prisoner during the heat of the battle, but his men stuck to their posts—thus enabling De Tolly to join Bagrathion; and all took the road to Moscow.

Napoleon had taken Smolensko, and advanced 400 miles from Kowno; but he was surrounded with difficulties. He wanted food for the able-bodied—hospitals and medicines for the wounded and the sick: Wilna and Witepsk are described as being little better than charnel-houses; and the convents at Smolensko—which, being built of stone, had escaped the flames—were filled with his disabled men, who were dying faster than they could be buried. He was still eighty leagues—about 250 miles—from Moscow; yet, though even now Murat was in favour of not venturing further into a

country where they had suffered so much, Napoleon determined to advance. He confessed that the condition of the army was frightful, and rendered peace necessary; but that, he said, could only be obtained at Moscow. There he was determined to proceed—concluding that the Russians would defend the city, and, as a matter of course, be beaten; and that he should be enabled to dictate his own terms of peace from the palace of the Russian emperor, within the walls of the ancient capital of his empire. News that he received from the corps on his flanks, confirmed him in his resolution.—Early in July, Bagrathion had detached general Tormazoff, with about 30,000 men, to threaten the French right; and he marched to the Upper Bug, defeating a Saxon detachment, under Regnier, at Kobrin, on the 27th, with the loss of 2,000 killed and wounded. This alarmed the Poles at Warsaw, many of whom fled; and the abbé de Pradt wrote earnestly to Napoleon, soliciting reinforcements. Schwartzberg was ordered to support Regnier; and on the 12th of August, the Austrians and Saxons, nearly 40,000 in number, attacked and defeated the Russians, who had to retire behind the Styr, with the loss of 4,000 men and some guns. This preserved the duchy of Warsaw from invasion, and Napoleon's right from attack.—On the left, Oudinot, reinforced, as already stated, by the Bavarians—reduced by fatigue, sickness, and want of food, from 30,000 to 12,000 men, without having been in action—had, since his defeat, again sought the enemy, with a view to retrieve his disaster. On the 12th of August, his advanced guard was attacked by the Russians, under Wittgenstein, and driven back, with the loss of 1,500 men. Oudinot retired to Polotsk, which stands at the confluence of the Dwina and the Polota, and established himself in front of that city. There he was attacked by Wittgenstein on the 17th of August; and that day neither side had any material advantage: but Oudinot was seriously wounded, and St. Cyr had to take the command. The next day the Russians resumed the fight, and at one time the victory seemed in their hands, the French being driven back to the walls of Polotsk. They rallied, however—the fight continued till dark, and then the Russians retired with the loss of 2,000 men and seven guns. Wittgenstein retired to Sewokhino; and St. Cyr sent the Bavarians, under general Wrede, in pursuit. They encountered the rear-guard of the Russians on the 22nd, were defeated, and returned to Polotsk. For the battle of the 18th, the emperor made St. Cyr a marshal: and these successes on his right and left, with the arrival of Victor at the Dwina, somewhat revived the spirits of the troops; which were greatly damped by the fatigue and privations they had to undergo, and the very different result of

the campaign, to that of those which, in former years, had been carried on so triumphantly in Italy and Germany.

Napoleon did not resolve to advance on Moscow without well considering his position, and taking measures which, he concluded, if he did not meet with success, would enable him to secure a safe retreat. He made Smolensko the base of his operations, summoning there marshal Victor, with his corps of 30,000 men. He also ordered, that various Polish, Saxon, Westphalian, and Hanseatic regiments, at Wilna, Dantzic, and Königsberg, should be marched to Smolensko and Minsk, for the purpose of providing such garrisons and detachments as might be necessary—his aim being, that Victor's corps should remain intact, to face any Russian troops which might return from Turkey. A division of marshal Augereau's was also ordered from Italy to Dantzic. Thus, when the French army set forward to Moscow, there were 50,000 men between Berlin and Dantzic; strong garrisons at the latter town, Königsberg, Memel, Kowno, Wilna, and Witepsk; marshals Macdonald and St. Cyr, the former with 24,000, the latter with 20,000 men, were posted on the Dwina; prince Schwartzberg was on the Dnieper; and there was a Polish corps at Mohikow, to connect the prince with Victor at Smolensko. With these precautions, the emperor persuaded himself that he was safe; and in order that the communications might not be interrupted, he constructed a line of small citadels, placing in each a hundred infantry, fifteen cavalry, and two pieces of cannon—thus securing the uninterrupted transmission of information and orders.

On the 24th of August the army left Smolensko. The advance was made in three columns, forming an extended line. In the centre was the light cavalry of Davoust and Ney, the cavalry reserve of Nausouty and Montbrun, a considerable force of artillery, the infantry of Davoust and Ney, and the guard. On the right, were prince Poniatowski's corps, and Latour-Maubourg's cavalry; and on the left, prince Eugene and the army of Italy, with Grouchy's horse. The quartier-general brought up the rear, with the parks of artillery, the engineers, and 1,000 waggons, laden with provisions for the guard, amongst whom the emperor did not wish to introduce habits of pillage: also for the general supply of the army, on any day when the troops might be concentrated to engage the enemy in battle. Davoust's corps carried eight days' provisions on their backs; but the other troops had to procure their subsistence as they marched onwards, from the districts through which they passed. The gross number of men on their march to the Russian capital, is estimated at between 145,000 and 150,000 men—all excellent troops. When put

in motion, the rumour spread that they were going to Moscow. "To Moscow!" then, cried the soldiers—"To Moscow!" "And they followed Napoleon, as, in olden times, the Macedonian phalanx had followed Alexander to Babylon." They took the route of the retreating Russians, by Dowgobouge and Wiasma, to Gjatsk; finding, as they made their way through the deserted country, that all provisions and stores—everything which could have been made useful to the invaders, had been carried off or destroyed, and all the villages and towns were burnt.

At Gjatsk, where Napoleon arrived on the 1st of September, he learned that Barclay de Tolly had been superseded by Kutusoff in the command of the Russian army. As we have already stated, the Fabian system of the commander-in-chief had disgusted the officers; and it was not much more palatable to the soldiers. After Alexander left the army for Moscow, the generals had frequent discussions; and at last—as we learn from the *Narrative of Events during the Invasion of Russia by Napoleon**—they drew up a declaration, not only embodying "the request of the army for a 'new chief,' but a declaration in the name of that army, 'that, if any order came from St. Petersburg, to suspend hostilities and treat the invaders as friends (which was apprehended to be the true motive of the retrograde movements, in deference to the policy of count Romanzoff), such an order would be regarded as one which did not express his majesty's real sentiments and wishes, but had been extracted from his majesty under false representations or external control; and that the army would continue to maintain his pledge, and pursue the contest till the invader was driven beyond the frontier.'" Sir Robert Wilson was the British commissioner at the head-quarters of the Russian army; and, being also an intimate personal friend of the czar, the generals requested that he would be the bearer of the declaration, and place it in the imperial hands. Sir Robert was induced to undertake the not very agreeable task; and he was, at the same time, solicited to inform Alexander, that the dismissal of his minister, Romanzoff, would be very acceptable to the troops. His excellency proceeded to St. Petersburg, where the czar received him courteously; and when he learned the object of his visit, good humouredly styled him "*l'ambassadeur des rebelles*." His majesty told Sir Robert, that he "was the only person from whom he could or would have received such a communication;" and after some consideration—though he would not dismiss Romanzoff, respecting whom, he said, the army was quite mistaken—he agreed to supersede Barclay de Tolly; and he said to Sir Robert Wilson—"You shall carry back to the army pledges of my determination to continue

the war against Napoleon, whilst a Frenchman is in arms this side the frontier."

The Russian generals would have liked to have seen Bagrathion at their head; but the wishes of the Russian nobility, which Alexander felt bound to comply with, were directed to Kutusoff, an officer whose only defect appeared to be his age; as he was in his seventy-fifth year. He was descended from a noble family; connected by marriage with the principal houses of Moscow; had just returned from a fortunate campaign on the Danube, and was a favourite with the soldiers. He joined the army at Gjatsk, where he was received with enthusiasm. He did not immediately arrest the retrograde movement of the army, but continued to retire till he reached Borodino, a village seventy-five miles W.S.W. of Moscow, on the Kolotza. Here he resolved to take up a position, and await the attack of the French. He posted his army with its right on the Moskwa, and its left extending to the little village of Semenowskoi. The centre was at Borodino; and the Kolotza, flowing past the right centre, covered the line as far as that place. The approach to this position was intersected by broken ravines: intrenchments were thrown up on the left, where the line was weakest; a wood, which flanked the right, was strengthened by field-works; two heavy batteries were erected in the centre; a formidable redoubt, on an eminence between the centre and the left, commanded the whole plain beneath; three redoubts were placed on the left, whose fire crossed that of the great redoubts; and on a neighbouring eminence rose another redoubt, commanding the road by which the French must advance. This position had been selected by colonel Toll, the quartermaster-general; and not one more eligible for defence presented itself on the road from Smolensko to Moscow.

The French continued their march from Gjatsk on the 2nd of September. On the 3rd, so inclement had been the weather, and such were the sufferings of the troops, that again urgent representations were made, by Murat and Ney, against any further advance. Napoleon, more moved than usual, replied—"Ah! well, if the weather have not changed by to-morrow, we will halt." The weather did change. The sun, on the 4th of September, shone brightly, and there was a lively drying breeze. "The lot is cast!" said the emperor, as soon as he ascertained the state of the atmosphere; "let us advance!" The army did march; and passed that night at Gridnewa. On the 5th, it renewed its advance towards the plain of Borodino. "On the line," writes the historian, "stood a celebrated abbey—that of Kolotskoi—a great building flanked with towers; the roofs of which, formed of coloured tiles, contrasted vividly with the sombre hues of the surrounding landscape. During many days, the troops had been advancing

* By Sir Robert Wilson: published as these sheets are passing through the press.

along the elevated plateaux which separate the waters of the Baltic from those of the Black Sea and the Caspian. On setting out from Gjatsk they began to descend the slopes, from which the Moskwa on the left, and the Protwa on the right, flow by the Oka into the Volga, by the Volga into the Caspian Sea. The landscape seemed to sink towards the horizon, and to be covered with thick forests; whilst a sky, half veiled with the light autumnal clouds, served to increase its sad and savage aspect. All the villages were either burned or deserted, and there remained only a few monks at the abbey of Kolotskoi."

The Kolotza (only a small stream) runs along the plain to Borodino, where it turns to the left. The army marched by the course of this river; and a redoubt, constructed upon a mamelon on its right, was the first point of attack. Murat and Cambray were ordered to carry it. They did so in the evening of the 5th of September, with great loss on both sides. The French say that they had 4,000 or 5,000 men, the Russians 6,000 or 7,000, killed and wounded.

The 6th of September, it is remarked, "by a species of mutual consent, had been allowed to pass by without even the discharge of a musket." The French passed the day in repose, indulging in cheerful discourse, and as cheerful songs. The Russians were on their knees, amidst 1,000 flambeaux, before an image of the Madonna of Smolensko, which, it was reported, had been saved, on the wings of angels, from the conflagration of that unfortunate city, and was now carried by the Greek priests through the bivouacs of the camp of Borodino. Kutusoff accompanied the procession in the midst of his staff. Napoleon, in his tent, completed his arrangements; received from colonel Fabvier, who arrived that day, an account of the battle of Salamanca; and when he had finished his narrative, dismissed him with the words, that he (Napoleon) would repair on the morrow, on the banks of the Moskwa, the faults committed at Arapiles. M. de Bossuet arrived, also, during the day. He was prefect of the palace, and brought a picture of the king of Rome, painted by Gerard. The emperor gazed at it earnestly before he returned it to its case. When he had finished for the day, and convinced himself that the Russians did not intend to retreat, he retired to take a brief repose. The troops in both armies were at rest. They slept round huge fires, lighted to protect them from the chill of the night, and the damp arising from a shower of rain which had fallen during the evening. All was still! And, for several hours, the most profound silence—the most intense calm—prevailed.

When, as the morning of the 7th of September dawned, the French found that the Russian army remained in the positions of the previous day,

and that, therefore, a battle must take place, but one spirit appeared to animate the entire host—that of emulating those heroic deeds which had conferred such honour on the French name. The men appeared to forget all they had gone through, and to be equally indifferent to what they might have to encounter: they only thought of the enemy in front, and were animated by a most eager desire to defeat Kutusoff and his army, and push on to Moscow. The officers evinced no less enthusiasm than the men. They also assembled very early in the morning; and soon after, Napoleon, on horseback, rode in amongst them. He surveyed the Russian position—saw that it was weakest on the left; and there he resolved that the principal attack should be made. Just then the sun broke out clear and bright. "It is the sun of Austerlitz!" was the emperor's exclamation. But, though there was a brilliance in the light, there was a cheerless coldness in the atmosphere: that, however, no one appeared to regard; and the drums and trumpets sounding the "call," the following proclamation was read to the troops:—"Soldiers! the battle is at hand, which you have so long desired; henceforth, the victory depends on yourselves. It has become necessary, and will give you abundance; good winter quarters, and a speedy return to your country! Conduct yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, Friedland, Witepsk, and Smolensko; and let the remotest posterity recount your actions on this day; let your countrymen say of you all—'He was in that great battle, under the walls of Moscow!'" In the Russian army there were similar notes of preparation: and, if less excited, Kutusoff's troops were, perhaps, more firm and determined than the French.

The numbers on both sides were pretty equal. The Russian army comprised 132,000 troops and 640 pieces of artillery: of the men, 7,000 were Cossacks, and 10,000 militia, who were, for the first time, about to fire a gun at an enemy. There was a strong body of the imperial guard, which occupied Borodino. Bagawouth's and Ostermann's divisions were posted on the plateau, in front of which the Kolotza ran; Doctoroff's defended the great redoubt; beyond which was Raefskoi and his corps, their right on the redoubt, their left on the village of Semenowskoi. The corps of Borosdin, and the division of Newerofskoi, held the redoubts, whose cross-fire aided that from the principal one; Touczkoff was posted on the Smolensko road, at the village of Ulitza; and another corps of the imperial guard was in reserve in the centre. Barclay de Tolly commanded the right, Benningsen the centre, and Bagrathion the left; Kutusoff giving orders to the whole. The French had 103,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 590 cannon. Besides the old and new guard, the army comprised the corps of marshals Davoust, Ney, and Junot;

prince Eugene, and prince Poniatowski; the cavalry being commanded by generals Nansouty, Montbrun, Grouchy, and Latour-Maubourg—all those officers receiving their orders from the king of Naples, who had the supreme command of the horse, as Napoleon had of the entire army. He placed Eugene's corps, with the heavy cavalry of Grouchy, on the extreme left. Then came two corps of Davoust's division; next Ney's corps, with Junot's in its rear; and, on the right, were the other three corps of Davoust's division, with the division of Poniatowski. The imperial guard was in reserve.

The signal for the attack was given at six o'clock, by the discharge of a gun from one of the French batteries; and the French columns advanced *en échelon* from the right, Davoust leading. The whole line was soon brought into action; but it was the batteries on the enemy's left which were, at first, the chief objects of attack. They were as bravely defended as they were gallantly assailed; and the French made no impression. General Compans, who commanded the first corps of Davoust's division, and led the attack, was wounded; Rapp succeeded him, and he also fell, as did Desaix, who next took the command. Davoust was also wounded, and the division wavered, but only for a brief space. They rallied, and, resuming the attack, one of the redoubts was taken, and, though the French were almost immediately driven out, they were in such force, that Kutusoff saw his left could not resist much longer, and he ordered Bagrathion's division up to its support. The battle continued to rage in this quarter with great fury; while Eugene, who had carried the village of Borodino, on the left bank of the Kolotza, crossed over, and attacked the great redoubt. Ney's three corps charged bravely on the enemy, opposite to them, supported by Murat, at the head of 10,000 cavalry: they entered the Russian intrenchments, from which they were driven by Bagrathion, and pursued some way across the plain; Poniatowski, also, having carried the village of Ulitza, was driven out again by Touczkoff. But the fate of the day soon changed. Davoust was reinforced by the young guard and a large body of the reserve cavalry; and the fire of 400 cannon was opened on the redoubts. The return fire from the Russians was terrific, and literally mowed down the French as they advanced; but they pressed on over the dead bodies, and ultimately success was theirs. The great redoubt was carried by Eugene's division, assisted by general Bonami: one after the other the remainder fell into the hands of the assailants; and then Bagrathion brought up the entire left wing to meet the French in the plain. There, for upwards of an hour, more than 80,000 men and 400 cannon kept up their murderous work. The slaughter on both sides was immense; but Bagrathion, and the chief of

his staff being wounded, and a corps of Davoust's appearing on the Russian flank, general Konownitsyn, who had succeeded Bagrathion in the command, withdrew behind the ravine of Semenskoi; and, though charged by the French cavalry under Nansouty, and exposed to the fire from the guns in their captured works, the Russians maintained that position during the day. While this contest was going on in the plain, the great redoubt was recaptured; and Platoff, having discovered a ford over the Kolotza, to the left of the French, they were attacked in flank, by 2,300 cavalry of the Russian guard, under Ouvaroff, and thrown into great confusion. But Napoleon directed more than 200 cannon against the great redoubt. Under their terrific discharge, Caulaincourt, at the head of Montbrun's cuirassiers—that general having been struck down by a cannon-ball—charged the Russian line; and the gallant fellows cut their way to the important work, just as prince Eugene and his infantry were again advancing up its slopes. Caulaincourt was killed at its entrance, but his men pressed on. The Russian artillerymen refused to surrender, and were nearly all killed at their guns; and the redoubt was again, and this time permanently, in possession of the French. The Russians had now all fallen back; but the batteries originally in their rear, now in their front, kept up a fierce fire on the French; and Kutusoff ordered a forward movement, with the object of regaining the ground they had lost. For near two hours longer the strife was carried on; then they were again driven back, and established themselves on the heights immediately in the rear of their original position—Poniatowski finishing the fight by driving Bagawouth's corps from the old Smolensko road, which it then occupied, and forcing it to retire and join Bagrathion's in the rear.

The French had thus obtained possession of the field of battle; but the Russians were drawn up in close array, in a strong position, with an immense park of artillery. It was a question whether they should be attacked? That would have required the 18,000 men of the guard, who had not yet been engaged; Napoleon having resisted all entreaties to let them take part in the action. After much thought, his mind was made up. "I will not destroy my guard," said he, "at a distance of 800 leagues from France; it would be scarcely wise to risk our last remaining resource." The attack, therefore, was not made; but as the Russian masses presented a wide mark for the French cannon, the emperor remarked, with what the historian of his wars terms "the cruel jocosity of the battlefield"—"Since they are still anxious for it, let them have it!" And a murderous fire was opened upon them from nearly 400 cannon—an act for which there was no necessity; and

the thought of which fills one with horror. The Russians returned the fire; but for every Frenchman struck, at least six Russians fell. After the sun sank, the cannonading gradually subsided; both armies, crushed by fatigue, sought repose, to rise in the morning to witness the horrors of the battle-field. Those horrors were never exceeded. Thousands of bodies, dead and wounded, covered the plain; whilst from 15,000 to 20,000 horses were either stretched on the ground, dead or dying, or were wandering about, giving vent to the most frightful cries. In the neighbourhood of the ravines, where the wounded had instinctively drawn themselves to escape fresh wounds, thousands of all the various nations engaged were lying together, without sense or motion. It was indeed a fearful sight! When an investigation was made into details, it was found that the French had generals Plausonne, Montbrun, Caulaincourt, Romeuf, Chastel, Lambert, Compère, Bessières, Dumas, and Canonville killed; thirty were wounded; and the loss of the other officers was in proportion. Napoleon, in his bulletin of the battle, dated from Ojask, on the 19th of September, stated his total loss at 2,500 killed, and 7,500 wounded: in all, 10,000. At St. Helena, he admitted that double that number was put *hors de combat*; but officers, who were on the ground, and who had ample means of obtaining information, say, that the total loss was very considerably greater even than 20,000. The Russians lost two generals, Kaitaisoff and Touczkoff, killed; thirty were wounded; and, of officers and privates, 15,000 were killed, 30,000 wounded, and 2,000 made prisoners. They lost thirteen pieces of cannon, and took ten from the French.

The next morning, Kutusoff—who had sent off what Sir Robert Wilson calls an “uncandid” account of the battle, which procured him the rank of marshal-general of the Russian army, and a donation of 100,000 roubles—having still 70,000 effective men, and 600 pieces of cannon, withdrew in excellent order upon the high-road to Moscow. The Russians carried off everything with them; not leaving any baggage or guns behind. They were pursued by the French cavalry; and their rear-guard being overtaken at Mojaisk, an engagement ensued, which ended with no decided advantage to either, but with about equal loss to each. Kutusoff then continued his retreat to Moscow, where his appearance surprised the inhabitants, who were induced to believe, from his bulletin, that he had won a victory. The French did not move on the 8th, except the division sent in pursuit of the Russians. The state of the army was fearful; though, as the enemy had retreated, it certainly had won the victory in the battle of the Moskwa—so the French call it: the Russians name it the battle of Borodino. The

surgeons were unable to take care of the wounded; it was impossible to procure anything like adequate accommodation for them; and many hundreds lay for days neglected on the field. Food was scarce; both the able-bodied and the wounded had to eat the flesh of the dead horses; and there was a want of almost everything in provisions, forage, medicine, and ammunition. Even Ney, hitherto the first to cry “Forward!” now advocated retreat. But the emperor thought retreat would be quite as disastrous as an advance, without any of the glory that might attend the latter; and being joined, that day, by the Italian division Pino, and the division Delaborde, of the young guard, which repaired much of the loss of men sustained in the battle, he resolved to go on to Moscow, where he still calculated upon dictating terms of peace. It was a hazardous experiment; and, had Kutusoff known the condition of his enemy, he need not have retreated beyond that city.

The Russians fell back, as the French advanced, very leisurely. On the 12th, the former bivouacked on the Worobiewo heights, immediately before Moscow; and there Kutusoff held a council of war, the majority of which decided upon continuing the retreat; the route adopted being to pass through Moscow, and then take the direction of Kolomna, with the view of cutting off all the French communications by a flank movement, and taking them in the rear. On the 14th the army defiled through Moscow, to the great dismay of the inhabitants, and the soldiers seemed to be impressed with grief as they passed through the streets. Milaradovitch was left in command of the rear-guard, which was not to leave the city till the main body was clear off. The French reached Worobiewo on the 13th; and, in the feeling of glory at approaching Moscow, all sense of their past privations, sufferings, and loss of life, was, for the moment, lost. Many, both officers and privates, had been in Egypt, in the Pyrenees, at Rome, Milan, Madrid, Vienna, and Berlin; and they now were wonderfully excited at the prospect of entering the grand metropolis of the east. With the feeling of joy at the sense of victory, doubtless were intermixed the confidence of obtaining plenty, and the hope of something like repose and ease for a short time at least. Still the honour that the capture of Moscow conferred, was the more vivid feature in the imagination, which already pictured still further and more brilliant successes in the distance. Under the influence of these feelings, the army, on the 13th, moved on the Russian capital, following the great Smolenske road. Davoust’s and Ney’s corps were in the centre; prince Eugene’s on the left; prince Poniatowski on the right; the guard in the rear; Murat at the head; and Napoleon in the midst. As they advanced, a messenger brought a proposal from



THE BATTLE OF MOSCOW.

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Milaradovitch, that all hostilities should be suspended till the evacuation had taken place. The emperor assented, as he did not wish to destroy Moscow; and it was agreed, that not a shot should be fired till the Russian army had left it—on condition that it defiled immediately across the city, without halting, which was just what Kutusoff wanted to do. The French army, however, continued its march; till at length—and here we again quote Thiers—"having reached the summit of a hill, they beheld beneath it an immense city, brilliant with a thousand colours, crowned with a multitude of domes, gleaming in the sunlight; and, altogether, with its mingled Gothic and Byzantine aspect, realising what is told in Oriental tales of the marvels of Asia. Monasteries, flanked with towers, formed its girdle; and, in its centre, on an eminence, rose a strong citadel—a species of capitol, where, side by side, stood temples reared to God, and imperial palaces; where, above embattled walls, arose majestic domes, bearing the emblem which is the epitome of the whole of Russian history and Russian ambition—the cross above the reversed crescent. This citadel was the Kremlin, the ancient dwelling-place of the czars!" The sight threw the soldiers into perfect ecstasies. "Moscow! Moscow!" they shouted; and seemed lost in a delirium of joy. Napoleon was more moved than was his wont: and his generals, thinking again that rash daring had achieved success, forgot their discontent, and overwhelmed him with congratulations.

Soon all this was at an end. The height was descended, the city reached; and the first who entered, Murat being among them, found nothing but silence and solitude. The Russian rear-guard had just cleared the walls on one side, when the French entered on the other. Murat, attended by his staff, and followed by a detachment of cavalry, dashed through the streets; but whether in the richest or the poorest quarters, met no one, till they encountered a few Frenchmen, with some Germans and Italians, who had been established in Moscow, and now implored the protection of the French soldiers from a number of brigands, who, they said, Rostopchin had let loose to massacre and to plunder. Of course, protection was assured. That bandits were loose, was soon ascertained: as the Kremlin was passed, several shots were fired from it; and it was found that some of those ruffians had taken possession of that palace. There was no difficulty in clearing it out, and in freeing that august building from their presence. All this time Napoleon was waiting outside the city, expecting deputations to offer him the keys, to make their submission, and to implore protection. Bitter was his disappointment. He would not enter Moscow that day, but remained in the Drogomilow suburb;

the troops being disposed around the walls, to prevent surprise, and there being, in the hospitals, 15,000 wounded Russians, whom Kutusoff left to the mercy of the conquerors. Had he been aware what was to take place, he would have spared no toil or trouble to remove them.

When Kutusoff, after he took the command of the army, marched to the east, he sent to count Rostopchin, the governor, to inform him that he intended to approach Moscow, with the object of "covering and defending that city, the loss of which he could not hazard." He also promised, that if anything should occur to induce him to change his purpose, he would give three days' notice of his intention to do so. Rostopchin had resolved, that, if Moscow could not be defended by the Russians, it should not be occupied by the French; and he informed those around him of his determination, in the event of the enforced retreat of the Russian army, "to convoke all the authorities and inhabitants, for the purpose of arranging a general and municipally-regulated conflagration; a sacrifice which he was confident would be unhesitatingly made by their patriotism, excited by their horror of the invader." The retreat was made without any notice to Rostopchin, who never forgave Kutusoff his breach of faith. Unable, from this circumstance, to arrange the methodic plan he contemplated for the destruction of the city, he still resolved that it should be destroyed. As soon as he was aware that the army would not defend it, he ordered all the inhabitants to leave, and to carry with them whatever part of their property it was in their power to remove. At the same time he liberated several hundred prisoners, confined for various offences; who agreed, as the price of their liberty, to obey his orders—which were, to remove or destroy the fire-engines and apparatus; to cut off the supply of water as much as possible; and to spread combustibles about in various directions. Upwards of 300,000 of the inhabitants quitted their homes; and whilst the nobles appear to have left their hotels perfectly furnished, the rooms being prepared as if they expected visitors, the middle classes carried away all they possibly could. The shopkeepers also, to a considerable extent, removed their goods; but much property was left behind; and most of the private cellars, and those belonging to tradesmen, were found well-stocked with spirits and wine; the provision-stores were, generally, in the same condition.

On the 14th of September Napoleon entered Moscow. On reaching the Kremlin, he ascended the tower, to view his conquest; but he was only greeted by the crows and ravens, which flew about in immense numbers. Descending, he distributed his army through the

various quarters of the city; and as the men met with abundance of provisions in the shops, whilst the officers found plenty of wine and stores in the abandoned mansions of the nobles, all appear to have given themselves up to pleasure—probably as intense as it was brief. In the afternoon, two fires occurred—one in a capacious building, containing a vast quantity of spirits; the other, in a bazaar to the north-east of the Kremlin, filled with rich silks. “No engines,” writes Sir Robert Wilson, “could be procured—no carts, no conveyance, not even buckets for the carriage of water: all had been carried off, or destroyed by the orders of Rostopchin. Still Napoleon flattered himself that these fires were occasioned by incidental occurrences, or too-prevalent irregularities. He entertained no suspicion that it was the initiative of a systematic conflagration, planned with the most daring conception, and executed with a persevering audacity unparalleled in history.”

On the 15th there were more fires; and, in the night, the whole city appeared to be in flames, the violence of which was increased, and they were spread into every quarter, by the high equinoctial gale which raged at the same time. After the fire had been burning many hours—spreading the utmost alarm and anxiety amongst the French, the sick and wounded, and the few inhabitants who had ventured to disobey Rostopchin, and had secreted themselves in out-of-the-way places, instead of leaving the city—a fellow was apprehended, who was evidently endeavouring to extend the ravages of the destroying element. From him was extracted the secret of Rostopchin’s orders to fire the city; and Napoleon directed, first, that every exertion should be made to subdue the flames, and to prevent their spreading; and then, that military commissions should sit, before whom incendiaries taken in the act were to be brought, for the purpose of being shot or hung; under these orders, 200 or 300 Russians were taken, and almost immediately executed.

Napoleon had established himself in the Kremlin, where he was in the midst of danger, for there were more than 400 ammunition wag-gons in its court, and about 400,000 lbs. of powder in its arsenal. At first he displayed no intention of leaving; but at length, on the 16th, he yielded to the desire of his officers; and descending to the quay, he there found his horses ready for him. He had great difficulty in threading the streets; and it was in the utmost confusion that the army quitted Moscow: all their dreams of glory, their anticipations of pleasure, “vanished into thin air.” As soon as anything like order could be restored, the divisions of prince Eugene and marshal Ney fell back upon the Zwenigarod and St. Petersburg roads. Those of marshal Davoust took the Smolensko route; Napoleon took up his quarters

at the *château* of Petrowskoie, a league distant from Moscow, on the St. Petersburg road, in the centre of the cantonments of prince Eugene. Early on the morning of the 17th he was abroad, and gazing upon the burning city. After watching the flames for some time, he exclaimed—“This sad event is the presage of a long train of disasters!”

The fire continued burning; and, on the 18th, the spectacle was sublime, though appalling: the entire city appeared enveloped in flames. It was not subdued till the evening of the 20th—not more than one-fifth of the capital having been saved. During the conflagration, the inhabitants who remained, and the French troops, daringly braved the flames, in order to ransack the cellars, the shops, and the houses, when they could get into them. Although much property had been removed, many valuables of all kinds remained: and the French and the Russians plundered alike—many of them drinking in the cellars till they were in a state of intoxication; and others attiring themselves in the various costumes which fell into their hands—laughing and shouting in riotous merriment, amidst the terrible scenes that were going on around them. Those scenes were more terrific from the loss of life as well as property which was the result of the fire: the estimate is, that more than 20,000 sick and wounded perished in the flames.

The destruction stayed, Napoleon, on the 20th of September, returned to the Kremlin; from whence he dispatched count Lauriston to Kutusoff’s head-quarters, with instructions to demand an armistice. That general, on leaving Moscow, had taken the road to Kolomna. But he made only two marches in that direction; and then, by a semicircular movement, he reached Kalonga, ninety-five miles south-west of Moscow, in the neighbourhood of the Smolensko road; and resolving to make that city the base of his future operations, he encamped at Tarutino, on the old central route between Kalonga and the capital; where he had an abundance of resources, and was enabled to procure ample supplies for the ensuing campaign. His men, aware of the burning of Moscow, are represented, by Karamsin, to have been filled alike with grief and indignation. Tears trickled down their cheeks, as they thought of the ruined city; but, with bitter sorrow at its destruction, was mingled the resolve to avenge it. It was at Tarutino that Kutusoff received a messenger, conveying to him the announcement that Lauriston was on the road from Moscow, and sought an interview with him,* for the purpose of conferring on the terms of a convention, “for the immediate retreat of the whole of the

* The account of the abortive negotiation with Lauriston, is taken from the narrative by the late Sir Robert Wilson—before quoted.

invading army from the territories of Russia;" that "convention also to serve as the basis of a peace, to which it was to be the preliminary." Kutusoff agreed to give the French plenipotentiary a meeting on the night of the 4th of October, at a station several miles from his most advanced videttes. General Benningsen, and the other generals, sent for Sir Robert Wilson, as soon as they were aware of Kutusoff's engagement, and urged him to induce the marshal to relinquish it; Benningsen informing the English commissioner, that himself and his brother officers "wished to avoid extreme measures; but their minds were made up; and it was the resolve of the chiefs, which would be sustained by the army, not to allow Kutusoff to return to the camp and resume the command, if once he quitted it for the midnight interview." Sir Robert immediately went to the commander-in-chief; and had some difficulty in getting him to give up his own arrangements for what were the commands of the emperor—not to treat with the enemy. In the course of the conversation, he told Sir Robert, that he knew the propositions which would be made were "of a pacific character;" and intimated, that "perhaps they might lead to an arrangement satisfactory and honourable to Russia." This avowal of Kutusoff, which seems to indicate that he must have received confidential communications from Napoleon—a declaration he made to Sir Robert Wilson, that he did not think it would be for the interest of Europe that Napoleon should be entirely ruined—and some other parts of his subsequent conduct, lead to the belief, that he was not so patriotic as has been generally imagined. However, at last he yielded, and agreed not to go to Lauriston: if the French envoy wished to make his communication, he must, he was informed, come to the camp. He did come—arriving about eleven at night. On his reaching the advanced posts, he was blindfolded, and conducted to the marshal's hut, where he was "introduced to a circle of the Russian generals, and to the English general by name." That introduction, as he afterwards said, caused him "immediately to comprehend from what quarter the obstacle had come to the execution of the original agreement." He made his proposals, which were forwarded to St. Petersburg. The emperor refused to take them into consideration, and severely censured Kutusoff for having consented for one moment to entertain them; giving him his absolute command, for the future, "to admit of no negotiation whatever, or any relation tending towards peace with the enemy." The czar was bound to take this course, by a more recent engagement with Bernadotte, with whom he had had a personal interview at Abo; and by his alliance with England.

Pending the reply to his overtures, Napoleon

was waiting impatiently at Moscow, where his army was suffering from great privations, and rapidly falling into habits of insubordination. Provisions of all sorts, when those found after the abandonment of the capital had been exhausted, were difficult to procure; and the soldiers who had enriched themselves by pillage, eagerly gave the most costly valuables for the commonest necessities. "Miserable horse-flesh was eaten out of golden dishes," says the historian, "by the officers, who were arrayed in the finest furs and silks of the east; and the common men, dressed in the spoils of Muscovite riches, were often on the point of starving." The Russians had established parties of Cossacks and other light troops all round the French cantonments. They occupied every road, cut off all communication, and prevented any supplies from reaching the invaders, whose advanced posts were destroyed. Thus, in the midst of much splendour, and some luxuries—for wine and brandy continued abundant, notwithstanding the quantities consumed—the army was suffering the pangs of hunger, and insubordination naturally increased. Yet, for some time, Napoleon would not hear of a retreat, which, he said, "would appear a flight, and Europe would re-echo with the news."—The weather had, up to the 13th of October, been very mild, for that time of the year, in Russia; but on that day snow began to fall. This was considered the sign of an early winter; and again the necessity of an immediate removal was urged upon the emperor, who seemed more disposed to listen to the representations of his generals. Whilst at the Kremlin he received couriers from Paris every four-and-twenty hours; and the news which one of them brought about this time, of the entry of the English into Madrid, did not tend to raise his spirits, which were much depressed by all that was passing around him. The same news also reached the Russian camp, and was hailed by Kutusoff with repeated discharges of artillery. He made it the occasion of issuing a proclamation to his soldiers, in which he said—"The campaign finished on the part of the enemy is only commencing on ours. Madrid has fallen! The hand of Providence presses on Napoleon. Moscow will be his prison or his tomb."

Napoleon determined that it should be neither; for he now made up his mind to retreat. Though he intended to make Smolensko the point to which his army should direct their march, he resolved not to take the direct road, which was completely devastated and waste; but to adopt that to Kalouga—a route that ran through the richest provinces of the empire. There were two roads, the old and the new, leading from Moscow to that town; of these, as Kutusoff was at Tarutino, on the former, Napoleon resolved to take the latter, by which he hoped to turn the

Russian flank, and gain Kalouga without risking a battle.

The Russians were on the alert—Kutusoff having resolved to resume offensive movements. On the 18th of October, he ordered an attack to be made upon the French advanced guard, which, 30,000 strong, under Murat and Poniatowski, occupied Winkowo and its neighbourhood, and covered Moscow. General Benningsen led the attack; and, after a severe fight, it was successful. The French were compelled to retreat with the loss of 1,500 prisoners, 38 pieces of cannon, 40 caissons, and their entire baggage. The movable kitchen of Murat was also captured; in which were found roasted cats and boiled horse-flesh—showing the straits to which the French were reduced. Napoleon was reviewing his troops in the Kremlin, previous to leaving Moscow, when he received the news of this disaster. He immediately sent out couriers to order the concentration of all the different corps: this effected, on the 19th he left the remains of the Russian capital, exclaiming, as he quitted the Kremlin—"Let us march on Kalouga; and woe to those who interrupt our passage!" His army had been considerably reinforced by the arrival of troops from the west of Europe, and the recovery of the wounded; and he started for the west, at the head of 103,000 men, with 600 pieces of cannon, and 2,000 carriages for transport, in his train. On marching, the army was greatly encumbered with its baggage. Though short of provisions, it had an immense supply of ammunition, found in the arsenal of the Kremlin, and which providentially escaped the conflagration; whilst numerous waggons, filled with the plunder and spoil rescued from the flames, followed each regiment. Amongst the spoils were the great cross of St. Ivan, Persian and Turkish standards, and other trophies carried off from the Kremlin, which citadel Mortier was left behind, with the rear-guard, to destroy. In the rear, were the French families, and the Germans and Italians, who had not left Moscow, and who, being now afraid to await the return of the Russians, asked leave to accompany the army. That leave could not be refused, but their presence added to the difficulties of the march. These fugitives, for such they really were, and the camp-followers, are said to have made up a motley host of 40,000 men, women, and children.

Kutusoff was speedily informed of the evacuation of Moscow; and he, in consequence, broke up his camp at Tarutino, being at the head of 80,000 regular troops, and 30,000 Cossacks. He also ordered general Winzingerode, who was at Klin, on the Iver road, to occupy Moscow. That officer arrived at the capital on the 21st, and advancing, in person, too incautiously to the Kremlin, with a party sent to summon the garrison to surrender, he was made prisoner.

Mortier abandoned the citadel in the night, having first laid trains to blow it up in various parts—which were only partially effective. He made all haste to join the emperor, who had adopted skilful measures to conceal his intended route, by first taking the old road to Kalouga, and then gaining the new one by cross-roads, which came out near the town of Malo-Jaroslavets, thirty-eight miles north of Kalouga, and the strongest position on the road. Kutusoff had, however, divined the views of the French emperor, and had himself taken the road to that town, dispatching Milaradovitch, with Doctoroff's corps, and some other troops, in advance, to occupy the post, if possible, before the arrival of the French. Though every exertion was made, the Russians, when they arrived, found that the place was already occupied by the advanced guard of the French, under general Delzons. Milaradovitch attacked these troops, and soon drove them out of the town. But prince Eugene, shortly after, came up with his entire division; and one of the most desperate conflicts of the campaign took place, continuing throughout the day. The object of the French was to force a defile, a little way beyond Malo-Jaroslavets, which would have brought them on the road to Kalouga; that of the Russians to defend this pass till the arrival of the main army under Kutusoff. The town was the chief scene of the fighting. It was situated on the incline of a hill, which was shut in on one side by thickets, and on the other the ground was rendered impassable by deep ravines. The place could not, therefore, be turned; and the two armies fought hand-to-hand in the streets; whilst the houses, all of wood, and set on fire by the discharges from the artillery, were burning rapidly around them. The French and Russians alternately took, and were driven out of, the place; but at night its ruins remained in the possession of prince Eugene, who lost 5,000 men. Still Milaradovitch had gained his object; though driven from Malo-Jaroslavets, he held the defile, and the advance of the French was arrested. He had, during the day, lost quite as many men as the French; and general Doctoroff, one of the bravest of the Russian commanders, fell early in the engagement.

The Russian army had arrived, towards the close of the day, on the other side of the defile, and took up its position on the surrounding heights. Napoleon, with the main body of the French army, had also arrived in the opposite direction; and passed the night near the scene of action—his head-quarters being at the village of Gorodnia; his place of shelter a miserable hut. He did not retire to rest. Parties were sent out to reconnoitre the Russian position; and he sat in consultation with his generals the greater part of the night. At daybreak, he set out himself to examine the ground, and,

with general Rapp, narrowly escaped being made prisoner by a flying party of Cossacks, under Platoff himself. These irregulars made a dash at a park of artillery, consisting of forty pieces, near Gorodnia; all of which they seized, driving before them the squadrons of horse which were on service in the immediate vicinity of headquarters. Napoleon and Rapp were both in the midst of the struggle; and had the Cossacks been aware of the magnitude of the prize within their reach, they could not have escaped. But knowing nothing of the presence of the emperor, the Cossacks thought only of the guns—all of which they would have carried off if they had had horses; but they had only secured eleven, when the dragoons of the guard appeared on the ground, and those became their prize. This affair made Napoleon painfully sensible of the inferiority of his light troops, to the dashing Cossacks. His deficiencies in other respects were also evident; and, after a careful inspection of the enemy's position, and a survey of his own, he determined not to attack the Russians, but, for the first time in his career, to retire before the face of his enemy in the open field. All his generals, except Murat, were in favour of this movement; and when it was resolved upon, he and Davoust differed as to the route which should be taken. The king of Naples recommended that the route should be by Borowsk and Mojaïsk, to Smolensko; whilst Davoust contended, that the retreat should be conducted by Medyn, as the Mojaïsk road was utterly ruined. Napoleon, who was never inclined to listen to Davoust, though he was one of his most able officers, took the advice of Murat; and, at day-break on the 26th of October, the army was set in motion on the Mojaïsk road. "By a singular coincidence," remarks Alison, "the Russian troops, at the same moment, abandoned their position, and fell back in the direction of Kalouga. The reason assigned by Kutusoff for this singular measure, was, the inquietude which he felt for the road by Medyn to Kalouga; but the adoption of it was a serious fault, which had nearly endangered all the advantages of the campaign."

Kutusoff's reason was not the true one. When the Russians arrived near Malo-Jaroslavets, in the evening of the 24th, they expected to be led against the French. The next day was devoted to repose; and they employed themselves, during the night, in preparing for the coming strife. At two o'clock in the morning of the 26th, the generals were summoned to a council, which Sir Robert Wilson attended. When it was assembled, "Kutusoff, sitting in the midst of the circle, shortly acquainted them, that 'he had received information which had induced him to relinquish the intention of defending the ground in front of Malo-Jaroslavets, and determined him

to retire behind the Koricza, to secure the road to Kalouga, and a communication with the Oka'"—the river on which that town is situated. "This announcement was a thunderbolt that caused a momentary stupor. It was, however, represented to him, 'that such a movement, at such a moment, and under the circumstances of darkness, and the narrow causeway on the line of retreat, could not be executed without perilous confusion: and that the enemy, seeing this, would doubtless endeavour to increase it by an attack; that the whole army would be placed in jeopardy; and the rear-guard inevitably lost, if the enemy availed himself of his advantage.' The English general, enforcing these considerations, was told by the marshal—"I don't care for your objections. I prefer giving my enemy a *pont d'or*, as you call it, to receiving a *coup de collier*; besides, I will say again, as I have told you before, that I am by no means sure, that the total destruction of the emperor Napoleon and his army, would be such a benefit to the world; his succession would not fall to Russia, or any other continental power; but to that which already commands the sea, and whose domination would then be intolerable.' The English general only replied, 'that the occasion was one for the performance of military duty, not for political altercation, which he should postpone; and that the marshal ought, in the discharge of that duty, always to respect the maxim—*Fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra*.' All further argument was a waste of time, and minutes were precious;"* therefore no more was said, and the retreat was commenced. The explanation of Kutusoff's conduct is, that he was the nominee of the Russian nobles, who then were jealous of England; and that he was their representative, and not the exponent of the emperor's views.

The French retired upon the great road to Smolensko, leaving Mojaïsk on their right; and, on the 27th, Napoleon had his head-quarters at Vereja, sixty-two miles from Moscow. The main body of the Russians were moving on parallel roads, under Kutusoff, who detached Milaradovitch and Platoff on the road taken by the French, to harass their rear. Had he followed them himself, he might have destroyed the entire army before it reached Smolensko; but, for several days, the French were scarcely molested on their march. The army was divided into three corps, which kept a few miles apart. Prince Eugene led the advanced guard; Davoust commanded the rear; and Napoleon, says Thiers, "instead of taking an active part in the conduct of the retreat, and bearing the brunt of the terrible evils of which he was the author, remained always considerably in advance of the rear-guard; being sometimes on horseback, and

* *Narrative of Events during the Invasion of Russia by Napoleon Bonaparte.* By the late Sir Robert Wilson.

sometimes on foot, but most frequently in a carriage, between Berthier, who was plunged in consternation, and Murat, who was almost annihilated by terror. He passed whole days without uttering a word; only rising at intervals, from the abyss of gloomy reflections in which he was sunk, to utter complaints of his lieutenants, as though he could still deceive any one by blaming others than himself." The horrors of the retreat began almost as soon as the army left Malo-Jaroslavets. The guards alone had a sufficiency of food; all the other corps were compelled to get subsistence as they could; and as the country was completely desolated, sometimes they were days without food. They passed within sight of the plain of Borodino—covered with innumerable skeletons, and the *débris* of the two armies; and when they reached the abbey of Kolotskoi, a number of the men, wounded at Borodino, surrounded the advanced guard, and begged to be taken on with the troops. Thousands of the wounded had been left there; and notwithstanding the attention of the surgeons—especially of the surgeon-general, M. Larrey, who then and subsequently displayed a noble heroism in the performance of his duty—the great majority died. Those of the survivors who could crawl from their beds, got into the road as the army was passing, and implored their countrymen not to leave them behind. The emperor was deeply moved with their appearance, and exerted himself to arrange means for their being conveyed along with the retreating force. The troops, however, rendered selfish by suffering, were very reluctant to displace any of their spoils to accommodate the wretched invalids. At length, room was made for most of them in the baggage waggons; but all were not removed, it is believed: and as, from that time, waggons and carts had to be abandoned almost every day, the horses dropping down on the road, and being unable to proceed, most of these poor creatures perished—not a few by the hands of the Russians, by whom they were found on the roads. From the same cause—the exhaustion of the horses—ammunition waggons had to be repeatedly blown up, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

The French advanced guard reached Wiasma on the 31st of October. Napoleon arrived on the 1st of November. Davoust, with the rear-guard, did not approach the city till the 3rd. The emperor thought he had avoided the Russians; but, on that day, Davoust was attacked by Milaradovitch and Platoff; and his corps would have been completely annihilated, had not Eugene Beauharnais and Poniatowski returned and aided him. As it was, the battle was fierce and well-sustained on both sides for several hours. At last, Davoust got his artillery and baggage safely across some fields, and the troops pushed

on for Wiasma, followed by Milaradovitch and the Cossacks, supported by prince Eugene of Würtemberg and his infantry, who came up after the fighting had continued for some time. Ney's and Campans' corps came to the support of the rear-guard and the viceroy, as they drew near Wiasma. The former was attacked by the artillery of Kutusoff's advanced guard; the main army being very near the town. The French entered in great disorder, and were soon driven out by general Paskiewitch, whose name first mingled in the affairs of the war on that occasion. The town took fire during the fight. The French—who lost, during the day, 6,000 killed and wounded, and 2,000 prisoners, the loss of the Russians not being more than 2,000—were in the greatest confusion, and their retreat might again have been cut off; but Kutusoff refused to advance. It was supposed, at the time, that he declined entering into a general engagement, to spare his men, and trusted to the destruction of the enemy by hunger and cold; and from the effects of the former, aided by fatigue, many were daily perishing. The cold had not been severe since the first fall of snow, on the 13th of October; indeed, Napoleon compared the season to that of an autumn at Fontainebleau. But, on the 6th of November, there was a heavy snow-storm. The cold from that time became intense: the roads were like sheets of ice: men and horses with great difficulty kept their feet: indeed, many of the latter could not do so, and were continually falling. The men, whose clothes were quite insufficient to protect them from the inclement weather, and who kept continually dropping their firelocks from their frozen hands, now began to despair of even reaching Smolensko, much less of ever seeing again *La belle France*!

On leaving Wiasma, Ney took the command of the rear. His corps was moved to that position; and the army, in the state of suffering we have described, kept the route to Smolensko, where the 1st division arrived on the 7th of November; but some corps were so much exhausted, that it was several days before all reached that city; and Napoleon did not establish his head-quarters there till the 9th. The men had, by that time, lost all sense of discipline; and, as they arrived, they rushed to the magazines, the officers setting the example. When collected at Smolensko, the army mustered about 50,000 men—scarcely half the number that had left Moscow. Reduced as they were, the magazines, collected by Napoleon's orders at Smolensko, were found insufficient for the wants of the troops; and if they had been more abundant, the intelligence which reached the emperor rendered it necessary to advance with as little delay as possible. The day before he entered the city, he was informed of a conspiracy at Paris against his authority; and he



RETURN OF THE FRENCH ARMY FROM MOSCOW.

From a Painting by Muller in the Paris Exhibition of Fine Arts 1855.

had scarcely taken up his quarters there, when he learned that he was seriously threatened on both his flanks. Wittgenstein, having been reinforced by the army of Finland, under count Steinheil, had resumed the offensive against St. Cyr and Oudinot, on the Dwina; and though he had been defeated at first, he had succeeded in forcing the French to retire from Polotsk, and had, on the 7th of November, captured Witepsk. Napoleon sent Victor to support Oudinot; and the Russians, who had taken up a strong position at Smoliantzy, were attacked on the 14th. After several hours' fighting, and the loss of about 3,000 men on each side, the French retreated, and Wittgenstein established his forces on the banks of the Oula.—In another direction, on the right, Tchichagoff, at the head of the army of the Danube, had advanced from the south, established a communication with Wittgenstein, and threatened Minsk, which fell into the hands of one of his generals of division, Lambert, on the 15th of November. Napoleon had caused to be established at that town, a *dépôt* of ammunition and provisions; and its capture was of the greatest importance to the Russians, who found there, according to Sir Robert Wilson, "forty days' supplies of grain and cattle, beer and spirits, for 100,000 men;" 30,000 pairs of shoes, with clothes and equipments in proportion; 27,000 muskets, a great quantity of powder, and a number of cannon, some of which had previously been taken from the Russians.

The successes of the enemy on his flanks, and without the means of sustaining his army at Smolensko, Napoleon found that the only chance of safety was in another onward move, which he hoped would enable him to reach Minsk before it fell into the hands of the Russians—a hope that, like many others formed since he first crossed the Niemen, was doomed to be disappointed. He left Smolensko on the 13th of November, stronger than he entered it. The reserves he found there, and some detachments that "dropped in" during the time the French remained, had raised the army to nearly 70,000 men; but only about 42,000 could be considered "able-bodied" and "effective." Of these, 5,100 were cavalry, the remains of the splendid corps which crossed the Niemen in June; and they were formed into one body, under Latour-Maubourg. The old and young guards, though they had never been in action, were reduced to 10,000 bayonets and 2,000 horse. The 600 cannon, brought from Moscow, were now only 250; but they were too many for the exhausted means and strength of the men, who still suffered dreadfully from the inclemency of the weather. In his 29th bulletin, Napoleon says, that "the cold increased; and, from the 14th to the 16th, the thermometer was sixteen and eighteen degrees below the freezing-point. The

roads were covered with sleet; cavalry, artillery, and draught horses perished every night, not by hundreds, but by thousands; particularly the French and German horses. More than 30,000 died in a few days; the cavalry was entirely dismounted; the artillery and waggons were without horses; they were obliged to abandon and destroy a large part of their cannon, of their munitions of war, and provisions."

Their route from Smolensko was by Krasnoi, where Napoleon and the advanced guard arrived on the 15th of November. They drove out a Russian division, under Ojarowski, and bivouacked for the night. The Russian main army, still keeping their parallel march, had arrived in the same neighbourhood; Kutusoff's force—"after deducting every corps detached, and estimating the diminution from casualties of all descriptions—amounting to at least 80,000 combatants," with "every arm in high order;" and he had "600 pieces of well-horsed cannon."* Had the Russian general made the slightest effort, he might have arrived at Krasnoi certainly by the 13th—two days before the French, so greatly inferior in force, reached it.

Napoleon, on arriving at Krasnoi, felt his situation to be very critical: he had ordered Davoust to remain in the rear for the purpose of supporting Ney in his retreat; and he was not joined by Eugene till the middle of the night of the 15th. That general had been attacked by the Russians; his force was reduced to 3,500 men; and he arrived without cannon or baggage—all being taken by the enemy, or abandoned. Soon after his arrival, he was sent on to Liady, to secure that point of retreat. Davoust, who left Smolensko on the 16th, detained his troops, on the route, in pursuance of the emperor's orders, to await the arrival of Ney. The intelligence of prince Eugene's disasters, however, reached him; and he thought it best to send to Ney, informing him of that general's losses, and the necessity thus imposed upon him of immediately joining the emperor. At 3 A.M. on the 17th, he commenced his march to Krasnoi; and succeeded in effecting his junction with Napoleon, who had drawn up his little army of 12,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and thirty guns, in two parallel lines, to cover the main road. He placed his right on Krasnoi, his left on the Lossneia ravine; and his centre opposite the village of Ouwarrowo, from whence two Russian battalions were expelled. Davoust joined the emperor just before Milaradovitch and prince Galitzin made an attempt to recover the village. A column of *voltigeurs* of the imperial guard defended it, who repulsed the first assault; but they could not stand against the renewed fierce attacks of the Russians, and were all either killed or taken. The fighting continued during the day; and had a move in advance

* Sir Robert Wilson.

been made by the army under Kutusoff, the entire French force must have been captured or destroyed. He, however, remained inactive; and Napoleon, after sustaining severe loss, was enabled to pursue the road to Orcha without further molestation.

"It was not," says Alison, "without anxious deliberation at the Russian head-quarters, that the resolution to let Napoleon pass without resistance was adopted." The historian, in this respect, is wrong. There was no "anxious deliberation;" but there was, as he also states, much anxious and earnest entreaty to Kutusoff, to let the army march on Krasnoi. But, says Sir Robert Wilson, that general would only make the French pass along the edge of the sword; he would never fling it across their course. In vain the Russian generals—in vain Sir Robert himself—remonstrated and entreated; in vain the soldiers demanded, with loud cries, to be let loose. Sir Robert "pledged himself, from his own observation, that, by the single word '*march!*' the war would be finished within an hour. The Russian dryly replied, 'You had my answer at Malo-Jaroslavets.'" It has been hitherto supposed, that ignorance of the exact strength and position of the French, and the distance which the Russian generals were from each other, led to several escapes of the retreating army, that seemed quite unaccountable: it now appears, that those escapes were the result of Kutusoff's determination to get the French out of Russia, but not to destroy them. With this view, having at last allowed generals Tormazoff and Rosen to advance to Krasnoi, which they could not reach till Napoleon and his guards had passed, and Davoust and his corps had time to take to the woods—he detained them there, and kept his army immovable, "because Ney's corps was still at, or on the way from, Smolensko." The troops under Tormazoff and Rosen captured, at Dobroia, a mile and a-half from Krasnoi, many hundred fugitives, with abandoned cannon, tumbrils, and carriages—some of the latter with horses attached to them, so rapid had been the flight of the owners and occupants. One carriage captured was Davoust's, in which was found his marshal's bâton, with a number of maps and plans, especially one of Central Asia and India; the invasion of which was a part of Napoleon's plan for an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Alexander.

Ney had been left at Smolensko, with the French rear-guard of 7,000 men, to blow up the ramparts, and then to join Davoust, who, as we have seen, felt himself obliged to advance to support the emperor, instead of waiting for Ney. The latter evacuated Smolensko at daybreak on the 17th of November; and the French had scarcely got clear of the walls, before Platoff and his Cossacks entered. They were immediately

divided into two bands, to pursue the retreating force on both banks of the Dnieper. The band under Denisoff, which took the left bank of the river, found, soon after leaving Smolensko, 112 cannon, which the French had abandoned. Though encumbered with a number of camp-followers, Ney and his corps appear to have marched unmolested on the 17th; but on the 18th, on approaching Nicolino—a village about four miles from Krasnoi, and six from the Dnieper, from which it is separated by a thick wood—it was found, that the Russians, 12,000 strong, under Milaradovitch, were posted on a hill, which overlooked the village, at the base of which ran a broad and deep ravine. They could not pass without fighting; but all hostile movements were suspended for some time by a thick fog. When it cleared away, the French had descended one side of the ravine, ascended the other, and were near the summit of the eminence on which the Russians were posted. The latter immediately opened upon them a deadly fire of grape from forty guns: the French, undismayed by the numbers that fell, rushed forward; and a part of the corps nearly reached the batteries, when the Russians charged with the bayonet. Short, but decisive was the struggle; the French were driven down the hill into the ravine—the Russian Hulus of the guard sweeping through their ranks, and capturing an eagle. Ney, ignorant that the emperor had left Krasnoi, and still desirous of reaching that town, then opened a fire on the Russians with twelve guns—all he had; and ordered colonel Bouvier to head several corps of sappers and miners, and storm the Russian batteries. They gallantly attempted to perform what was an impossible task, and, charged by the Russian grenadiers of Pawlask, nearly all perished! Sir Robert Wilson described this engagement as "a combat of giants, hand-to-hand; and, relatively to numbers, one of the most slaughterous of the campaign." Ney now found it necessary to retreat, and he withdrew his terribly shattered force into the wood which lay to the left of Nicolino.

It is difficult to consider a situation more desperate than that of this gallant but unfortunate little band. In a Russian winter night they were entangled in a wood, without either food or fire, surrounded by foes, and entirely destitute of information as to the country or the inhabitants; but sadly convinced, that wherever they met with a Russian, they encountered a bitter and relentless foe. Colonel Pelet, who had been severely wounded in the battle, urged that the retreat should be continued by crossing the Dnieper; and Ney taking his advice, collected all his remaining troops, to seek the banks of the river. Two messengers arrived from Milaradovitch—one shortly after the other, to offer him terms of capitulation: these he

detained, in order that the Russian general might be kept in ignorance of his movements. The troops, in advancing to the Dnieper, had to pass within half a mile of the place where Denisoff, with his Cossacks, was bivouacking; and the lights burning in the bivouac served as guides. On arriving at the river, it was found to be frozen over; but it would not bear the guns. On the first trial, the ice gave way, and Ney was obliged to abandon all the artillery he had with him, with the baggage-carts and waggons. The men, however, were able to effect their passage, but not so silently and secretly as to escape the notice of the Cossacks, who descended to the river before all had crossed, and made several hundred prisoners. When Ney collected his men on the right bank of the river, he found that he had only 3,000 left; all the rest had been killed or taken prisoners. The camp-followers had been reduced nearly in the same proportion. Even now danger and difficulty were not over. Platoff and his band of Cossacks were on that side of the Dnieper; and they harassed the retreating troops on the 19th and 20th, and would have cut them all off, but for a wood which flanked the road where they took shelter, and which the horses could not penetrate. Twenty-five miles from Orcha—to which place Ney had been informed, by Davoust, Napoleon was retreating—two Polish officers rode forward to reach the main army, if possible, and report Ney's position. They were fortunate enough to elude the Cossacks, and encountered Eugene's corps at Liady. As soon as he received their intelligence, that officer marched to meet Ney, whom he encountered eight miles from the town; to the great joy of all. Soon after the united corps reached Orcha; and when Napoleon heard of their arrival, he burst into a fit of unwonted emotion, and exclaimed—"I have three hundred millions in my coffers in the Tuileries; I would willingly have given them to save Ney!"

At this time the army was almost annihilated. The losses, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, since the 14th of November, had been enormous; and there were scarcely 12,000 fighting-men under the eagles, though the crowd of straggling soldiers, baggage waggons, cannon, chariots, and camp-followers, was immense. The cavalry was nearly unhorsed; and it was found necessary to collect all the officers who had a horse remaining, to form a squadron of four companies of 150 men each, in which generals acted as colonels, and colonels as subalterns. This was termed the "sacred squadron;" it was commanded by general Grouchy, under the orders of the king of Naples, and its duty was, never to lose sight of the emperor. Every day many poor fellows were left exhausted on the road; and it is melancholy to know that they met with no pity from the Russians, who treated the prisoners

that fell into their hands most barbarously. This began as soon as the French turned their backs on Moscow. When the Russian soldiers took any prisoners, they often stripped them naked, and made them march in that state; or they turned them adrift to be the sport and victims of the peasantry. Sir Robert Wilson witnessed many murders and other barbarities, which he could not prevent; the peasantry declaring, that to desist from torturing their enemies and putting them to death, "would be an offence against the avenging God of Russia, and deprive them of His further protection!" Finding his inability to repress the horrible practices which were constantly resorted to—and which had some excuse from the barbarity of the French, who ravaged the country, and mercilessly killed their prisoners—the English general, he tells us, "sent off a despatch to the emperor Alexander, to 'represent the horrors of those outrages, and to propose a check.' The emperor, by an express courier, instantly transmitted an order, 'to prohibit the practice, under the severest menaces of his displeasure and threats of punishment.' At the same time, he directed a ducat in gold to be paid for any prisoner delivered up by a peasant or soldier to any civil authority for safe custody.' The order was beneficial, as well as creditable; but still the conductors of prisoners were offered a higher price for their charge, and frequently were prevailed on to surrender their trust." The same authority also tells us, that, during this retreat, "famine ruthlessly decimated the ranks of the French. Groups were frequently overtaken, gathering round the burning or burnt embers of buildings which had afforded cover for some wounded or frozen soldiers;" and "many in these groups were employed in peeling off with their fingers, and making a repast of, the charred flesh of their comrades' remains!" "Innumerable dogs crouched on the bodies of their former masters, looking in their faces, and howling mournfully; whilst others were tearing the still living flesh from the feet, hands, and limbs of moaning wretches, who could not defend themselves, and whose torment was still greater, as, in many cases, their consciousness and senses remained unimpaired!"—All the horrors of this retreat were not known till Sir Robert Wilson's *Narrative* appeared. Nor, though the attachment of the soldiers to Napoleon has often been spoken of, could it scarcely have been supposed to reach the height that authority says it arrived at. He tells us, that whilst a general recklessness, a callousness to everything but momentary relief, prevailed amongst the French captives—they "could not be induced, by any temptation, by any threats, by any privations, to cast reproach upon their emperor as the cause of their misfortunes and sufferings. They were 'the chance of war,' 'unavoidable difficulties,' and 'destiny,' but not 'the fault of Napoleon.'

The famished, dying of hunger, refused food rather than utter an injurious word against their chief."

Napoleon reached Orcha on the 18th of November. There he found ammunition and provisions, which were distributed to the troops; and he attempted to re-establish something like order and discipline amongst them. He had still thirty-six cannon left. These he formed into six batteries, six guns in each; two were allotted to prince Eugene, two to Davoust, and two to Latour-Maubourg. He also issued the most positive orders to his officers, "to incorporate all stragglers into the different corps; to punish, by trial before provost courts, all who again quitted their ranks; to give up all horses to the artillery; to burn all effects, except a change of linen and shoes; and also all carriages, except a certain number for the use of the emigrants from Moscow; and to render all generals and others responsible for the execution of orders which the honour of the French and the safety of the army required." The issuing of such regulations, which are characterised as "judicious," and the observance of which, we are told, was "essential," speaks volumes as to the state to which the once "grand army" was reduced.

The Beresina was now the destination of the emperor and his troops, reinforced by the garrisons of Orcha and Mohilow, and a dépôt of cavalry from Gorki. Oudinot, after his defeat by Wittgenstein, had also advanced to the Beresina; had driven the Russian generals, Lambert and Langeron, from Borisow—a town on that river, thirty-eight miles from Minsk; and was ready to support Napoleon, who at first intended to cross the river at that spot. Oudinot made this important capture on the 23rd of November; on the same day defeating the advanced guard of Tchichagoff, with the loss of 1,000 men. On the route from Orcha, however, Napoleon learned that there was a practicable ford at the village of Studienka, a few miles above Borisow; and he resolved to effect the passage there. Before he reached the banks of the river, he had a body of 70,000 or 80,000 people with him, the fighting part of whom are classed, by Sir Robert Wilson, as follows:—

Troops.	Commanders.	Infantry.	Cavalry.
Old Guard	Lefebvre	4,000	—
Young Guard	Mortier	3,000	—
Cavalry of the Guard	Bessièrès	—	1,500
1st Corps	Davoust	1,500	—
2nd Corps, with Dombrowski's men, and the Minsk gar- rison	Oudinot	6,000	1,800
4th Corps	The Viceroy	1,600	—
3rd and 5th Corps, division Claparède, and the Mohilow garrison	Ney	3,000	400
8th Corps	Junot	—	—
9th Corps	Victor	12,000	1,200
4th Corps, reserve cavalry	Latour-Maubourg	—	150
		31,100	5,050

There were, also, about 4,000 armed artillerymen (the number of cannon being augmented to

260 pieces since the junction of Oudinot and Victor), escorts, head-quarters guard, &c.; the remainder were camp-followers, fugitives, and other non-combatants—"useless hands, and worse than useless mouths."

These various corps concentrated on the heights above Borisow; and indications were given of an intention of crossing there—preparations for throwing a bridge across the river at Brill, and other demonstrations, being made. Whilst they were going on, Kutusoff, with the main body of the Russian army, was on the left side of the Beresina, to the left of the French; Wittgenstein was on the same side, on the right; and Tchichagoff on the right bank, in front, covering Borisow and Studienka. On the 25th of November, that officer received a message from Kutusoff, informing him, "that Napoleon intended to pass the river at Beresina," a village ten miles below Borisow. The message was accompanied by an imperative order, "to move on that menaced point, with sufficient force to oppose the attempt." Tchichagoff was compelled to obey that order; and to that movement Napoleon owed his safety. On the 24th, the sappers and miners began to prepare materials for bridges to cross the river at Studienka—a work of great difficulty, for all the pontoons had been destroyed at Orcha. Two bridges were designed, about 200 yards distant from each other—one for cavalry and carriages, the other for infantry. They were completed, under great difficulty and danger, by the 26th; the sappers working amidst blocks of ice, and the water sometimes reaching their shoulders. As some Russian detachments were observed on the right bank, general Corbineau and his cavalry swam their horses across, landed, and chased them from the shore. They remained there; and, on the 26th, a brigade of infantry also safely passed over to the west side of the river. Napoleon reached Studienka early that morning, leaving general Partonneaux, with a strong division, at Borisow, and ordering Victor to cover the rear. The troops continued to cross on the 26th and 27th; the bridge for carriages breaking twice during the time. The Russian general Tchaplitz, who had been stationed off Studienka, but had been recalled to the Lower Beresina by Tchichagoff, in consequence of the orders he received—was informed that the enemy was crossing just at the spot he had left. He returned, but was too late; the advanced guard of the French had strongly posted themselves, and could not be dislodged. He was obliged to retire, therefore, and join Tchichagoff; and the time thus gained enabled Napoleon to pass over the greater part of his army, and secure the road to Zembin. Victor's division, and Partonneaux's, however, remained; and they were both in imminent danger, for Wittgenstein had come up in force, and thrown his men across the great road



THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.
PASSAGE OF THE BEREZYNA.

by which Partonneaux had to retreat, and which Victor had passed. The former attempted, on the evening of the 27th (he had been ordered by Napoleon not to quit Borisow before), to cut his way through this force. At first the Russians fell back, and the French drove them from a farm called Staroi-Borisow. Numbers, however, triumphed. The French were driven back, and attempted to regain Borisow; but it was already occupied by Platoff and his Cossacks. Ultimately, Partonneaux, and all the men of his division who survived, laid down their arms during the night of the 27th. In the meantime Victor had taken refuge in a ravine, which terminated on the Beresina. There, on the 28th, with between 9,000 and 10,000 men, he defended himself against 40,000 Russians, under general Diebitch. The fighting continued all the day; and Victor lost 400 out of 700 or 800 cavalry, and 3,000 infantry. The Russian loss is said to have been double that amount. In the night, the French, who never fought more bravely, reached the bridges, carrying with them all their *matériel*, and all their cannon, except two pieces.

The French who had passed to the right bank of the Beresina, were also attacked, on the 28th, by Tchichagoff's army, returned from the lower part of the river. Oudinot and Ney had 9,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry, besides the guard, under Napoleon, which formed a reserve. Tchaplitz began the attack by charging Oudinot's force, who defended the right and centre. He was wounded very early, and then Ney took the command. The fighting continued till midnight, and ended by the Russians being withdrawn; each side having lost about 5,000 in killed and wounded.

Whilst this desperate fighting was going on on both sides of the river, the non-combatants kept rushing to the bridges, to cross to the other side; and such a scene of horrible confusion was probably never before presented. Repeatedly the passage of the bridges was blocked up by carriages being overturned, or getting locked together. The horses broke from them, and, with many cavalry horses without riders, flew wildly about: men, women, and children were precipitated into the river, and most of them were drowned. The shrieks were appalling; and we can well believe that it was, as we have seen it described, a "pandemonium of horrors." Victor's division—what remained of it—arrived at the bridges as night set in. With difficulty the soldiers forced a way for themselves; and very soon after they began to pass over the bridge for carriages, it broke. This increased the confusion; but the remains of the mixed multitude who had not crossed, then began to get tired, and overpowered by fatigue. The soldiers having all crossed, except the rear-guard, they tried in vain to induce the helpless crowd to pass over; and were compelled, at last,

to leave them, in order to ensure their own safety. At length morning dawned. Napoleon had ordered the bridges to be destroyed at day-break (about 7 A.M.), to prevent Wittgenstein's army from gaining the right bank. He had entrusted the duty of destroying them to general Eblè, of the engineers, under whose able and energetic superintendence they had been erected. Seeing so many fugitives on the bank, he delayed, for two hours, carrying out his orders; during which time several hundreds crossed over. At length the Russians were seen, and he could delay no longer. Combustible materials had been placed under and upon the bridges, and they were immediately fired. The scene that ensued was heartrending. Many of the fugitives were crossing when the bridges took fire, and were enveloped in torrents of smoke and flame. Many were precipitated into the stream; others were carried in by the falling bridges; and all perished! Those who remained on the right bank sent up a cry of despair, for the Cossacks were amongst them. They put a few to death, and drove the remainder—between 6,000 and 7,000 men, women, and children—towards the Russian army. The booty taken by the Cossacks was immense. Much of the spoils of Moscow and other places had been in possession of the troops, the camp-followers, and fugitives. They had adhered to it as long as possible. Very little, however, was carried across the Beresina, and the Cossacks came in for the prize.

The French continued their retreat, followed by the Russians, who, on the 30th of November, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of December, made many prisoners, and took nearly all the French guns. The horses and carriages were also nearly all gone, and the emperor had to walk on foot. At night he bivouacked in the midst of the remains of the brave old guard. On the 3rd he reached Molodetchino, in Russian Poland, where he indited his 29th bulletin; which, like Kutusoff's account of the battle of Borodino, is very "uncandid." Whilst the advantages obtained over the Russians were represented as greater than they really were, nothing was said of his tremendous losses in men. He admitted, however, that the "army had need of its discipline being re-established, of recruiting itself, remounting its cavalry and artillery, and replenishing its stores." On the 5th of December he arrived at Smorgoni, another town of Russian Poland, 45 miles E.S.E. of Wilna. There, on the 6th, he called together in council, Murat, Eugene, Berthier, Ney, Davoust, Lefebvre, Mortier, and Bessièrès, and communicated to them his intention of leaving the army—an intention which he had previously made known to count Daru, who urged him to remain: but Napoleon feared that Germany would rise; that his retreat would be intercepted; and he could not bear the

idea of being made prisoner. He told his generals, he quitted them, but it was to seek 300,000 more men. The Russians, he said, had little to do with the late disasters; and that peace was not concluded at Wilna or Smolensko, he attributed to the extraordinary blunders of the king of Westphalia and the duke of Abrantes. With all the disasters, "the campaign of Russia," he observed, "would always be considered as the most glorious, the most difficult, and the most honourable which modern history has recorded." He concluded by stating, that he should leave Murat, aided by Berthier, to exercise the chief authority over the army in his absence. The marshals heard him, at first, with disapprobation, and in silence; but before he finished, he almost persuaded them that he was right. Saying farewell, he left them, and immediately entered a *calèche* placed on a sledge. Caulaincourt accompanied him in the carriage; marshal Duroc and count Lobau were on the sledge; and on the box of the carriage were Rustan, his favourite Mameluke, and captain Wasowitz, of the Polish lancers, who acted as interpreter. At Miedniki, the duke of Bassano exchanged places with Caulaincourt, and the party proceeded on their way—Wilna being their first destination.

The sufferings of the army were very great after Napoleon departed. The cold was intense—27° and 31° below zero, with a clear sky, and a keen sharp wind, that penetrated everything. What little discipline had remained, soon vanished; all fraternity of arms, all the bonds of society, were forgotten and torn asunder; hunger and cold appeared to have subverted every human feeling. The strong fell upon the weak, and despoiled them; the dying were stripped before their fleeting breath had left their emaciated bodies; and the dead horses were torn in pieces to furnish food, for which the starving troops contended in dreadful animosity, literally tearing the morsels out of each other's mouths. Added to this, the Russians pursued them so closely, that scarcely a day passed on the route to Wilna, without men and guns being captured. Between the Beresina and Wilna, numerous recruits had joined the army; yet, when the fugitives entered that town, they did not amount to half the number which had crossed the river. At Wilna, there were magazines, plentifully supplied, and the fatigued and exhausted troops hoped there to have had some repose; but the Russians, now as rapid in their movements as they had been slow in the early days of the retreat from Moscow, came in sight, and they were obliged to resume their march; all the stores not consumed in their brief stay, being abandoned. They arrived at Wilna on the 9th, and left it on the 10th; and five miles from the town, what few guns and carriages remained with

them, were abandoned; and the soldiers pillaged the treasure-chests, which Berthier had entreated count Daru to be careful and carry off from Wilna, and which were said to contain 10,000,000 francs. Murat had only 4,500 combatants when he arrived at Kowno, on the 11th; Ney, who brought up the rear, had about 1,000. At that place were a German garrison of 1,500 men, forty-two guns, and 2,500,000 francs in money. But the Cossacks, who entered Wilna as soon as the French had left it, were again upon them at Kowno. Ney and Girard, with muskets in their hands, animated the men, and drove the Cossacks from the gate of Wilna, which they had entered; and, with the assistance of the garrison, planted twenty-four pieces of cannon on the redoubts—with which the enemy was kept at bay. In the night the place was evacuated—Ney setting fire to the bridges over the Wilia and the Niemen; and being himself the last French soldier who quitted Russia, he walked alone across the forests to Gumbinnen, in East Prussia, where he joined Murat, who had arrived on the 17th of December. A few days after, several hundred men reached Königsberg, the sole remains of that mighty army which had invaded Russia—all the *matériel*, baggage, cannon, horses, and ammunition of that army, having been lost.

During this retreat, Macdonald, with the Prussian corps, under general York, was in the neighbourhood of Riga; and Schwartzberg and Regnier were in Southern Russia. After the French had crossed the Beresina, Wittgenstein was ordered, by Kutusoff, to cut off the retreat of the French and Prussians to the Niemen. They did not begin to retire from Riga till the 18th of December, when the French marched first, followed by the Prussians, at half a day's march distance. The latter were harassed by the garrison of Riga in their rear; and on the 25th of December, Diebitch, with 2,000 men, interposed between the two corps. As Wittgenstein's army was following close behind Diebitch, York was threatened in rear, front, and flank. Finding his position desperate, on the 30th of December he signed an armistice with Diebitch, agreeing to remain neutral, and, if the king permitted, to join the Russians. Macdonald continued his retreat, harassed by flying parties of the Russians, but was never brought to action, and he reached Königsberg on the 3rd of January, 1813. Schwartzberg also evacuated the Russian territory on the 7th of that month: Regnier soon after followed him.

Thus Russia was free from the enemy; but she had suffered immense loss. Her ancient capital, her "holy city" of Smolensko, and many towns and villages, were destroyed; the country was laid bare and devastated; and the loss of life, though nothing like that of the French,

had been very great. During the latter part of their pursuit of the retreating army, owing to the cold, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies, the sufferings of the Russian troops had been almost equal to those of the enemy; and, in the middle of December, the effective force of the whole army did not exceed 100,000 men. On the 22nd of December, the emperor Alexander arrived at Wilna, where, aided by his brother, the grand-duke Constantine, he exerted himself to procure every requisite for his troops; to whom, on the last day of the year, he issued a spirited address, telling them, that they had acquired a title to the gratitude of Russia, and the admiration of the world. To Sir Robert Wilson, he complained, in confidence, bitterly of Kutusoff, who, he said, "had done nothing he ought to have done—nothing against the enemy that he could avoid. All his successes had been forced upon him;" but "the nobility of Russia had supported him, and insisted on his presiding over the national glory of the war." It was on the 26th of December that the emperor saw Sir Robert. Half-an-hour after he left him, he had to decorate Kutusoff with the order of

St. George, which, he said, he "considered a trespass on the institution." He should feel too much humiliated were Sir Robert present at the ceremony; he had no choice, however, and must submit to a controlling necessity; but he "would not again leave his army; there should be no future opportunity for additional misdirection by the marshal." Alexander showered rewards upon his other officers, and also upon the troops; and issued a general amnesty to the Poles who had joined the insurrectionary movement, and declared for the independence of Lithuania.

The Russians estimate, that the French lost 125,000 men in the different engagements; and 100,000 by cold, disease, and hunger. They took forty-eight generals, 3,000 officers, and 190,000 privates, prisoners; and captured seventy-five eagles or stand of colours, and 929 cannon, exclusive of those which were thrown into the river or buried. These totals very nearly assimilate with those given by Bouterlin: and certainly, there never was a more complete wreck, than that of the "grand army" of France in this Russian campaign.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MALET'S CONSPIRACY; NAPOLEON AT WARSAW; HIS ARRIVAL AT PARIS; HE RECEIVES THE PUBLIC BODIES; TAKES STEPS TO RECRUIT HIS ARMY; THE RUSSIANS CROSS THE VISTULA; THE POLICY OF PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA; THE FRENCH FORCES IN THE NORTH; INCREASE OF THE FRENCH ARMY; NAPOLEON SEEKS THE MEDIATION OF AUSTRIA TO OBTAIN PEACE; FRENCH FINANCES, AND STATE OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE IN 1813; NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENT WITH THE POPE; NEGOTIATIONS AND ALLIANCES BETWEEN THE VARIOUS POWERS, PREVIOUS TO THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813; DISSOLUTION OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE; NAPOLEON LEAVES FRANCE; STATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT ARMIES; COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN; BATTLE OF LUTZEN; THE FRENCH AT DRESDEN; BATTLE OF BAUTZEN; ARMISTICE OF PLESSWITZ; NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE; THEIR FAILURE; RENEWAL OF THE CAMPAIGN; POSITIONS AND STRENGTH OF THE ARMIES; PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS; BATTLE OF DRESDEN; BATTLE OF KULM; OTHER MILITARY OPERATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF LEIPSIK; DETAILS OF THAT BATTLE; BATTLE OF HANAU; NAPOLEON AT ST. CLOUD; RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

WE have stated that Napoleon, the day before he arrived at Smolensko, received intelligence of a conspiracy which had been discovered at Paris; and it is the general opinion that this information greatly influenced his determination to return to France. It was organised by a man named Malet, who, born in 1754, and entering the army at an early age, distinguished himself in the wars of the revolution. He attained to the rank of commander of a battalion, of which he was deprived, for some alleged illegal practices at Civita Vecchia, in 1806; and, by the sentence of a commission of inquiry held at Paris in June, 1807, he was imprisoned. He appears to have conceived the first idea of the project he subsequently carried out, in 1808, during the absence of the emperor

in Spain. The unexpected return of his majesty, early in 1809, prevented his bringing it to maturity; and it slumbered till Napoleon's absence in Russia—at a distance of many hundred miles from Paris—appeared to afford a favourable opportunity for its revival. It was a well-planned scheme, carried on with consummate audacity, and was very nearly being successful. With the aid of two accomplices—Lafon, an old abbé, also a prisoner, and Rateau, a young corporal, who was employed as a guard over him—more nominally than anything else, for the surveillance exercised was very slight—he forged a decree of the senate, proclaiming the death of the emperor, abolishing the imperial government, and declaring him (Malet) governor of Paris. Orders on the treasury for

sums of money, and appointments of officers to various posts, were also forged. Provided with these papers, he had no difficulty in evading the guard set over him by the inspector of police, in whose custody he was; and dressing himself in the uniform of a general of brigade, he went to the house of Soulier, colonel of the 2nd regiment, told him that Napoleon had been killed before Moscow on the 7th of October, and produced the decree of the senate, with another, raising Soulier to the rank of general of brigade, accompanied with an order on the treasury for 100,000 francs for his use. Soulier joined him, professing to believe in his representations, if he did not really think them authentic. The adjutant-general Doucet was gained by similar means: the soldiers of the 2nd regiment, and the 10th cohort, believing the report of the emperor's death, obeyed the orders of Malet, and liberated generals Lahorie and Guidal, two republicans, who had been long detained; seized and imprisoned Savary, the minister, and Pasquier, the prefect of police; and induced Frochot, prefect of the department of the Seine, to order the Hôtel-de-Ville to be prepared for the provisional government. Malet went himself to the hôtel of general Hullins, the governor of Paris, and asking to see him in private, shot him in the face, and left him wounded, and bleeding. He had dispatched forged orders, addressed to the commanders of two other regiments in Paris, who implicitly obeyed him; and, by their means, he obtained the command of the principal military posts in the city, with the possession of the barriers, and he gave strict orders to let no one pass into the country. He thus had all Paris at his command, with the exception of the adjutant-general's office; and he went there with twenty-five men, to arrest Laborde, one of the officials. Doucet was present; and whilst Malet was talking with him, the inspector-general to the minister of police arrived, to receive some instructions relative to an Englishman, whom he had arrested by order of the duke of Rovigo. He saw Malet conversing with the adjutant-general, and immediately exclaimed—"This is my prisoner." Telling him that he had no right to leave his house without his (the inspector's) leave, the officer turned to Doucet, and said—"There is something wrong here I do not understand; arrest him, and I will go and inform the minister of police." Malet attempted to draw a pistol, but Doucet and Laborde rushed upon him, and he was secured. A little inquiry then unravelled the entire plot. The soldiers, informed that they had been deceived, returned to their allegiance much more cheerfully than they had left it, with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Very soon, the minister of police, and the other persons who had been imprisoned, were set at liberty; and Malet, Guidal, and Lahorie took their

places. The next day the trio were shot on the plain of Grenelle; eleven of their co-conspirators were also executed—a most unnecessary exercise of the law's severity.

When Napoleon learnt the details of this conspiracy—which he did before he reached Smorgoni—they filled him with alarm, as they proved how faint his hold was upon the people of France. This thought mingled itself, during his journey, with those devoted to the few brave fellows he left behind him in Russia; and it would appear to have been predominant, from the first steps he took after his arrival in Paris. While his once brilliant army was suffering the most intense privations, and dying as fast, from fatigue and exhaustion, as from the hands of their enemies, he pursued his way to that capital, closely wrapped up in his furs, and preserving an impenetrable *incognito*. At Warsaw he stopped to address the Poles; and there he sent for the abbé de Pradt, to whom he made himself known. He is reported to have held a long conversation with the abbé, in which he frequently repeated the phrase—"From the sublime to the ridiculous is but one step." He asserted that the cold, and the cold alone, had occasioned the reverses he could not altogether deny; and told the abbé he should soon return to the Vistula with 300,000 men. At Dresden he also made himself known to the king of Saxony; and there leaving his sledge, he borrowed the carriage of his ambassador, M. de Saint Aignan, and posted on to Paris, where he arrived on the 18th of December. The empress received him affectionately, but with surprise. Maria-Louisa had quite supposed, when she married, that her husband was one whom fortune would never forsake. To her he repeated the same story he told the abbé de Pradt—that all had been brought about by the cold. The next day he received his ministers, and other great personages of his court; and with them he made the conspiracy of Malet his chief topic, blaming them for their remissness, awaiting their explanation with *hauteur*, and appearing to think the events in Russia of little importance compared with those which had taken place at home, and which threatened the permanence of his dynasty. With respect to this conspiracy, he asked questions, and made remarks, with a view to place his ministry in the wrong, and to avoid being questioned himself; and was especially wroth with them for not recollecting, when they supposed he was dead, that the empress and the king of Rome survived. The result of the interview was, that the ministers retired abashed and humiliated—all except prince Cambacérès. To him Napoleon expatiated on the effects of the cold; on the folly of Alexander in burning his own towns; on the personal dangers he had run, and those which he must still encounter; and, therefore, on the

imperative necessity that existed for securing the crown to his son, in the event of his death. Before Cambacérés left, it was arranged, that M. Frochot, prefect of the Seine, who had displayed great credulity with respect to the Malet affair, should be arrested; and that, on the following day, the great public bodies should attend at the Tuileries, to present addresses to the emperor, congratulating him on his return.

On the 20th, the senate, the council of state, and the administrative bodies of the capital, attended at the Tuileries; and addresses were read, which were all of one purport, having been drawn up from hints suggested by Cambacérés. That from the senate, prepared by their president, Lacépède—"one of those writers," says Thiers, "who are ever ready to devote their pens to the service of those who are capable of rewarding them"—was the most striking. It congratulated the emperor on his "propitious return," and France, on that happy event; adverted to the Malet conspiracy, and severely condemned those who "had attempted to throw back the empire into the midst of that anarchy from which the genius of the emperor had rescued it." Having disposed of that subject, the address adverted to the one nearest Napoleon's heart, as follows:—"At the commencement of our old dynasties, the monarch, more than once, ordered that every Frenchman, of whatever rank, should bind himself, by a solemn oath, to observe fealty to the heir to the throne; and sometimes, when the age of the young prince permitted it, a crown was placed upon his head, as a sign of his authority, and the symbol of the perpetuity of the supremacy of his family." This course was recommended as one proper to be pursued under the new dynasty; and then a few words were added with respect to the Russian expedition; to the "barbarous conduct of the Russians" in burning their towns; to the alleged object of Napoleon in carrying on the war; to the hope of obtaining an equitable arrangement; and to the courage of the French troops, which, no doubt, was abundantly manifested. Napoleon briefly replied, asserting, that he considered it his duty, before all things, to secure the tranquillity and happiness of France, and to save her from the desolation of anarchy. He asked of heaven the gift of courageous magistrates, as well as of heroic soldiers; and although it was generally said, that the noblest form of death was that encountered on the field of honour, yet he contended, that the death of a magistrate perishing in defence of his sovereign, the throne, and the law, was more glorious still. The rallying-cry of their fathers was, "*Le roi est mort—vive le roi!*" In those few words were conveyed an intimation of the principal advantages of royalty. Having closed this part of his reply, by saying that he had studied the disposition manifested by the people in various ages—had

reflected on what had taken place at various epochs of their history, and was prepared to do what was best for their welfare—the emperor briefly alluded to the war with Russia, which, he said, he had undertaken without animosity; and would gladly have spared her all the evils she had brought upon herself. "I might," said he, using more emphasis than he imparted into any other portion of his reply—"I might have armed against her a portion of her own population, by proclaiming the freedom of the serfs. This measure was frequently demanded of me; but I refused to adopt a course which would lead to the destruction of thousands of families." He again attributed the misfortunes of his army to the weather; and having concluded by thanking the senate, he replied to the council of state much to the same effect—except that he introduced rather an impassioned philippic against the "men who proclaimed the principle of insurrection as a duty; who paid court to the people, by inviting them to assume a sovereignty for which they were unfitted; who destroyed the sanctity of the laws, and the respect due to them, by making them depend not on the sacred principles of justice, but simply on the will of an assembly, composed of men entirely ignorant of the first principles of legislation, or of administration of politics, or of the art of war."

At this time, Napoleon was ignorant of the disastrous fate of his army; and having procured from the council of state a conviction of M. Frochot of a "want of presence of mind," with a recommendation for his removal from office, which he lost no time in carrying out, he took immediate steps to raise reinforcements to dispatch to the north. Before he left for Moscow, he had ordered the conscription for 1813 to be levied; and these men, to the number of 140,000, had all been assembled in the dépôts in the previous October. Here was a large army; but it was not sufficiently numerous for Napoleon's plans; and he set agents at work, to induce some of the cohorts of the national guard—whose terms of enrolment precluded them from being sent out of the country—to petition for leave to join the grand army. These agents succeeded much better than could have been expected. The number of cohorts that made the application was great: the permission they asked for was most readily granted, and confirmed by a decree of the senate. Napoleon thus obtained another 100,000 of the most vigorous and ablest men in France. He had formed his own estimate of the number of men still on the borders of Russia; and with the remains of the various corps under Ney, Victor, and Eugene; those of Macdonald and Augereau (the latter occupying the line of the Elbe); from 15,000 to 18,000 men, under general Grenier, who, selected from the old regiments of the army of Italy, had been stationed at Berlin; the Prussians, under d'York (of whose

defection he was not aware); and the Austrians, under Schwartzberg—he calculated that there would be, on the lines of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Niemen, at least 200,000 men; and as, in three months' time, he could transport the 240,000 he had raised in France to join them, he expected, with this second large army of 440,000 men, to overawe Prussia and Austria, and to bring Alexander to terms.

The misfortunes which had befallen his army after he quitted it, were, however, soon known to him. They did not end at the Russian frontier. When Murat arrived at Königsberg with a few hundred men of the guards, the inhabitants displayed the utmost exultation. At that time, there were about 12,000 sick and wounded in the hospitals of that city, including numerous officers; and a fear that the inhabitants would rise, and that even these invalids would not be safe, induced Murat to send to Augereau, who immediately ordered one of his corps, under general Heudelet, to protect them. The inhabitants were thus held in check; but they are said—although some Prussians displayed considerable humanity, and evinced the greatest respect for men who had suffered so much—to have extorted, from men and officers, all the money they possessed, for food and clothing. The fugitives were soon, also, threatened by the Russians. At Wilna, Alexander had assumed the command of the army; and had ordered Wittgenstein to cross the Vistula, and pursue the French into Prussia. On the 13th of January, 1813, that general issued a proclamation to the Prussians; in which he told them, that “the Russians had avenged the infamous invasion of their territory, had annihilated the enemy who inundated it, and were now engaged in pursuing the scattered relics of that immense army. They crossed the frontiers of Prussia, solely to pursue the flying remains of the common foe—the enemy of the human race; and with no other object but to conquer a desirable and honourable peace. They came not as enemies, but friends; and whilst property would be held sacred, the most exact discipline would be preserved.” On the 15th and 16th, Wittgenstein's army crossed the Vistula, and advanced in two columns—one marching by Königsberg and Elbing, the other by Tilsit and Friedland, on Berlin. The Cossacks, and some light cavalry, under Platoff, also crossed the river, and moved on Dantzic, arriving before that fortress on the 24th of January, and immediately commencing its blockade. A third, under Tchichagoff, had crossed the Vistula earlier, marched through East Prussia, and arrived, in the middle of January, at Marienburg. A fourth, under the emperor himself, who was accompanied by Kutusoff, marched through Lithuania, and established itself at Plonzk, early in February.

A fifth, under Milaradovitch, Sacken, and Doctoroff, followed Regnier and Poniatowski, who were retiring towards the Upper Vistula. Of these corps, Wittgenstein's first came on the track of the enemy, whom he surprised at Marienwerder, near the Vistula, on the 16th of January. That place was prince Eugene's head-quarters, and he was obliged to evacuate it, leaving 1,000 prisoners, and losing 600 killed. Murat, who had retired to Posen, on that day resigned the command of the army, which prince Eugene was obliged to assume—if, indeed, the few troops he had at his disposal were worthy the name. At this time, the fortified posts on the Vistula, in the hands of the French troops, were well supplied with provisions. General Rapp, at Dantzic, having been joined by the Polish division Grandjeau, and Heudelet's corps (which Murat dispatched there from Königsberg), had 25,000 men under his command; but prince Eugene, at Posen, had little more than 10,000 French troops—of whom 1,800 were fresh recruits—1,200 Neapolitans, and 4,000 Bavarians. General Regnier, prince Berthier, and prince Schwartzberg, were at Warsaw, covering Posen on the right.

Notwithstanding the disasters of the French, the king of Prussia did not, at first, entertain the idea of abandoning his alliance with Napoleon. When his majesty heard of the defection of general d'York, he disowned his proceeding, and threatened to have him tried by a military commission. That threat, however, was not carried out; but he sent M. de Hatzfeldt to Paris, at once to clear his majesty from any supposed complicity with that officer, and to propose to the emperor the only terms, a compliance with which would prevent him from joining the enemies of France. These were—the removal of the Prussian court to Breslau, to take it out of the theatre of hostilities; liberty to increase the Prussian army; and the evacuation, by France, of the fortresses on the Oder.—Soon after his return from Russia, the emperor had caused it to be indirectly intimated to the Prussian monarch, that a more close alliance might be contracted between the two countries, by the marriage of the heir to the Prussian throne with a French princess: of this proposal, M. de Hatzfeldt was ordered to take not the slightest notice.—The position of the emperor Francis, as not merely the ally, but the father-in-law, of Napoleon, was at this time one of peculiar delicacy, as the interests of Germany and those of his son-in-law were quite opposed to each other. Under the advice of M. de Metternich, he resolved to maintain the French alliance; and as Napoleon wished to have at his court some distinguished Austrian diplomatist, M. de Bubna was sent to Paris, with instructions to inform the emperor, that his imperial master was faithful to his engagements; but, at

the same time, to point out the desirableness of peace. Austrian envoys, at Berlin, Munich, and Dresden, were also ordered to enforce on the sovereigns of Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony, the advantages of a peace concluded with a due regard to German interests; at the same time, the augmentation and organisation of the Austrian forces were commenced, in order that the emperor might be prepared for any emergency. Thus, at the commencement of 1813, Napoleon was surrounded by difficulties. Instead of the 200,000 men who, he expected, were holding the Russians in check, he had only a few thousand fugitives, unable to make a stand against the foe; and instead of obedient and willing allies, he had only counsellors, who proposed terms which they evidently meant should be the conditions of their continued allegiance.

Deep and most painful must have been his feelings at this period, but he concealed them under an air of icy indifference. He was, at first, greatly enraged at the departure of Murat from the army: however, he resolved, on consideration, to overlook it; and he announced the change of command in the *Moniteur*, in which journal, France was told, that "the king of Naples having been compelled to resign the command of the army through indisposition, he had transferred it to the hands of the viceroy. The latter was more accustomed to the conduct of a great administration, and had the emperor's entire confidence." Napoleon himself wrote to Eugene, authorising him to summon Grenier's corps from Berlin, and promising to dispatch him 60,000 men from France in a few days. As he was greatly in want of cavalry, the emperor ordered general Bourcier, who had been sent to Germany and Poland to purchase horses, to buy all the animals he could meet with, at any price, and to take them by force, if their owners refused to sell them. These were to be sent to Eugene, to mount some of his troops; and an earnest appeal was made to the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine to send cavalry to Posen.

Having given the necessary instructions to prince Eugene, the emperor employed himself in raising forces in France; in taking steps to open a negotiation for peace, through the mediation of Austria; in providing the ways and means to pay his troops; and in concluding an agreement with the pope, to whom he made overtures soon after his arrival at Paris. With regard to the army, he determined to increase his 240,000 men to 500,000. For this purpose he obtained, in January, a *senatus consulte*, which placed at his disposal 100,000 conscripts of the years 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812, who ought to have been exempt from serving in the active army; and 150,000 more of the conscription for 1814. At that moment the conscription was most unpopular with the working classes; but

amongst the higher ranks of society, there was, apparently, no desire to abandon the fortunes of Napoleon. The city of Paris setting the example, most of the large towns in the empire offered to supply, in numbers proportioned to their means, horsemen properly equipped; and the *Moniteur* was, for some time, filled with addresses from public functionaries and public bodies, professing the utmost loyalty, and offering their persons and property to test their affection for the Napoleonic dynasty. At a later period, the senate, by another *senatus consulte*, gave the emperor the disposal of an additional army of 180,000 men, which was to be raised "to increase the active force:" 10,000 out of the 180,000 equipped themselves at their own expense, and were called "mounted guards of honour." The sons of the nobility, and rich *bourgeoisie*, who hitherto had purchased exemption from military service by paying immense prices for substitutes, constituted these "guards;" and they were, says Thibaudeau, "hostages, who would be a security to the emperor that their families would not form conspiracies in the interior of the empire." This drain upon the population had serious effects upon the industrial resources of France.

Before he summoned his legislative body to consider financial matters, Napoleon, in January, held a council, composed of the duke de Bassano, the arch-chancellor (Cambacérès), the prince de Talleyrand, M. de Caulaincourt, the duke of Cadore, M. le Bernardiere, and M. d'Hauterive (the two latter of whom were the chief secretaries of the department of foreign affairs). His object in consulting these personages was, to receive their advice upon the state of Europe, and the measures best calculated to put an end to the existing struggle. When they met, the emperor briefly addressed them. He said he desired peace; but he did not fear war, as, "in spite of the losses caused by the rigour of the climate, the resources of the empire were still large." He represented Austria, Prussia, and Denmark as faithful to their engagements—Prussia being about to bring general d'York to a court-martial for signing the armistice. Russia had need of peace; and, though greatly influenced by England, he did not think she would persist in a struggle which must end in her discomfiture. The question was, after having made arrangements for the development of their forces, whether they should offer terms, or wait till proposals were made to them? And, if they resolved upon the former course, whether direct negotiations should be opened with Russia, or whether they should seek the mediation of Austria? Every member of the council offered his opinion; and all were in favour of peace; but, as to the course to be pursued to obtain it, a vote was taken, as they were not unanimous. Three—MM. de Caulaincourt, Cambacérès, and Talleyrand—were for at once opening a communication

with Russia; the other four were in favour of Austrian mediation. That course the emperor resolved to adopt; and after an interview with M. Bubna, he wrote an autograph letter to his father-in-law, stating his desire for peace, and his wish to have the Austrian mediation exerted at the different belligerent courts. He then stated the terms to which only he would agree. They were—that Rome, Piedmont, Tuscany, Holland, and the Hanseatic department were to remain part of the empire; that he might be willing to enlarge the Russian territory, but would permit no territorial aggrandisement on the part of Prussia; that Joseph was to keep Spain; Murat, Naples; Portugal was to go to the house of Braganza, and Sicily to the Bourbons; whilst England, if she agreed to make peace, would possess all the French colonies beyond the seas.—Austria would not accept the office of mediator on these terms; though the emperor wrote in an affectionate style, and informed Francis that his grandson was about to be crowned king of Rome, and his daughter would be made regent of France—a piece of information, which, if gratifying in one respect, as regarded his daughter and her child, was the very reverse in another, as it must bring with it the memory of his misfortunes and humiliation.

Next to enlisting troops, it was necessary to find the means of paying them—no very easy matter, as the resources of France were very much exhausted. The estimated amount of the revenue for 1812, was 1,030,000,000 francs (£41,200,000); the receipts were, 992,000,000 francs (£39,200,000). To this deficiency of 38,000,000 francs, was to be added a deficit of 46,000,000 francs, in 1811; and, as the budget for 1813 was estimated at 1,270,000,000 francs, a further deficit of 149,000,000 francs was expected. M. Molliou, the secretary of the treasury, was greatly disconcerted at this state of things, as there appeared to be no reasonable means of augmenting the national income. The taxes, whether direct or indirect, were considered to have reached the highest points at which they could be rendered productive; whilst the notorious contraction of the means of the bankers, merchants, and traders—of all engaged in commercial pursuits—rendered the resort to a loan, if not impossible, still very unlikely to be attended with success. Napoleon was himself in possession of 160,000,000 francs in coin, in the cellars of the Tuileries, and in the balance of the *domaine-extraordinaire*. This sum was the fruit of savings of the civil-list, and of the extraordinary contributions from foreign states. M. Molliou wished the emperor to place it at his command; but Napoleon objected to deprive himself of the ready-money he had amassed, and which he expected might be necessary for his purposes; and the minister accused him privately of personal avarice—a vice which does not appear to

have been Napoleon's failing. This was the state of matters when the legislative body met.

Napoleon opened the session of that body on the 24th of February; and his speech, on the occasion, was especially devoted to the censure of England, and to the Russian campaign, the disasters of which he could not conceal, though he attributed them all to one cause. "Success the most brilliant," he said, "in the first instance, attended our arms; but the excessive rigours and premature approach of winter, brought frightful calamities on the army. In a few nights I beheld everything changed. I have experienced great losses; they would have broken my heart, if, in such circumstances, I could have been alive to any other considerations but the interest, the glory, and the future destiny of my people. The agents of Great Britain spread among all our neighbours the spirit of revolt against their sovereigns. England would wish the entire continent to become the prey of civil war; but Providence has determined that she shall be the first victim of the passions she would spread amongst others. The joy of our enemies, and above all, of England, has reached its height: but misfortunes have proved the strength of the empire: the energy of my people has brought them back to a more just appreciation of things. My differences with the pope have been happily terminated by a concordat: the French dynasty reigns, and shall reign, in Spain. I am satisfied with the conduct of all my allies. I will abandon none of them. I will maintain the integrity of their states. The Russians shall retreat to their terrible climate. I desire peace: it is necessary to the world. On four different occasions, since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, I have solemnly made offer of it to my enemies; but I will never conclude a treaty save on terms honourable and suitable to the grandeur and interests of my empire." He alluded to, and rejoiced at, the war between the United States and England. "The wishes of the world," he said, "accompany the States in this glorious struggle. If they terminate it by compelling the enemies of the continent to acknowledge the principle that the flag covers the merchandise and the crew, and that neutrals ought not to be subjected to a paper blockade, in conformity to the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, America will have deserved well of all nations: posterity will say that the Old World had lost its rights, and that the New World has recovered them."

Before count Molé, the minister of finances, brought forward his measures for raising the necessary ways and means, M. Montalivet, the minister of the interior, presented to the legislative body a very minute report on the state of the empire. It appeared, that the population of what might be considered old France, estimated at 25,000,000 at the time of the revolution, had increased, notwithstanding the internal

bloodshed and external wars, to 28,700,000; and, in the midst of the popular mourning for the loss of life in the Russian expedition—a loss affecting almost every family in France—M. Montalivet said—"The conscription itself, which, every year, made the *élite* of the youth rally round the standards of the empire, had contributed to the increase of the population, by multiplying the number of marriages, and favouring them, because it fixed, for ever, the lot of the young Frenchmen who obeyed the law on this subject." The additions made to the empire were enumerated, which increased its population and its resources. Those, in opposition to popular complaints, were stated to be flourishing; the industry of France at that time, and its products, far exceeding what they were in 1788, or any time after that date: this was attributed to favourable changes introduced by the revolution, and to that good order which was the work of the emperor. A large portion of this report was devoted to a detail of public works—roads, bridges, fortifications, harbours, public buildings, &c., which had been carried on since the accession of Napoleon to office as first consul. In the twelve years, 1,005,000,000 francs had been expended on these works, all of them of utility or ornament, and many combining both qualities. Out of this large sum, 62,000,000 francs had been expended on the palaces, and other buildings belonging to the crown. The financial and military resources were enlarged upon in the report; though the minister was compelled to acknowledge a deficit in the former, on the three years, 1811, 1812, and 1813, of 233,000,000 francs.

To cover that deficiency, as the taxes could not be increased, count Molè proposed, that he should be authorised to sell all the heritable property of the communes;—exempting woods, pastures, public buildings, public walks—everything that was enjoyed by the people in common; but including lands, houses, manufacturing establishments—all that was let to individuals or firms at a specified rent. So extensive were these possessions of the communes, that it was estimated they would yield 370,000,000 francs. For whatever sum they did bring, the communes were to be entered as creditors on the national books, and receive interest for the same. The purchasers were to pay for their purchases in three equal instalments, in 1813, 1814, and 1815; paying an interest of five per cent. on the sums left unpaid. Paper money was to be issued to the amount of the two instalments to be paid in 1814 and 1815, which was to be redeemed as the receipts for the sale of the commercial property were realised. In submitting this proposal, M. Molè compared the conduct of Napoleon to that of Charlemagne, who "ordered the sale of the superfluous herbs in his garden, when his hand was distributing to

his people the spoil of conquered nations." And having taken a review of the state of the empire as developed in the report of M. Montalivet, he said—"If a man of the age of the Medici, or of Louis XIV., were to revisit the earth, and, at the sight of so many marvels, were to ask how many years of peace and glorious reigns had been required to produce them, he would be answered, twelve years of war, and a single man." But without those wars, the immense sum named in the preceding paragraph could not have been expended on public works. It was the forced contributions exacted from the countries overrun by the French armies, that enabled Napoleon to do so much to attract the notice, and win the applause, of the French people. The legislative body agreed to the proposal of count Molè; but very small sums, owing to the state of public feeling, and the uncertainty of public affairs, were realised from the sales; and before the close of the year, that body had largely to increase the indirect, and add thirty per cent. to the direct, taxes.

In his speech to the legislative body, the emperor told the members that he had concluded a concordat with the pope. Pius VII., subsequently to his removal to Fontainebleau, had been kept under strict surveillance, but treated with the greatest respect. It was not the aim of Napoleon to injure the Roman catholic religion, or to lessen the power and influence of the pope over the Roman catholic world. But he wanted to direct that influence and power for his own benefit, and the exaltation of France. Had he been successful in his Russian and German campaigns, the pope would have been installed in Paris; he would have been lodged in the archbishop's palace of that city; and the sacred college, the office of propaganda, the penitentiary, the archives, would all have been collected round Nôtre-Dame. Rome would have become quite a secondary consideration, and the pope would have exerted his influence on the governments and people of Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Poland, as well as upon the members of his church in England and other countries—all for the benefit of the emperor of France, who would, in fact, have directed its exercise at his pleasure. Such was Napoleon's plan; and he told the bishop of Nantes, to the surprise of that prelate, who had no key to his real designs, that "the policy of his government was intimately bound up with the maintenance of the spiritual authority of the pope. He required that the pontiff should be more powerful than ever: he would never have as much influence as his policy required he should possess." When that prelate understood him better, he had only to say to his imperial majesty, "that measure attacks the catholics and the church;" and it was instantly suspended. All these projects were arrested by the disasters of the Russian

campaign; and, before he commenced another, Napoleon resolved to endeavour to come to terms with the pope. Accordingly, on the 1st of January, he sent to compliment his holiness upon the commencement of the new year; and, on the 19th, leaving the Tuileries with the intention of engaging in the chase, he suddenly changed his mind, and went to Fontainebleau. On being admitted to the presence of Pius, he embraced him, and called him "father;" and, in a long conversation, succeeded in making himself very agreeable. The next day the pope returned the visit, and was introduced to Maria-Louisa. Negotiations followed, conducted by cardinals Doria and Dugnani on the part of the pope, and the bishop of Nantes on the part of Napoleon. They ended in a concordat, which was signed by the pope on the 25th of January, and published, as a law of the state, on the 13th of the following month.

By this concordat, which contained eleven articles, it was stipulated—1st. That the pope should exercise his pontifical functions in France and Italy, after the manner of his predecessors.—2nd. That his ambassadors, and their officers, should enjoy the same immunities and privileges as the members of the diplomatic body.—3rd. That his unalienated domains should be free from taxes; and 2,000,000 francs be paid annually, as an indemnity for the property sold in the Roman states.—4th. The emperor to nominate to the vacant bishoprics in his empire; the pope to induct the nominees in six months; but, if he neglected or refused, the archbishop of the province, or in the event of his failing, the senior bishop, to confer induction.—5th. The pope to nominate in ten dioceses in France or in Italy, as he might prefer, that he might have the means of recompensing the servants of his government.—6th. Six suburban sees (which had been suppressed) to be restored, and the pope to have the right of nomination.—7th. The expelled bishops of the Roman sees to retain their titles, under the form of bishops *in partibus*, and receive incomes equal to the revenues of their several sees.—8th. The emperor and the pope to take measures for the reduction of the bishops in Tuscany and Genoa; and the creation of others in Holland and the Hanseatic department.—9th. The offices of propagandism, of the penitentiary, and the archives, to be established at the residence of the pope.—10th. The emperor to award a free pardon to various ecclesiastics and laymen who had incurred penalties from recent events.—11th. His holiness consented to the conditions, from the confidence he had in the good disposition of his majesty to relieve the numerous wants then manifested by the church.—In addition to the terms of the concordat, the pope agreed to live at Avignon; and to transfer to that city from Rome, all the papal establishments.

There were great rejoicings in France at the conclusion of the concordat; and the *Te Deum* was chanted in all the churches, to celebrate the event. But the pope had scarcely affixed his signature, ere he repented having done so. His cardinals also urged upon him the impropriety of assenting to a document by which he resigned much of his temporal power, and greatly curtailed his spiritual authority. Influenced by these representations, and his own feelings, on the 24th of March, Pius wrote a letter to the emperor, confessing that he had done wrong, and that, with the aid of the Lord, he wished his act should be altogether annulled, in order that no damage might thence arise to the church, or injury to his own soul. "The concession made in one of the articles," he said, "was unjustifiable in the sight of God and man: for what regulation could infringe so deeply on the original constitution of the church of Christ—who established the primacy of St. Peter and his successors—as that which subjected the power of the pope to that of a metropolitan?—empowering the latter to give induction to bishops whom the supreme pontiff had deemed unworthy to receive it; thus rendering an inferior functionary judge over the head of the church." In conclusion, his holiness proposed to annul the concordat, and reopen the negotiation. The only answer Napoleon gave, was again to publish the document, as a law obligatory on all archbishops, bishops, and chapters. At the same time, another decree was published, by which cognizance of all cases, technically termed "appeals on abuses," hitherto confined to ecclesiastical tribunals, was transferred to the ordinary courts of the empire; which were, also, to take cognizance of all infractions of the concordat. The "grand judge" was ordered to draw up a form of process for all such cases. The disavowal of the concordat by the pope prevented his removal from Fontainebleau, where he continued to reside, under surveillance, as before.

While Napoleon was occupied with recruiting his army, regulating his finances, and re-establishing his relations with the pope, affairs were coming to a crisis in Germany and Prussia. Early in February the Austrians evacuated Warsaw, and retired entirely from Lithuania; and Regnier was obliged to follow them. They were immediately replaced by the Russians. At Kalisch, the most western town of Russian Poland, Wittgenstein, with a large detachment of Russian horse, overtook Regnier and his Saxons, attacked and broke up his division, separating the horse from the foot, and forcing the former to retreat on the southern parts of Poland, where they sought protection of the retiring Austrians; and the latter were driven back, in the direction of Glogau. Eugene, finding that Posen was no longer tenable,

evacuated that position on the 12th: on the 18th he was joined by general Grenier and his corps, from Berlin; and he marched upon that city, where he established his head-quarters, the king and court having previously retired to Breslau. The continued advance of the Russians compelled the viceroy to evacuate the Prussian capital on the 2nd of March; and having thrown 3,000 men into the fortress of Spandau, he retreated in the direction of Wittenberg, and cantoned his forces behind the Elbe, supported by that fortress and by Torgau and Magdeburg. Here, by collecting all the scattered troops, he succeeded in concentrating about 40,000 men for the defence of the Elbe—considered a great military barrier; the fortresses on the Oder, at the same time, were well provisioned and garrisoned.

These events created an immense sensation in Prussia and Germany, and in all the provinces annexed to France. Between the Rhine and the Elbe—in Holland and Westphalia, at Bremen and Hamburg—the appearance of English fleets, and the continued advance of the Russians, caused the populace to make frequent demonstrations of hostility to the French. At Hamburg and other places, open disturbances broke out, and the French authority was defied; whilst in Holland, the cry of "*Orange Boven*" was frequently heard. In Prussia, the greatest joy was evinced at the retreat of the French; and the inhabitants of Berlin received the Cossacks with enthusiastic shouts.

Frederick William had retired from Berlin to Breslau, on the 25th of January; and, soon after his arrival there, he opened communications with the emperor Alexander, who, about the middle of February, established his head-quarters at Kalisch. On the 10th of that month he had issued a proclamation, dated from Warsaw, in which he particularly invited the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine to throw off the yoke of subserviency to France. By another proclamation, from Kalisch, dated the 22nd, he called on the inhabitants of Germany to rise *en masse* against Napoleon. The people were not slow in responding to this call; and urged by these demonstrations, as well as by those of his own people—Napoleon having refused to accede to the proposals he had sent to him by M. de Hatzfeldt—the king of Prussia, on the 28th of February, signed, at Kalisch, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the czar. By this treaty, Alexander was to bring 150,000 men, and the king of Prussia 80,000, into the field, independent of the garrisons of various strong places, which it was necessary to defend. The contracting powers were jointly to make efforts to induce the emperor of Austria to join their alliance; and to treat with England, from which country Frederick William hoped to get those supplies of money, in the shape of

subsidies, which were absolutely necessary to enable him to complete his armaments. Neither of the contracting powers were to conclude a treaty or truce without the sanction of the other; and, by a secret article, the emperor Alexander engaged not to lay down his arms till the kingdom of Prussia was restored, in every respect, to the position it occupied previously to the war of 1806, and by uniting the old provinces to Silesia, and other measures, it had attained that consistency and power, which would restore it to the rank of a first-rate European state, and render it an effectual bulwark of the Russian empire. On the 15th of March, an interview took place between the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, at Breslau. The former arrived, accompanied by M. de Nesselrode and a number of generals; and the two monarchs embraced in public, amid the shouts of the soldiers and the people. So eager were the latter to show their enmity to France, that they rushed to the house of M. de St. Marsan, the French ambassador, who had accompanied the king to Breslau; and his majesty had to surround the mansion by his own guard, to preserve his excellency from violence. On the 17th of March, M. de Hardenberg, the Prussian minister, transmitted a declaration of war by Prussia against France, to M. de St. Marsan; and, with many expressions of personal esteem and regret, wished him to leave Breslau at an early period.

The proclamation of the emperor of Russia to the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, was followed by the advance of the Russian army—now under the command of Wittgenstein, Kutusoff having died of malignant typhus fever, at Buntzlau—upon Dresden; and attempts were made to detach the king, Frederick Augustus, from his alliance with Napoleon. He remained firm to the engagements into which he had entered; and as he found he could not defend his capital, he left it on the 24th of February, having on the previous day addressed a proclamation to his people; in which he said—"Faithful to our alliance, we reckon, with confidence, on the success which, if our wishes for peace are not heard, will await us, from the aid of our powerful ally, the active succour of the confederated princes, and the approved valour of our brave soldiers." The capital of Saxony was occupied by the Russian troops; and the king of Prussia addressed an autograph letter to Frederick Augustus—expressing a hope that "he, and all the confederated princes, would seize with eagerness the opportunity which presented itself, of shaking off the chains of France." The king of Saxony, however, replied, that "he was guided solely by a regard for the good of his dominions, and respect for the engagements which he had contracted;" and he refused to abandon the alliance, which, under more favourable auspices, he had contracted with the emperor of France. Nor could

the emperor of Austria be induced, by the efforts of the Russian and Prussian ministers, at that time, to break openly with Napoleon. But advances were made towards the alliance which was soon afterwards formed. And whilst an armistice was agreed upon between Schwartzemberg and Wittgenstein—the former returning to Vienna, from whence he was sent as ambassador to France—M. Metternich told M. Otto, the French ambassador at Vienna, that Austria would not support the emperor as president of the Confederation of the Rhine, nor unite with him in an attempt to resuscitate Poland. M. Otto himself was deeply impressed with a conviction that the Austrian government was really hostile to France. He informed Napoleon, that the declaration of M. de Metternich did not indicate the entire policy of that government, which, he was of opinion, would not be confined to inaction. That government, however, made an effort to restore peace. M. de Wessenberg was sent to London, and M. Lebzettern to Kalisch, to offer the intervention of the court of Vienna with England and Russia, for the purpose of bringing about an understanding with France. The envoys were courteously received, and told, that both powers were desirous of peace; but the declarations of the emperor Napoleon proved that he would refuse all reasonable conditions.

In March, the enemies of France were further increased by another accession to the alliance against Napoleon. Bernadotte had written to the emperor, offering his mediation for the conclusion of a general peace. Pending the reply, efforts were made to detach Denmark from her engagements to France. An indemnity for Norway was offered to her, and other inducements; which led to a proposal, made at Kalisch, by count Moltke and count Bernstorff—that, if the fleet taken at Copenhagen, and the colonies captured by England, were restored; Hamburg and Lübeck made over to her, and £600,000 paid as an indemnity for the bombardment of Copenhagen, Denmark would join the European alliance. These terms were at once rejected; Denmark remained connected with France; but Sweden formally joined the “grand alliance” of England, Russia, and Prussia, and engaged to send an auxiliary force of 30,000 men, to be commanded by the prince-royal, and employed with the armies of the two latter powers, in the north of Germany. England, in consequence of Sweden’s thus acceding to the coalition against France, agreed to cede Guadaloupe to that power, and to grant her a subsidy of £1,000,000 per annum, payable monthly. Denmark then joined France; and the troops of that power marched out of Altona, and were united to those of marshal Davoust.

While these events were in progress, a royal decree was issued by the king of Prussia, absolving general d’York from all blame with

respect to the convention he had concluded with general Diebitch; and, on the 19th of March, a most important convention was signed between that sovereign and the emperor of Russia. It consisted of four articles. By the first, the contracting sovereigns agreed to issue a proclamation, declaring their sole object to be, “to rescue Germany from the domination of France;” and all the small sovereigns were invited to join them, under the penalty of losing their territories. The other articles provided the means by which the specified object was to be attained; one of which was, to organise in all the countries between Saxony and Holland, except the possessions of the house of Hanover, and the ancient Prussian provinces, an army of the line, and a *levy en masse*. Prussia herself had the means of raising a formidable force. The treaty with France bound her not to keep on foot an army of more than 40,000 men. But the war minister, colonel Schernhorst, while he adhered to that agreement literally, evaded it in the spirit. He enlisted 40,000; and kept them under their colours long enough to acquire the drill, and accustom themselves to discipline; then they were sent to their homes in sections, to be ready to serve when called upon; and their places were supplied by fresh recruits. This practice was constantly kept up; so that when the king felt himself compelled to break with Napoleon, he had—not 40,000, but at least 120,000 good soldiers. Such was the spirit of the men, that those at home were quite as ready to serve as those in the ranks. This minister also instituted the Prussian landwehr, or army of reserve—a force resembling our militia, except that their term of service in time of peace was somewhat longer. This considerably augmented Prussia’s military strength.

The convention of the 19th of March was followed, on the 23rd, by a proclamation from the Russian generals, announcing, that the Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved. It was not long before its members, once so enthusiastic for Napoleon, rallied round the black eagles; the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin being the first to set the example of quitting a league, into which he had been the last and the most unwilling to enter. The desire to get rid of all traces of the French domination, now spread alike among princes and people. To stimulate still further the patriotic spirit, the king of Prussia instituted a new order of knighthood, called the *Order of the Iron Cross*, with which those who displayed most ardour and achieved most success in the cause of Germany, were to be decorated. The king of Prussia and the emperor Alexander appeared in public, decorated with the cross of this order; and the spirit of chivalry thus stimulated, soon pervaded all classes. From the highest to the lowest they took up arms; the scholar and the artist, the

mechanic and the farmer, forsook their pursuits, and rallied round the national standard; and the women, who could not bear arms, sent their ornaments of gold and precious stones to the treasury of the nation; receiving, in return, *bijouterie*, of the comparatively common metal of iron, but made in a high style of art, and bearing the inscription—"I gave gold for iron, 1813." Such was the spirit which pervaded Austria, Prussia—all Germany—in that memorable year.

These events could not be concealed from Napoleon; and he took what measures appeared to him to be most likely to counteract them. His ministers at the courts of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, were instructed to use every means to keep those sovereigns faithful to their alliance with France: Davoust was sent to retake Hamburg, from whence the French had been expelled; prince Eugene was reinforced; strong *corps d'armée* were dispatched towards Germany, and posted so as to be able to keep up communication with each other, and to threaten their opponents in the most assailable positions; and strenuous efforts were made to induce the emperor of Austria to be faithful to his engagements. As Napoleon thought that M. Otto was not competent to cope with M. Metternich, whose diplomatic abilities were becoming more and more apparent—he recalled the former from Vienna, and replaced him by the count de Narbonne, who arrived at the Austrian capital a few days before prince Schwartzberg quitted it on a special mission to Paris. The new ambassador was the equal of Metternich in talent, and possessed, in addition, the most polished courtly manners; but he felt, soon after his arrival at Vienna, the difficulty of his position; and though he did not neglect anything to ensure success, he never anticipated that he should achieve it.

In making these preparations, the close of March had arrived; and Napoleon determined that, in the middle of April, he would set out for the seat of war. He was full of confidence in the result of his vast combinations abroad; and applied himself during the time still left for him to remain at Paris, in making arrangements for the satisfactory administration, during his absence, of affairs at home. He had intended to have his son crowned king of Rome, but that was considered unadvisable in the existing state of affairs. He therefore nominated Maria-Louisa regent; her adviser being the arch-chancellor Cambacérès, who, in all administrative matters, had the emperor's entire confidence. A council of regency was also constituted, composed of the princes of the blood, the uncles of the emperor, and the princes, high members of the French government—who were not reigning over any dominions beyond the limits of the empire. This council was to be consulted on all affairs of state; but it had only a deliberative

voice; all administrative and executive power was vested nominally in the regent—really, in the arch-chancellor, who was the head of the council. All official acts were to have his signature; and Champigny, duke de Cadore, was appointed secretary to the regency. The empress was officially invested with her new dignity on the 30th of March.

It was only two days before Napoleon left Paris, that prince Schwartzberg arrived. M. de Bubna had previously left that capital; the emperor having requested that he would return to Vienna, and endeavour to impress the government there with the conviction, that Austria's wisest and best course was to share the fortunes of France. He gave prince Schwartzberg a friendly audience before he left the Tuileries, in which he endeavoured to imbue him with the same idea. He talked long to the prince, telling him, that he had eleven or twelve hundred thousand men under arms in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain; that he should crush the Russian and Prussian forces, and drive them beyond the Vistula; and that now was the time for Austria to declare in favour of France, by which means she might ensure peace, and render it fast and certain. As an inducement, he offered to give her Silesia and Illyria. Prince Schwartzberg endeavoured to persuade Napoleon, that it was not quite so certain as he appeared to think, that the issue of the war would be favourable; but, producing no impression, he said nothing which could commit his government to Napoleon's views. In fact, he was sent rather to discover what those views were, than to explain the policy of Austria; except that he was authorised to state, that she would not draw the sword unless it were to obtain peace—a peace which would be advantageous to the interests of Germany.

This interview ended without the slightest result. At its close, Napoleon sent off couriers to his allies, the grand-duke of Baden, the prince-primate, the duke of Würzburg, the kings of Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony, calling upon them to prepare their contingents: he especially asked for all the cavalry at their disposal; and requested the king of Saxony, who had retired to Prague, to send a corps of 2,400 cavalry he had with him to marshal Ney. These arrangements made, he left Paris on the 15th of April, his empress being in a state of great agitation, almost of despair, at the separation; but he himself was full of hope and confidence, and never entered upon a campaign with more decided anticipations of success.

At the close of March, the Prussian troops were distributed as follows. An army of 22,500 foot, and 2,500 cavalry, under marshal Blücher, was in Silesia. D'York was in East Prussia, nominally with 15,000 men, but 6,000 of them were on the sick and invalid list. Bulow had

10,000 near Berlin; there were 5,000 in Pomerania; and the various forts had all numerous and effective garrisons. These corps were constantly receiving reinforcements; and before May came in, Frederick William expected that he should have at least 80,000 effective troops under his banners. The Russian army was stationed between Berlin and Magdeburg; and along the course of the Elbe from the latter fortress, and threatening Dresden. The first division of 36,000 men was under Wittgenstein; the second, of 33,000, under Tettenheim, Chernicheff, Woronzoff, and Milaradovitch. Barclay de Tolly, with 20,000 men, was engaged in the blockade of Dantzic, Zamosc, and Thorn, on the Vistula; and a reserve of 70,000 men was forming in Poland, under the orders of Sacken. The number of the two armies ready for immediate action, appears to have been about 50,000 Prussians, and 70,000 Russians. As, however, the fortresses of Magdeburg, Wittenberg, Torgau, and Königstein, on the Elbe, had to be blockaded, the allies could not rely upon the services of more than 90,000 men in the field. Opposed to them were prince Eugene, at Posen; Ney, with five divisions, at Erfurth; Marmont, with six divisions, at Gotha; Bessières, with six battalions of the old, and sixteen of the new, guard, at Eisenach; Bertrand, with three divisions, at Coburg; and Oudinot, with his own corps and a Bavarian division, at Saalfeld. These divisions were within easy marches of each other; and their united numbers could not be less than 170,000 men: 300 pieces of cannon were attached to the various corps.

The first campaign of 1813 may be said to have commenced about the middle of April, when Blucher and York, with their divisions, marched to the Elbe; crossed that river; advanced to Dresden, of which they took possession, and, being joined by the Russians, under Wittgenstein and Winzingerode, they spread themselves over a great part of Saxony—Wittgenstein being at Rotha; Blucher at Borna; and Winzingerode at Leipsic. Prince Eugene, as the allies advanced, found himself obliged to retire; and he took up a position behind the Saale—his left being posted at the junction of that river with the Elbe; his centre at Bernburg; and his right was protected by the Hartz mountains. The effect of these movements—connected with the defeat of a division of 3,000 French, under Morand, by the Cossacks, at Lüneburg—caused a general insurrection in the districts of the Elbe and the Weser—the Hanse Towns expelling the French authorities; and the people of Hanover returning, with shouts of joy, to their allegiance to the king of England, whose restored sovereignty was proclaimed throughout the province.

Napoleon arrived at Mayence on the 16th of April. He remained there till the 24th, being

employed in seeing the fortifications of that place made effective, and in sending off reinforcements to the various divisions of his army. On the 25th he reached Erfurth, where he found Ney had been joined by the corps of Bertrand and Marmont; and also by Macdonald, with the remains of the division with which he had escaped from Russia. On the 29th, this division was joined by that of prince Eugene, and the emperor gave directions for concentrating all the scattered corps on Leipsic. On the 30th, marshal Ney attacked a Prussian corps at Weissenfels, five leagues south-west of Leipsic, which was compelled to retire: prince Eugene, at the same time, forced back general Kleist's Prussians at Halle; and the allies, who were astonished at the celerity of Napoleon's movements, resolved to concentrate their troops, and arrest his march upon Leipsic.

The country between Weissenfels and Leipsic, is a wide, undulating plain, called the plain of Lutzen, on which several villages are scattered. The French marched towards this plain on the 1st of May. They had to pass the defile of Grünebach, where they found the allies strongly posted on the heights of Poserna. They were attacked, and the passage forced; but with a serious loss to the French—one of their best generals, marshal Bessières, being killed by a cannon-ball early in the engagement. Napoleon slept at Lutzen that night; the young guard bivouacked round the tomb of Gustavus Adolphus, who lost his life in an engagement with the Austrians on that plain, on the 6th of November, 1632; and a part of the infantry, under general Souham, was quartered in the villages of Gross-Girschen, Klein-Girschen, Rahna, and Kaia, which are near each other on the plain. The next morning the allies crossed the White Elster—a river which, rising in Bohemia, passes near Leipsic to the Saale—and attacked the French in their positions, driving them out of the villages with great impetuosity. Couriers were sent to Napoleon to demand reinforcements; and whilst the villages were set on fire and blazed rapidly, the French continued to retreat. Ney was the first who came up to the support of Souham. He had with him the three divisions Brennier, Girard, and Marchand; and by a brilliant charge of the bayonet, the allies were driven back from the ground which the French had previously occupied. Wittgenstein brought up his reserves, and again the French were repulsed. Napoleon himself then appeared, and restored the fortunes of the day—but not without a hard struggle, which continued four hours—both armies fighting under the eyes of their emperors and king. The allies had the advantage in cavalry, of which they made very little use—the French in artillery; and it was the damaging fire kept up from their guns, that at last won

the day, and forced the allies to retire. This they did in good order, in the direction of Pegau, a town on the Elster. They recrossed that river, and marched on Dresden, not leaving a gun or a wounded man behind. They reached that city on the 7th; but, without halting, passed on, and occupied a strongly intrenched position at Bautzen, on the Spree.

Different estimates have been given of the number of men engaged at Lutzen; some giving the French, others the allies, the superiority in numbers. The most precise accounts, and those which appear to be founded on official details, state that the French had 115,000 in the battle; the Russians 35,775, and the Prussians, 36,150—total, 71,925: giving the French a large superiority. The loss on their side was enormous. Jomini says, that "Ney's corps alone had 12,000 privates and 500 officers killed and wounded." He adds—"The number of wounded was so great, that the generals accused the young conscripts of having injured themselves, to escape the fatigues and dangers of the campaign." The allies carried off 900 prisoners; and the entire number lost to active service was not less than 18,000. The loss of the allies was also very considerable; but not so great as that of the French.—The latter followed closely on the retreating army; and encumbered as it was with a number of wounded, only the steady and indomitable courage of the rear-guard, under Milaradovitch, prevented the French from inflicting considerable loss upon their foe. There were repeated passages at arms between the two, but with no decisive results; and Napoleon's main army arrived at Dresden the day after the allies had passed it. The emperor immediately established his head-quarters in the Saxon capital—which has been called, "the Queen of Northern Germany." It stands within an amphitheatre of hills, rising from a very low altitude to one of 400 or 500 feet: the Elbe separates the old from the new town—the communication being kept up by a handsome stone bridge; and the country around was then covered with vineyards and corn-fields, terminated by the Bohemian and Swiss mountains, at the distance of from twelve to sixteen miles. Before Napoleon entered Dresden, he was met by a deputation from the municipality, to whom he was very rude. As soon as he had established himself there, he sent to Prague, to ask the king to return to his capital, where he arrived on the 12th. He was obliged to place all his resources at the command of Napoleon; and to order general Theilman, who commanded at Torgau, to deliver that fortress into the hands of Ney.—Before the arrival of the king of Saxony, the emperor sent for prince Eugene; praised him highly for his conduct during the retreat from Moscow, and since the command of the army had fallen

into his hands; told him that he (Napoleon) would give Galicia to his daughter as a dotation; and then dispatched him to Italy, to organise an army of 80,000 men, and 150 pieces of cannon, to be ready in July.

While Napoleon remained at Dresden, M. de Bubna arrived from Vienna—M. de Stadion at the same time proceeding to Bautzen—being sent by M. de Metternich, to endeavour to persuade the contending parties to come to some accommodation. Napoleon also sent M. Caulaincourt on a secret mission to Alexander—being quite willing to come to terms with the czar at the expense of Austria and Prussia. These efforts produced no effect; and Napoleon determined to attack the allies in their intrenchments at Bautzen. Having replaced the bridges across the Elbe, destroyed by the allies, the French "grand army" had crossed that river on the 11th and 12th of May; and compelled Milaradovitch and Kleist to fall back towards the Spree. At the same time, Barclay de Tolly, having taken Thorn, had arrived near Bautzen, with 18,000 men. He was directed to watch Ney; and on the 18th, at Königswërtha, he encountered a corps belonging to the marshal's division, which he defeated, killing a great many, taking 1,000 prisoners, and six pieces of cannon. Ney was moving towards Steinwitz and Weissig; and at the latter place, he encountered the Prussians under York, who fought well, but were obliged to retreat, and fall back on the main body. Barclay de Tolly also rejoined the army; and Ney continued his march—his destination being Klix, to co-operate in the attack on Bautzen.

Napoleon did not leave Dresden till the 18th of May. The last column of his army had crossed the Elbe several days previously; but he lingered behind, hoping that he should hear some favourable intelligence from Caulaincourt; or that the count de Narbonne would inform him, that Austria, whose sympathies with the allies were too evident—and to whom he had proposed, through M. Bubna, an armistice and a congress—had returned to her allegiance to him. Disappointed in these expectations—and, notwithstanding the victory of Lutzen, with much less confidence than when he left Paris—Napoleon took leave of the king of Saxony, and proceeded, on horseback, towards Bautzen.

From the time that the allies established themselves at Bautzen, the weather had been fine: and after the French crossed the Elbe, the two armies lay opposite to each other; both enjoying the short truce amazingly—provisions being abundant, and their labours light. This repose was soon to be interrupted. Napoleon joined his army on the 19th, and established his head-quarters at Klein-Forgsten, about three miles from Bautzen. He, however, did not retire to his tent, but set out to reconnoitre the

advanced posts, and the position of the enemy. At that time the allies were strongly posted on a range of hills, forming the natural boundary of Silesia. Milaradovitch and Kleist held the right bank of the Spree, the former occupying Bautzen. These commanders had about 21,000 men under their orders. Two miles in the rear, was the main army of 52,000 men. On the left were 15,000 Russians, under Wittgenstein; York, with 6,000 men, was in the centre; Blucher, with 20,000, on the right; 4,000 Prussian guards and 8,000 cavalry formed the reserve; and Barclay de Tolly, with 10,000 men, occupied the extreme right, observing Ney on his advance to Klix. The total number of these corps was 84,000 men. The position was defended by numerous field-works, and was well calculated for defence. The French army was much more numerous. Oudinot, with 20,000 men, faced Milaradovitch. Macdonald, with 12,000, menaced Bautzen. More to the left, were Marmont and Bertrand, each with 20,000 men; and 15,000 guards were at the imperial head-quarters. Here were 87,000 troops. The left wing, 55,000 strong, was moving to the field. One column, of 15,000 men, under Lauriston, was that night at Weissig; Ney, with 30,000, was at Maukersdorf; and Regnier, with 10,000, was much farther in the rear.

On the 20th, Napoleon made his dispositions for the battle, being on horseback by nine o'clock. The object that day was, to pass the Spree, and attack Bautzen; and, under a tremendous cannonade, which was returned by the allies, the passage of the river was effected: Bautzen, no longer tenable, was evacuated, and taken possession of by Macdonald; and the French obtained some further advantages, though not of a decided character. During the night, the French continued crossing the river; forming squares as they landed—lighting fires in the centre—and laying down to sleep with their arms in their hands, or by their sides.

The next morning was fine and bright; and, remarks general Cathcart, "all was still; and even the sound of an occasional musket-shot, discharged along the distant line of advanced sentries, was scarcely to be heard." Soon this silence was disturbed, and all was animation on both sides. The generals were making their observations, and the soldiers were hastening to their posts. Napoleon's plan, as we learn from his officers, was to attack and disperse the right of the allies; and to interpose the division of Ney between them and their line of retreat to Breslau. Ney had to cross the Spree, in the rear of the enemy, that morning; and whilst simultaneous attacks were made on each flank, that general was steadily advancing in his assigned direction. Napoleon, in the meantime, held back the centre; and sitting down to

get his breakfast, fell asleep. He was awoke by the sound of cannon; and judging that it was Ney who had passed the Spree, the emperor made himself secure of victory. Ney, however, was not so near as was supposed; and the allies were driven from hill to hill on the flanks, before he arrived. Blucher, however, recovered nearly all that was lost; and for some time the French were kept at bay. But first Lauriston, and then Ney himself, came into action. Napoleon was, from the superiority of his numbers, enabled to bring up division after division; whilst the allies had no reinforcements to draw upon; and retreat became necessary. It was made in the most orderly manner, with the precision of parade; the Russians retiring by the route of Hochkirch and Lobau, the Prussians by that to Weissenberg. Napoleon, seated on the summit of the Hoheberg, from whence he could survey the whole field of battle, directed his cavalry and artillery to follow the allies, and harass them on their retreat. But the French horse were met by the equally gallant, and more numerous, cavalry of the Russians, and beaten back; whilst the Russian and Prussian artillery, from eminences, with which the line of their retreat was interspersed, returned the enemy's fire with great effect. At dark, the pursuit ceased; and Napoleon sought rest in the isolated inn at Klein-Purschwitz, which the emperor Alexander had occupied during the day. Ney took up his quarters at Wurschen, previously the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns. The troops bivouacked on the field. In the two days' engagement, the loss on both sides had been very great. That of the allies was 15,000 men, killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners; the French had 5,000 killed, and 20,000 wounded.

On the morning of the 23rd of May, the emperor was in motion by daybreak. He had his army also roused, and the pursuit of the allies commenced. Their retreat had not been made very rapidly, having so many wounded to look after, and the French had not much difficulty in coming up with them. Several engagements took place, with no result; and Napoleon had the mortification of seeing the unbroken columns retiring on the road to Görlitz, conscious that he was unable to prevent them. Anxious, however, to push on to that town before night, he rode to the front; his suite followed him; when suddenly a cannon-ball fell amongst them; and Duroc, the man, after Desaix, to whom he was most attached, and general Kirchen, were killed. The death of Duroc afflicted the emperor as much as the loss of a battle could have done. He pitched his tent near the cottage where the body was laid, and would advance no further that day. He saw the corpse of his friend interred, and left 200 napoleons in the hands of the owner of the

cottage, to erect a monument to his memory. That intention, however, was never carried out; the Russians interfering to prevent it.

The allies continued to retreat, the French to advance, till the 26th of May; the aim of the former being to reach an intrenched camp at Schweidnitz, before they hazarded an action. On that day, Napoleon himself rested for a short time at Buntzlau; but his advanced guard, under Lauriston, proceeded beyond Haynau. There Blücher drew the enemy into an ambuscade, by screening a party of horse behind some hills, while a corps of infantry made a feigned retreat into the open country. They were pursued by the French advanced guard of dragoons, infantry, and artillery, who were suddenly charged by the Prussian horse, and completely broken up; 800 were killed, 1,500 taken prisoners, and eighteen cannon: the victors could, however, only carry off twelve for want of horses. The Prussians did not lose more than a hundred in killed and wounded; but amongst the former was colonel Dölft, a most valuable officer. There were several encounters of detached corps on the 27th; in one of which, general Sebastiani, at the head of Victor's cavalry, captured a Russian convoy of twenty-two guns, sixty tumbrils, and 400 men; in another, eight squadrons of Russian cavalry defeated twelve squadrons of the French, making 400 prisoners; and in a third, Woronzoff's cavalry, in an encounter with a body of French horse near Dessau, were also victors, making 500 prisoners. The main bodies of both armies still continued in motion—the route of the allies towards Upper Silesia, indicating a secret understanding with the Austrian government. They gained the camp at Schweidnitz—a fortified town of Prussian Silesia, at the foot of the Riesengebirge, on the 29th: about the same time the French reached the neighbourhood of Liegnitz, where they halted; and a rumour that an armistice was likely to be concluded between the hostile powers, was circulated through the camp.

This rumour proved correct. Napoleon was desirous of concluding an agreement with Russia alone; but to all his messages on that subject, Alexander turned a deaf ear. Austria was still endeavouring to restore peace—M. de Bubna and M. de Stadion remaining at the respective head-quarters of Napoleon and the allies. The terms she proposed, and to which Russia and Prussia would have acceded, included the restoration of the latter to her rank as a first-rate power: but they would have left France powerful—too powerful for the repose of Europe. It was suggested, that the grand duchy of Warsaw should be dissolved; Prussia reconstructed by the addition of a considerable portion of that grand-duchy, and some of the Hanseatic Towns; that Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen should be restored to Germany; and

Illyria, and the portions of Poland taken from her, given back to Austria; the Confederation of the Rhine was also to be formally dissolved. These terms agreed to, Napoleon would have retained Belgium, the Rhenish provinces, Holland, Piedmont, Tuscany, and the Roman states, as French provinces; and Westphalia, Lombardy, and Naples, in the hands of vassals. He, however, considered that their acceptance would be a loss of glory. They would have included the abandonment of Spain, the laying down the title of "Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine," and the restoration of Prussia from that state of humiliation to which a series of disasters, and the successes of the French arms, had reduced her. He resolved, therefore, we are told, to give up nothing. But, although the battle of Lützen had been followed by the recapture of Hamburg, and the complete re-establishment of the French on the Lower Elbe, Napoleon felt that his force was not adequate to the complete subjugation of Prussia and Austria; for he had determined the latter should fall, if she would not abandon the allies, and join him actively and energetically in the campaign. One of his last messages to the Austrian court, through M. de Narbonne, was, that "she should prepare a powerful force, and then summon the belligerents to pause in their movements, under the threat of throwing 100,000 men upon their flanks." He was very desirous of causing Saxony to take the place of Prussia in the map of Europe; and he authorised his ambassador to intimate to M. Metternich, that, if Austria would support him in his views in that respect, "he would pay her well for her services, with territories which should be taken, it mattered not from whom." M. de Metternich, however, could not advise the emperor to agree to such terms; and though Napoleon would not accept those which the Austrian minister proposed, yet, as he considered time an object, he temporised. After the interchange of messages, he agreed, that consultations should be held upon the subject of an armistice; and the village of Plesswitz or Poischwitz, in the circle of Striegau, was fixed upon as the place of meeting. The armistice was signed there on the 4th of June. It was concluded for six weeks; and six days' notice of an intention to renew hostilities was to be given. The very day that this armistice was signed, Oudinot attacked the Prussians at Luckau. The suburbs of the town were carried and set on fire; but the assailants, in the end, were decidedly beaten, and had to retreat, with the loss of 1,500 killed, 500 prisoners, and three pieces of cannon. The French and Russians were also fighting at Taucha, in front of Leipsic, to the manifest disadvantage of the former, when the news of the armistice was received, and hostilities were suspended. Shortly after it was signed, under the pretence that it did not

extend to irregulars, general Fournier, with 3,000 men, attacked a corps of partisans, known as "Lutzow's corps," which was only 500 strong, and was returning to Silesia. The poet Korner—at the time, the Tyrtæus of Germany—was amongst them, and was severely wounded. This act of treachery would have justified the allied sovereigns in breaking the armistice. It did not suit their purposes, however, to do so; but the people of Germany took the outrage deeply to heart; and their universal cry was—"Armistice be it; but no peace! Revenge for Korner first."

In signing the armistice, says Thiers, "Napoleon's only intention was, to gain two months' time, in which to complete his armaments, and to raise them to a strength sufficient to meet the new enemies he was about to create; *but he had never, for a moment, entertained the idea of peace.*" He, however, continued the negotiations. While they were going on he took up his residence in the Marcolini palace, in the Frederickstadt suburb of Dresden, where he arrived on the 10th of June. The king of Saxony immediately waited upon him, and was received cordially, the emperor addressing to him "language of comfort and encouragement." On the 18th of June, M. de Metternich arrived from Vienna, and had a long interview with the emperor. After it had continued some time, and Napoleon had told Metternich, that all he wanted from Austria was neutrality, as his army was strong enough to bring the Russians and Prussians to reason—they retired into the emperor's private closet, where they remained alone. On their returning into the room where they first met, Napoleon was, according to an eye and ear witness, speaking in a loud voice; and exclaiming—"What! not only Illyria, but the half of Italy, and the return of the pope to Rome! Poland too, and Spain, and Holland, and the Confederation of the Rhine, and Switzerland! This is what you call moderation!" After much declamation, he asked Metternich—"How much has England given you to play this part towards me?" Metternich changed colour, but made no reply; and the two paced the room in silence. At length Napoleon cooled; and Metternich being referred to the duke of Bassano, some preliminary terms were at length arranged. On the 30th of June, Napoleon and the allies formally accepted the mediation of Austria. It was agreed that the plenipotentiaries of all the powers should meet at Prague on the 5th of July, and the armistice was prolonged till the 10th of August. At Prague, Austria formally proposed those conditions which had been previously sent to the emperor through M. de Narbonne, and were, as his conversation with Metternich indicates, repeated to him at Dresden, with additions. They were rejected, and other terms offered.

The emperor would consent to dissolve the duchy of Warsaw, and make Dantzic a free town; but the king of Saxony was to be indemnified for the territories he surrendered, by others in Silesia and Bohemia. Illyria, with the exception of the port of Trieste, was to be restored to Austria. The Germanic confederation to be continued, and extended to the Oder; and the integrity of Denmark to be preserved. These terms were not received before midnight on the 10th of August; at which hour Napoleon knew the allies had determined that the armistice should cease. At that hour, therefore, the Russian and Prussian negotiators declared that their powers had expired: the conference broke up; and the war was again resumed. For this result some blame Austria, others Napoleon. The truth appears to be, that the former was really anxious for peace upon the terms she proposed, which would have restored the independence of Prussia and Germany; and was equally resolved to join the allies—notwithstanding the relationship between Francis-Joseph and Napoleon—if those terms were not accepted. The French emperor, on the contrary, was determined not to give up anything; and only consented to the armistice and to the negotiations, to gain the necessary time for the reinforcements to reach him, which he expected from Italy and elsewhere. Whoever peruses attentively the details into which M. Thiers enters, respecting this episode in the career of Napoleon, cannot rise from that perusal under any other impression. We may remark, that although, at Dresden, Metternich appears to have proposed that the independence of Holland and Spain should be re-established, that question was not formally debated at Prague. It was considered more especially connected with England, who was not a party to the conference.

During the armistice, Sir Charles Stewart and earl Cathcart repaired to the head-quarters of the allies; and preliminaries were signed at Reichenbach on the 14th of June, which laid the foundation of that "grand alliance," out of which the final downfall of Napoleon sprung. By the terms agreed upon, England was to pay Russia an annual subsidy of £1,333,334, and Prussia one of £666,666, for the next six months, to enable them to continue the war: one object of which was to be the restoration of Prussia to the situation in which it stood, as to its geographical and statistical proportions, previous to 1806; and the allies reciprocally agreed not to negotiate separately with their common enemies, nor to sign any separate peace, truce, or convention. Napoleon, on the other hand, on the 10th of July, concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Denmark, which ensured him considerable support at the mouth of the Elbe, and 20,000 troops to strengthen Davoust at

Hamburg. He had now the command of the entire line of the Elbe; but as he was at the mercy of Austria—which, from the Bohemian mountains, could at any time direct an army upon his flanks—his generals urged him not to advance any further along the Upper Elbe; but, retaining Dresden, and keeping up his communications as far as Magdeburg, to place his magazines and hospitals on the Saale, and to make such defensive arrangements along that river, as would render retreat safe, should it become imperative. Napoleon, however, thought any retreat would be a sign of weakness; and resolving to make Dresden the centre of his operations, he employed the two months over which the armistice extended, in constructing an intrenched camp in the mountains by which that city is surrounded. This camp included, within its boundaries, several important places—Pirna; the fortress of Königstein, considered impregnable; the rock of Linienstein; Hohenstein, and Stolpen. A force of 25,000 men was sent to occupy this position, which enabled him to command nearly all the passes of the mountains. He also renewed and strengthened the fortifications of Dresden, and of all the forts and fortresses on the Elbe; ordered up from France, and the Confederation of the Rhine, all the troops, of every arm, that could be rendered available; and instructed prince Eugene to gather an army of observation between Pavia and the Adige, with a view to make a descent on Vienna, if necessary. A Bavarian army, 45,000 strong, was collected under Wrede, and placed so as to keep the Austrians in Bohemia in check; and the cavalry was reinforced by 6,000 men, brought by general Arraghi from Italy, and 3,000 from the cavalry dépôt in Brunswick. While these preparations were making, Napoleon himself took little repose; but he provided for the pleasure of his army. Every recreation in which the French soldiers delight was procured for them. Balls, plays, operas, masquerades, were frequent; the camps were decorated with flowers; the standards waved gaily over the tents, and in the streets: nothing appeared to be forgotten or neglected which could produce pleasure and excitement. "All this could not be done without a large expenditure of money; and money, we are told by creditable eye-witnesses, was abundant. Moreover, as the wounded recovered or died, Dresden gradually ceased to exhibit traces of having been, but a few weeks previously, an overgrown hospital. It was now the gayest, and, probably, the most immoral, city in Europe."* Napoleon's birthday was celebrated on the 10th of August, by a brilliant military review, and other festivities, concluding with illuminations, a display of fireworks, and a ball.

* Gleig's *Leipsic Campaign*.

† Some accounts give the allies greatly the advantage

All this ceased when the armistice was at an end. Immediately that its expiration was known, beacon fires were lighted on the mountains of Silesia and Bohemia, to warn the population that war was about to be renewed. Austria gave in her adhesion to the allies, and, on the 12th of August, declared war against France; assigning as her reason for this step, the conviction forced upon the government by the progress of events, that the French emperor was insincere in his professions of peace. Sweden also now joined actively in the war; and the plan of operations was drawn up at Trachenberg, a town of Prussian Silesia, by the allied sovereigns and Bernadotte. The allies had a force of something less than 300,000 men. The corps of Wittgenstein, 45,000 strong; of Milaradovitch, 24,000; and the Prussian corps of Kleist, 25,000, followed the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, encamping or bivouacking round their headquarters; and, with the cavalry reserve under the grand-duke Constantine, occupied the country between Schweidnitz and Glatz. To the right were a corps of Russians (33,000), under Langeron, and of Prussians (35,000); the whole under the orders of Blücher. On the left was an Austrian force of 35,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry, and 2,000 artillery, placed conveniently for turning the intrenched camp in the mountains, and taking the French posted about Dresden in the rear. A Prussian corps of 20,000 men, under Bulow, and a Russian corps of 5,000 under Tauenzien, covered Berlin. Far in the rear was Bernadotte, with 25,000 Swedes; 12,000 Russians, under Winzingerode and Woronzoff; and 13,000 Hanoverians and Germans, under Walmoden. This army was ultimately joined by Bulow's and Tauenzien's divisions; and the united bodies formed the "army of the north," under Bernadotte. Before the campaign actually commenced, Moreau, who had been for upwards of ten years in exile in America, joined the allies at the Russian head-quarters, and accepted the commission of lieutenant-general in the service of Alexander.

Napoleon had nearly 100,000 men more than the allies. The "grand army" was at Dresden; it comprised the corps of Ney, Lauriston, Macdonald, Sebastiani, Milhaud, Victor, St. Cyr, and Poniatowski; and amounted to 125,000 men; of which, 20,000 were cavalry. Vandamme, with 25,000, occupied the intrenched camp. Oudinot, with 80,000 men, stationed in front of Torgau, watched the road to Berlin; Rapp had a numerous corps at Dantzic; Davoust another at Hamburg; Augereau had 20,000 conscripts at Würzburg and Bamberg; and there were 25,000 Bavarians at Munich. The entire strength of these corps, with the force under Wrede, &c., was about 340,000 men; and they had 1,300 pieces of cannon.†

in numbers, in the proportion of five to two. The above figures are taken from authentic documents; and though

Before active hostilities commenced, Fouché arrived at Dresden, having been summoned by Napoleon. He had, anticipating the emperor's downfall, been intriguing at Paris, to establish the regency of Maria-Louisa, with a council, of which he was to be a member; and this coming to the ears of his imperial master, led to his being ordered to repair to Dresden. On his arrival Napoleon sent him to Illyria, to succeed Junot as governor. That veteran had, for some time, been decidedly insane, and died a few days after he was superseded by Fouché. On the 16th of August Murat arrived. He had been wavering in his allegiance; for, anxious to preserve Naples, he was ready to side with the victors. The battles of Lutzen and Bautzen decided him, for the present, at all events, to adhere to his first friend. About the same time, Jomini, the chief of Ney's staff, deserted to the enemy; his defection caused some alarm, as it was in his power to disclose the plan of the campaign laid down by Napoleon. But the latter did not appear disposed to change the prescribed operations.

Both armies seem to have begun their movements about the same period. The plan of the allies was to direct their forces from three points—Berlin on the north, Silesia on the east, and Prague on the south—upon Dresden. Napoleon framed his plans from the conviction that the allies would make their great effort on the side of Silesia: and, ordering Oudinot to march on Berlin, and take possession of that capital, leaving St. Cyr, with 31,000 men, at Dresden, and Vandamme, with 25,000 men, at the camp of Pirna, he ordered the rest of the army of Dresden to advance on Silesia by the way of Breslau. The intelligence he received, however, of Blücher's movements induced him to retrace his steps. That commander had been the first to march upon Dresden; and, falling in with the corps of Ney, the French were repulsed in several encounters. The Russians and Austrians also directed their movements on Dresden, but by a different route from that by which Napoleon expected them; and by the 21st of August, 150,000 men were concentrated in rear of the right of Napoleon's main position, having the power to attack the Saxon capital, or interpose between the different divisions of his army, as might seem most advisable; and from 20,000 to 25,000 Austrians, under general Klenau, were in the neighbourhood of Carlsbad. Prince Schwartzberg was commander-in-chief of the Austrians; and, on approaching Dresden, he had issued an order of the day to his troops; in which he said—"All efforts to obtain peace on equitable terms, such terms as alone could be durable, had failed;" as "nothing could bring the relative proportions of the two armies were changed during the campaign, the allies never had anything like that preponderance of force.

back the French government to moderation and reason." They were, therefore, at war for "the protection of their country, the security and welfare of posterity;" and "Europe expected its deliverance at their hands." Napoleon heard of these movements when he was at Zittau, and also that the two emperors and the king of Prussia had had an important interview at Prague; after which Alexander and Frederick William had followed the army. This information convincing him that it was in Saxony, not Silesia, that he must seek the enemy, he left 75,000 men, under Macdonald, to keep Blücher in check, and returned to Dresden, where his presence was very much required. The allies, under Wittgenstein and Schwartzberg—Alexander commanding in chief—had, as soon as they learnt the small force which Napoleon had left there, marched on the city, and had established themselves in the Grosse-Garten, having driven out the enemy from that enclosure, and also from the line of breastworks which connected it with the Elbe.

Napoleon had, on the 24th, sent general Gourgaud from Bautzen to St. Cyr, to inform him of the approach of succour; and that general returned, on the 25th, with information that the city could not hold out twenty-four hours. Napoleon, who had sent orders to Vandamme to cross the Elbe near Pirna, and get in the rear of the allies, and who meant to have attacked them in their positions, now resolved to hasten to Dresden. He had with him Latour-Maubourg's cuirassiers and Kellermann's horse, with the guards, and the corps of Victor and Marmont. When his advanced guard reached the elevated plateau, which is crossed by the roads of Bautzen, Stolpen, and Pilnitz, there intersecting each other, it was seen that the whole plain of the Elbe was filled with the numerous hostile force. The suburb of Frederickstadt alone was not enveloped by them. From this point Napoleon pushed on before his troops, only escorted by a squadron of horse. On gaining the barrier, he was recognised and cheered. He rode on to the palace, where he had a brief interview with the king, and then proceeded to the bridge, where he remained till most of the troops arrived, and were distributed according to his orders. Their advance had been seen by the allies, who were on the opposite side of the Elbe; and a fire had been opened upon them, but with so little effect that it was soon discontinued. After he had arranged for the disposition of the newly arrived troops, and those which were to follow, Napoleon visited the exterior works, from the barrier of Pirna to that of Freyburg, and then returned to the palace. His attention, however, was soon called to a fierce bombardment which was opened on the town, from at least a hundred pieces of cannon; and an assault from the Russians under Wittgenstein, and the

Prussians under Kleist, who captured several redoubts and outworks; but furious sorties of the young guard and other French troops from the gates of Plauen, Pirna, and Dippoldiswalde, repulsed the assailants, and most of the redoubts, &c., were retaken. Soon it was rumoured amongst the allies that Napoleon directed the defence; and, after the fighting had been maintained for several hours, the allied generals withdrew their troops. A dense rain fell, under which the allies had to bivouac in the open fields. Dresden presented a scene of tumult all night; and one which those who witnessed it never forgot. Men, carriages, and horses were continually arriving; and the streets were kept in a constant state of illumination from the blazing torches of the guides. Every shop and store was open to supply food, and not a few houses were plundered to obtain it. The horses had to be fed and littered in the streets; and the inhabitants were in the greatest alarm for the safety of the city as the tumbrils and ammunition waggons dashed from point to point; and a spark from one of the torches, falling upon any of them, might have caused incalculable mischief. The night, however, passed over without any untoward event; and, on the 27th of August, the battle of Dresden was fought.

Napoleon was on horseback by 6 A.M.; and repairing to a point from whence he could survey the positions of the enemy, he took his measures accordingly. The allies occupied a range of heights, which skirted, and sloped down to, the plain of the Elbe, and looked into the city. It formed a concave arc, presenting a base of six miles in length, from right to left. The right, composed of Wittgenstein's Russians and Kleist's Prussians, was formed on the road to Pirna, extending to Strehlen. The centre, formed of Austrians, commanded by Schwartzberg, was posted on a semicircle of heights, extending from Strehlen to Plauen. Giulay's corps, and one division of Klenau's troops, which had come up, were on the left; and a space was left for the remainder of Klenau's army when it joined. Of the French, Victor, and the cavalry of Latour-Maubourg, opposed Giulay. The emperor, with Marmont's and St. Cyr's corps, was in the centre, opposite Schwartzberg; the infantry and cavalry of the old guard forming the reserve. Ney commanded the left, where he had the four divisions of the young guard, and the cavalry of Kellermann: Murat, with 10,000 cavalry, had orders, when the battle was raging, to fall on the enemy's rear.

The attack was made by the French, and the action commenced on the right, from whence it extended to the centre and the left. The allies fought well, though much exhausted by their uncomfortable bivouac in the rain of the preceding night; but they were compelled to give way on all points. Their defeat was accelerated by Murat's cavalry, which, moving in the rear

of Victor's division, was enabled to come, unperceived, upon the left flank of the Austrians and in their rear, by some low meadows which extended to the Elbe, and where Klenau's force was to have been posted; but it, unfortunately, had not arrived. While a fire of musketry from Victor's infantry, and a heavy cannonade from a battery which commanded the allied left, were kept up, Murat, who was joined by Latour-Maubourg, dashed upon the Austrians; and a part of his horse being armed with the lance, then a novel weapon, with which the Austrians were unacquainted, the line was broken, hundreds of the men being killed and wounded; the rest fled. As the rout commenced, Moreau, who was with the emperor Alexander, had both his legs carried off by a cannon-ball—a wound which occasioned his death. Soon after, Alexander, the king of Prussia, and the principal generals, assembled on horseback in a ploughed field, to consider the position of the army, and determine the course to be pursued. It was resolved to retreat, as the ammunition was nearly exhausted; but no backward movement was made till the next morning. Whilst daylight lasted, the allies continued on the defensive; the French, however, appear to have been exhausted, as the cannonade, which began to slacken about five o'clock, at six ceased entirely. They returned to Dresden, saturated with the rain which had fallen the latter part of the day; and "which ran in streams from the cape of Napoleon's grey great-coat, and caused the trimmings of his hat to hang down his back like a queue." That night Dresden became a general hospital for the wounded: the number of troops and prisoners rendered food scarce; and accommodation could not be obtained for hundreds who were crowded within its walls. The allies bivouacked in the field; and were in motion early the next morning, taking the road to Bohemia. They were pursued during the 28th; and St. Cyr reached Dohna; Marmont, Dippoldiswalde; Victor, Pritchendorf; and Murat penetrated beyond Freyburg. Napoleon halted at Pirna, where he received messengers announcing that the villages were full of prisoners, and the roads blocked up with the baggage and *matériel* the allies were abandoning. He sat by the road-side as the messengers arrived, and received their announcements. Then suddenly saying, "There is now nothing more to be done," he ordered a halt; and the young guard bivouacking at Pirna, he drove back to Dresden, where he spent the remainder of that day and the next, in examining papers. That delay changed the fortunes of the campaign.

The battle of Dresden has been styled, "one of the most remarkable victories ever gained by Napoleon;" and it was the last pitched battle he ever did gain. Its results threatened, at first, great disasters to the allies, whose losses were

tremendous. The number of killed and wounded was 12,000; of prisoners, 13,000; and before they got clear of the mountains, 2,000 more were taken: they also lost twenty-six cannons, eighteen standards, 130 caissons, and a great number of baggage waggons. Amongst the killed was the poet Korner, who had recovered from the wound received in the action with Fournier, and whose loss was greatly felt throughout Germany. The loss of the French was about 7,000 killed and wounded.

In other quarters, the allies had, up to that time, met with more success than they achieved at Dresden. Oudinot, who had been sent to Berlin—having forced the defiles of Thyrow, and established himself on the heights in front of Mittenwalde; whilst Regnier, who was with him, had defeated the Prussian general, Thumen—was, on the 23rd, beaten by the Prussians and Swedes under Bernadotte, whom he attacked at the village of Gross-Beeren, eleven miles E.S.E. of Potsdam. The loss of the French on that occasion, besides the killed and wounded, of which no return was made, was 1,500 prisoners, thirteen cannon, and a considerable quantity of baggage. On the 25th, Bernadotte had taken Luckau, with its garrison of 1,000 men, nine pieces of cannon, and considerable magazines; and a division of the Prussians, under Hirschfeld, the same day, defeated Girard, who was marching from Magdeburg to Oudinot's assistance, with the loss of 1,400 prisoners, and six guns. On the 26th, the day that Napoleon again re-entered Dresden, Blucher obtained a decided advantage over Macdonald, who had been left by Napoleon, with instructions "to concentrate his troops, and march towards the enemy, so as to be in a situation to give his aid to the operations of the grand army against Dresden or Bohemia; but, if attacked by a superior force, to retire behind the Queiss, and hold Görlitz." Instead of observing the cautious directions of the emperor, Macdonald determined to take the offensive. For this purpose he divided his army into five columns, which were to cross the Katzbach—a river of Silesia, flowing past Goldberg, Liegnitz, and Parchwitz—and fall on the enemy's right. Blucher, hearing of Napoleon's backward movement to Dresden, had that same morning broken up his encampment in front of Jauer, where he had rested his troops on the 24th and 25th; and crossed the Katzbach, with the same intention which actuated Macdonald—to fight on the first opportunity. As the two armies were moving towards the same point, they approached each other about 2 P.M., and Blucher ordered the attack to be immediately made. Macdonald's right wing first came into action, as one portion was crossing the ravine of the Wüthende-Neisse—i.e., the mad or furious Neisse—and another was passing the Kroitsch defile. This wing was utterly

routed, and left 1,500 prisoners, twenty-six guns, and their ammunition waggons in the allies' hands. The left, led by Sebastiani and Souham, came to the rescue, but was also defeated; as were two fresh divisions which Macdonald sent up, hoping they would change the fortunes of the day. The troops on both sides fought well on this occasion; but, from the first, success attended the operations of the Prussians. The French had to make a rapid retreat; they were pursued, and, from the 27th to the 29th, harassed and cut up in every direction. The result of these combined series of actions, from the 23rd to the 29th, was a loss to the French of 7,000 killed and wounded, 18,000 prisoners, 103 pieces of cannon, and thirty caissons.

Vandamme had been no less unsuccessful than Oudinot and Macdonald, because he did not obey orders—according to Napoleon; but according to Vandamme himself, because he was not properly supported with reinforcements. His orders were, to cross the Elbe, take the allies in the rear, and march upon Tetschen, Aussig, and Töplitz, and then, according to Napoleon, he was to wait the issue of events; but Vandamme says he was promised reinforcements to follow up his advantages. He commenced his operations on the 26th of August, by crossing the Elbe, and attacking the Russian divisions of prince Eugene of Würtemberg, and count Ostermann Tolstoi; with which he kept up a running fight on the 27th and 28th—compelling both to retire, and taking from Eugene 2,000 prisoners and six pieces of cannon. In the night of the 28th, Ostermann descended into the valley of Töplitz, where, on the 29th, he took up a position, with his front towards Kulm, and his right towards some dense forests which skirt the mountains upon the Bohemian side of the Erzgebirge range. All the roads from Saxony terminate in that range; and Vandamme was desirous of gaining possession of the plain, upon which the allies must debouch. Had he done so, their destruction would have been almost certain, pursued as they were by Murat, St. Cyr, Marmont, and Napoleon. On the 29th he descended into the plain, and attacked the Russians, who were much inferior in number; but they fought with great bravery, and the day passed with alternate changes of fortune. When night came on, the Russians occupied the positions they held in the morning, except one post called Priesten, which a French column had carried, and continued to hold. At the close of day, the grand-duke Constantine and general Diebitch arrived, with the cavalry and some grenadiers of the Russian guard; and Vandamme withdrew his troops to the ground he occupied in the morning. It would then have been prudent for him to have retreated; but Jomini says, he received a distinct order from Berthier, in the night of the 29th, to push on to

Töplitz, and the young guard, numbering 28,000 men, was to have been sent from Pirna to join him. The Russians, on the morning of the 30th, were greatly reinforced by the arrival of several corps which had been engaged at Dresden. Barclay de Tolly took the command, Ostermann having lost his arm the day before; and Vandamme, instead of being the assailant, was the assailed. His force was reduced to 23,000 men: of which the right and centre were posted on the heights in front of Kulm; the left in the plain: and that was the point where the first attack was made. When it is stated, that the total force engaged, on the side of the Russians, was little short of 60,000 men, 10,000 of whom were cavalry, it is no wonder that the victory was theirs. The French were thrown into confusion, and rapidly giving way, when they heard firing on the summit of the heights towards Nollendorf. They thought it was the young guard; and the despair they were beginning to feel was changed into bright anticipations of victory. Soon, however, they saw the Prussian standards in the distance; and then they knew that even their retreat was cut off. They fought for some time longer; and Corbineau, at the head of the cavalry, charged up the defiles by which the Prussians were descending to the plain. The cavalry rode directly through the advancing column, rushed at the guns, cut down the gunners, and forced their way through. A few of the routed infantry also made their escape by the woods; the remainder were either killed or taken prisoners—Vandamme himself being amongst the latter. Thus the infantry of this division of the French army was completely annihilated; the loss, in the two days, being 18,000 men, 60 cannon, 300 ammunition waggons, and two eagles. The allies had about 5,000 killed and wounded.

These accumulated disasters completely neutralised the results of the battle of Dresden, and rendered a change necessary in the plans of the emperor. They had a serious effect also on the spirits of his troops, whilst they filled both the armies and the people of Germany with joy. Murmurs and dissatisfaction had, previously to the battle of Kulm, been heard in the camp of the allies, where the chiefs were jealous of each other; but that event restored unanimity and revived their ardour, which was not again cooled or abated till the final victory was obtained. The troops were now ordered to concentrate on Töplitz, where the sovereigns and their ministers repaired. The emperors of Austria and Russia, and the king of Prussia, took up their residence there. Lord Cathcart was also present, as the representative of England at the courts of Russia and Prussia; and the earl of Aberdeen, as her ambassador to Vienna. When these sovereigns and ministers met in congress, the first act was to ratify the preliminaries of Rei-

chenbach; and next, to concert those means which were likely to be most successful against the common enemy. By the beginning of September, the Russians and Prussians had assembled 60,000 effective combatants at Kulm and Töplitz; the infantry occupying the former, and the cavalry being posted round the latter place. Their position enabled them to observe all the passes from which an enemy could debouch in that direction into Bohemia, and to assume the offensive whenever an opportunity presented itself. The Austrians, under Schwartzberg, being young raw troops, were withdrawn across the Elbe to Lichtmaritz, at once to complete their organisation, which was found sadly defective, and to watch the defiles of Zittau and Friedland.

Napoleon, after Oudinot's defeat, gave the command of the army of the north to Ney; and he himself resolved to march to the assistance of Macdonald, who, by the retreat of Oudinot towards Wittenberg, was exposed to the attacks of Tauenzien, and a strong body of Cossacks, from the neighbourhood of Luckau and Bautzen. Leaving, therefore, St. Cyr, Victor, and Murat to make head against the grand army of the allies on the left bank of the Elbe; and dispatching Marmont to Hoyerswerda, about thirty miles from the right bank of that river, and midway between the armies of Ney and Macdonald, to keep up a communication between the two;—on the 3rd of September, with the guards, the reserve cavalry, and Poniatowski's corps, he directed his march towards Bautzen and the banks of the Bober. Macdonald, who had been compelled to make a constant retrograde march since his defeat on the Katzbach, in which he was greatly harassed by the cavalry of Blücher, had, at last, concentrated his corps on the Buntzlau road, and was preparing to cross the river by the only bridge which the torrents, swelled by repeated rains, had not carried away. As Napoleon advanced, Blücher, whose army was not strong enough to stand against him, fell back, but without sustaining any loss. On the 4th, the wreck of Macdonald's army joined; but the emperor learnt that Lauriston's corps was nearly destroyed; and on that day the Cossacks made a daring descent upon a convoy of ammunition, between Bautzen and Bischofswerda, which they captured. On the 5th, the French were at Hochkirch; and there Napoleon, entering a deserted farmhouse, threw himself on some straw, and fell, it is recorded, "into a reverie so deep and sad, that his attendants became much affected, though they did not attempt to interrupt it." The result of his meditation was, that he ordered the troops to halt; gave the command to Macdonald; and, ordering the guards to follow, he returned to Dresden. On his arrival he heard of fresh disasters.

On the 4th, Ney had joined the army of Oudinot, which he found sheltered under the cannon of Wittenberg. He put the troops in motion the following morning, by way of Zahna and Saida, with a view to regain the high road from Torgau to Berlin, for the purpose of reopening the communication with Dresden, which Oudinot had completely cut off by the line of retreat he had adopted. The army reached Dennewitz on the morning of the 6th, Ney having then with him the remains of Oudinot's army, the corps of Regnier (Saxons) and Bertrand, and his own—in all, 70,000 men. They were attacked by the Prussians, under Bulow, who, during the day, was reinforced—first by general Borstl, and then by a portion of Bernadotte's army, which that general, though within a distance which enabled him to hear the firing, had kept singularly inactive for several hours. The battle was well contested, and victory was doubtful till Borstl's division came up. Ultimately, the French and Saxons were driven away from their positions: they retreated orderly at first, but their retrograde movement soon became a flight, which was continued the next day, when the rear-guard was harassed by the Prussian horse, which made 1,500 prisoners, capturing also eight pieces of cannon. On the 8th, Ney collected the remnants of his army under the cannon of Torgau. He had lost, in the battle and retreat, 20,000 men (6,000 of whom were prisoners), eighty pieces of artillery, seventeen caissons, and three standards. He wrote to Napoleon from Torgau—"I have sustained a total defeat, and the *morale* of the army is quite shaken. With the cavalry I can do nothing; and the spirit of the foreign troops is so bad, that I have little doubt of their turning their arms against us on the first opportunity." The allies lost nearly 6,000 men, 5,000 being Prussians; Bulow's army, only 45,000 strong, having maintained the fight several hours, against 70,000 French, before it was reinforced, first by Borstl's corps, and then by the Swedes and Russians from Bernadotte's army. That general, like Kutusoff, appears to have been unwilling to take extreme measures against the French: for, had he advanced earlier in the day, scarcely one of Ney's army could have escaped.

At Dresden, Napoleon gave orders for several new works to be constructed; and the ruthless destruction of the vineyards in the vicinity of the city—and of the famous porcelain manufactory of Meissen, which was converted into a fortress, the warehouses being used for military stores—added to the many outrages which were committed by the French troops—caused the Saxon people to become completely disgusted with their allies, and heartily to pray for a deliverance from the evils under which they were suffering. The hour of that deliverance was near at hand.

The emperor had scarcely reached Dresden, before the Russians and Prussians were in pursuit, pressing upon him on all sides. Wittgenstein advanced through the defile of Nollendorf, expelled the French from Pirna, and occupied that position; general Zeiten, driving back St. Cyr's light troops, descended into the plain, within a few miles of Dresden; and parties of Cossacks, Prussian cavalry, and partisans, cut off the convoys on all the roads between Dresden and Leipsic, and even beyond that city. Dresden being the pivot of Napoleon's operations, it was necessary to preserve that intact, and keep up his communications: he therefore himself headed a considerable force, with which, on the 8th of September, two days after he had re-entered the city, he set out to drive back the Russians and Prussians, who were advancing by the passes of the Erzgebirge. They retired leisurely as the French advanced—fighting occasionally, and not suffering more than their pursuers, if so much. On the 10th, the emperor gained the frontier ridges; and from a mountain, called the Nuttleberg, he was enabled to survey the allies, encamped from Kulm to Töplitz. He found that he was not strong enough to make an attack upon their position; and giving the orders to retire, he again entered Dresden on the 13th. He had no sooner arrived, than the allies, now joined by Schwartzenberg with 40,000 men, speedily advanced, harassed his troops, and pressed on the city. Again he attacked them, when they retired by the old route on Kulm, were pursued, and, this time, attacked when they halted; but the French were defeated, with the loss of 2,000 prisoners. Then Napoleon diverged, hoping to come up with Blücher; but the Prussian general would not hazard a battle; and the emperor returned dispirited, and beginning to despair of his prospects, to the Saxon capital, on the 25th of September. At this period, he had 208,000 men of all arms, under himself and his different generals, having lost upwards of 150,000 in six weeks. While this was the case, the allies had been gradually reinforcing and organising their army, till, before September closed, 300,000 men were pressing upon Dresden. On the 3rd of October, Blücher crossed the Elbe at a village called Elster, defeating the French under Bertrand, with the loss of 1,000 killed, 1,000 prisoners, and eleven pieces of cannon. Bernadotte, at the same time, crossed the river at two points, between Denau and Magdeburg; and what was called the "grand army"—40,000 men, under Benningsen and Tolstoi, being left to guard the pass of Nollendorf, and, if necessary, threaten Dresden—was, on the 8th, established at Chemnitz, on the Leipsic road.

Looking at the position of the French and the allies, there did not appear to be, at this period, any great preponderance of advantage on either

side. Napoleon preserved Dresden, which he had strongly fortified; his line of defence was still unbroken; not one of the fortresses on the Elbe, held by his troops, had succumbed; and, where he appeared in person, victory still rested on his banners. He had, on several occasions since the resumption of hostilities, after the armistice of Plesswitz, evinced symptoms of despondency; but—when aware of the movements of the allies, he determined to march on Leipsic and give them battle—all his confidence appears to have returned. Having taken this resolution, on the 7th of October, he dictated to count Daru despatches to Paris; in one of which he said—"The emperor is about to give battle. Dresden will be occupied by 30,000 men. If his majesty lose the battle, he will cause the place to be evacuated; but, as his majesty will gain the battle, Dresden will always remain the centre of his operations. As in a hundred chances, his majesty believes he has eighty in his favour, we must act as if he were certain of success."

Napoleon sent his young guard from Dresden on the 6th of October. Leaving St. Cyr with 30,000 troops in the city, he set forward himself on the 7th. The king, queen, and the princess Amelia, of Saxony, were in his train; who accompanied him to Eilenburg, on the Mulde, where they arrived on the 9th. There had been much desertion among the Saxon and German troops; and general Thielman, with an entire Saxon brigade, had gone over to the allies. As the Saxon royal family were to leave the emperor at Eilenburg, he had all the troops of that nation then with the army, assembled in their presence, and addressed them very forcibly on the necessity of remaining true to their colours, unless they wished to see the dominions of their king dismembered for the aggrandisement of Prussia: but, he said, all who wished to leave him, were at liberty to do so. When he ceased speaking, he embraced the king, who was affected to tears; and the troops, touched by his emotion, vowed to be faithful to the last. Napoleon, when he left Dresden, had with him the old and young guard, the latter under the command of Oudinot; the 3rd, the 5th, and the 11th corps, Ney being at the head of the 3rd; with the corps of Bertrand and Regnier, then united: making a total of about 100,000 men. After the king of Saxony left him on the 10th, he established his headquarters at Duben, where he learned, that a partisan leader, Tchernicheff, having led his band against Westphalia, king Jerome had fled, and the kingdom no longer existed; and that the king of Bavaria had joined the allies, a treaty between them having been signed on the 8th. He, however, continued his march to Leipsic, where Augereau, in consequence of orders he received, had already arrived from the

Valley of the Inn, having, between Naumberg and Weissenfels, been attacked by a portion of the allied army from Bohemia, through which the French gallantly forced their way. Murat's division, consisting of the 2nd and 9th corps, the 6th, under Marmont, and the remains of Poniatowski's Poles, had also reached Leipsic; and the united force there consisted of at least 60,000 men.—The allies, who threatened Leipsic, under Wittgenstein, Klenau, Meerfeldt, and Giulay, were estimated at 125,000 men. Benningsen and Calleredo, with 60,000, blockaded Dantzic. Bernadotte, on the advance of Napoleon from Dresden, would have recrossed the Elbe, but the bridges were destroyed. He halted at Köthen, the capital of the duchy of Anhalt-Köthen. Blucher had his head-quarters at Halle, nineteen miles to the south. These various positions had not been taken up without several actions between the hostile forces, in which the balance of advantage rested with the allies.

The position of the two armies, united with the loss of Westphalia, and the defection of Bavaria, caused the French marshals to press upon the emperor the propriety of returning to France. He felt that his fortune had indeed changed; and the confidence that inspired him at Dresden, gave way. "A thunderbolt," to quote his own words, "alone could have saved him." Still, nothing, he thought, "was quite desperate, so long as he had the chance of a battle; and in his position, a single victory might have restored to him the north, as far as Dantzic." Though professing, at the time, not to be convinced by the reasoning of his marshals, he determined to yield to it; and orders were given, to the great joy of the troops, to make their way to the Rhine. Leaving Duben on the 12th, Napoleon arrived at Leipsic on the 15th of October. That second capital of Saxony, and largest commercial town in East Germany, stands on the White Elster, where it is joined by the Pleisse and the Parde. It is nineteen miles south-east of Halle, and sixty north-west of Dresden; and rises from the midst of an extensive plain, which is covered with villages, hamlets, and country-seats. Gentle undulations, with numerous picturesque groves and woods, in 1813, surrounded the city and its suburbs: but they offered no impediment to a hostile army; and the old irregular rampart, the dilapidated curtain of masonry, and the ditch, almost filled up, and without a counterscarp, furnished only inadequate means of defence.

On reaching Leipsic, Napoleon was joined by Murat; and the troops were disposed as they arrived—so that the king of Naples, with his division, covered the approaches to the city from the south and south-west. Poniatowski, on the extreme right, occupied a village called Mark-luberg, and the space between it and the Pleisse;

Bertrand's corps held Lindenau; Augereau, with Victor's corps, and Milhaud's and Kellermann's cavalry, were in the centre, on the heights of, and behind, Wachau; Lauriston's corps, with Latour-Maubourg's and Sebastiani's horse, were on the left, where a space was left for Macdonald, whose debouch from Holzhausen was looked for every instant. The imperial guard, under Napoleon, formed a reserve near a hamlet, called Probstheyda. Marmont's corps, and two divisions of Ney's, were posted on the north-west, to meet the shock of the Swedes and Prussians, under Bernadotte and Blucher. The other divisions of Ney's corps, and Regnier's Saxons, were shortly expected to join. The numbers of the two forces have been variously estimated; but the allies had, at that time, undoubtedly the superiority. The French probably comprised, together, about 175,000 men, 35,000 being cavalry, with 720 pieces of cannon; the allies mustered 190,000 men, and 1,300 guns: but they were not judiciously posted, chiefly owing to Bernadotte's obstinacy, and Schwartzberg's deficiency in strategic ability.

The allied commanders resolved to attack the French in their positions on the 16th of October. At midnight of the 15th, a given signal—the discharge of two rockets from the headquarters of prince Schwartzberg, to the south of Leipsic—summoned the men to their posts: at daybreak, an animated proclamation from the prince, was read at the head of every company and squadron; calling on the men—"Russians, Prussians, Austrians—to fight for the liberty of Europe—for the independence of their children—for the immortal renown of their names;"—and, at nine o'clock, three guns discharged from the centre of the army, announced that the hour of attack had arrived. The fire immediately commenced along the whole line, being taken up by both armies—the allies pressing on towards Leipsic, as the musketry and artillery poured forth their messengers of death. The attack of the allies on the left and centre was repulsed, the village of Wachau being taken and retaken; and the Russians and Austrians were beaten back six times from that of Liebertwolkwitz, by Lauriston, who was supported by Macdonald and Sebastiani. An attack on the allied centre, specially directed by Napoleon, was also successful; and he sent word to the king of Saxony, who had arrived at Leipsic, that he had won the battle, and taken 2,000 prisoners; requesting his majesty, at the same time, to order the bells in the city and the surrounding villages, to be rung, to announce the victory. The Russian grenadiers, under Raefskoi, partly retrieved the disasters of the centre; and the Austrian cuirassiers—who had great difficulty in getting into action, owing to the injudicious arrangements of Schwartzberg—gallantly charged the French cavalry, and drove them back, in great disorder,

to the heights beyond Wachau. The allied right, however, was broken by a gallant charge, headed by Latour-Maubourg and Murat, and twenty-six guns captured. But Alexander ordered charges to be made by the red Cossacks of the guard, and the heavy cavalry of Barclay, on the French flanks; whilst the reserve artillery was brought up, and opened a destructive fire on their centre. The French cavalry was driven back, and twenty-four of the guns retaken: Austrian reserves also coming up, the enemy was compelled to retreat. Cannonading was now heard in the north; and couriers from Marmont and Ney announced their inability to render Napoleon any aid, as they could scarcely maintain themselves against Blucher's impetuous assaults. The battle appeared to be lost; but Napoleon resolved to make one more effort. He ordered up the reserve cavalry, and Victor and Lauriston's corps, which succeeded in breaking Gortschakoff's division, and taking the village of Gossa; but they were driven out by the Austrians, and eighty pieces of Russian artillery arrested the progress of the French, and compelled them to retire. The firing, however, did not cease till night came on; when the left of the allies was considerably in advance of the position it occupied in the morning: but the French left and centre had also advanced; and if the balance of the day was rigidly struck, the advantage in this part of the field rested with them.

In other quarters, Meerfeldt—who, with an Austrian division, had been posted, by Schwartzberg, so that the swamps between the Pleisse and the Elster prevented him from getting into action—had just extricated himself, and was preparing to attack the French right, when he was driven back to the Elster by a sudden attack of the old guard and Poniatowski's Poles; and was made prisoner, with his battalion. Giulay, however, attacked and carried Lindenau. Napoleon, indignant at the loss of that post, as it interrupted his communications, ordered Bertrand to retake it at any cost. Returning, he took the Austrians, little anticipating such a movement, by surprise; and driving them out of the village, Giulay withdrew to his original position. To the north-west, Ney and Marmont were defeated by Blucher, who had 56,000 men to their 28,000; and the wreck of their army retired behind the Partha, having lost 4,000 killed and wounded, 2,000 prisoners, an eagle, two standards, and twenty guns; thirty cannon were also taken by the Cossacks in the night.

The fighting of the 16th, though indecisive, except on the part of Blucher's army, yet undoubtedly placed the French in such a position—their numbers diminishing rapidly, whilst the allies looked for large reinforcements—that prudence dictated a retreat. Napoleon, however, after having the bells rung to announce

his victory, could not think of making a retrograde movement. As soon as the firing ceased, he sent for Meerfeldt, with whom he held some conversation, and then dismissed him, on his parole, urging him to use every means with the emperor of Austria, to induce him to retire from the Russian alliance, and offering, if an armistice were concluded, to evacuate Germany, and retire behind the Rhine till the conclusion of a general peace. Both armies remained quiet on the 17th, Napoleon waiting for an answer to his proposals for an armistice—which the allies declined noticing; and the latter anxiously looking for the reinforcements which were on their way. They came; and, on the 18th, the fighting was renewed; and never did more gallant men meet together. But the fortune of the day rested decidedly with the allies. Their left, under the prince of Hesse-Homburg, came first into action, and, after a brave resistance, drove the Poles, under Poniatowski, before them, and also the remains of Augereau's corps, to the suburbs of Leipsic. There the young and old guard, under Oudinot and Mortier, encountered the Austrians, and obliged them to retire. An attack upon the village of Probstheyda—made by prince Augustus of Prussia and general Pirsch, under the fire of the allied batteries which then occupied the heights of Wachau, from which the French had retired in the night—was defeated the first time, but was successful the second; and the troops by whom the village was occupied, were driven across the plain in the greatest disorder. Again the guard came to the rescue, and retook the village. The Russians under Wittgenstein, and Benningsen's reserve, attempted to recover the place; but failed. Finding that the enemy made so heroic a resistance in this part of the field, Schwartzberg withdrew his infantry and cavalry to the nearest hollow, where they enjoyed some protection from the enemy's batteries. He then brought forward the artillery of the allies, 800 pieces—arranged it in a vast semicircle, and opened a fire, which was incessantly kept up, on the French and their positions. The latter replied from 500 guns; but the allies had the superiority in position, and in number of cannon; and the slaughter was immense. The French repeatedly advanced, and endeavoured to reach the guns, but in vain; and for four hours this terrible affray continued.—Whilst this was the state of things on the south, on the north, Ney and Marmont, who had reorganised their forces after the defeat of the 16th, were again greatly outnumbered by Blücher, and retired to join Regnier and his Saxons. No sooner had they done so, than the latter went over to the allies, and opened a fire upon their former friends. The French were of course compelled to make a retrograde movement; but their extreme left remained at

Schönfeld, where they were reinforced, as the position was of great importance to Napoleon. Five times was it attacked, and five times were the allies repulsed: but the sixth time it was taken; the loss of assailants and defenders being about equal—4,000 on each side. The success of the allies, who pushed their advantages further in that direction, was much accelerated by an English rocket brigade—that new and formidable weapon of modern warfare being then first brought into action. "Such was its effect upon the enemy," writes the marquis of Londonderry, "that a solid square of French infantry, upon the flank of which the brigade opened its fire, surrendered in a few minutes."

The result of the second day of the "battle of Leipsic" upon the French army, was, that it became so broken and disorganised, and was so in want of all the *matériel* of war, that to retreat appeared the only course left open; and that course the marshals and generals, who gathered round Napoleon after the troops had bivouacked for the night, strongly advised him to adopt. Worn out with fatigue, he fell asleep on the chair in which he sat, and slept undisturbed for a quarter of an hour. Suddenly awaking, he exclaimed, "Am I awake? or is it a dream?" The painful reality soon burst upon him, and he made up his mind to meet it. He gave immediate orders as to the fortresses which were to be abandoned; also directions as to the line of retreat: wrote to the king of Saxony, telling him that the French were about to leave Leipsic, and that he might either follow their fortunes or remain, and make a separate peace with the allies; and then leaving the bivouac, he retired to the Prussian hotel at Leipsic—not to rest, for he occupied himself till daybreak in giving orders to his officers. The king of Saxony had an interview with him after his arrival at the hotel; and there can be little doubt that the two were most sincerely attached to each other. Their parting is described as a scene which touched the hearts of those present. It was, says Alison, "the separation of the first in genius from the first in elevated feeling and fidelity in misfortune."

At daybreak on the 19th of October, the French were in full retreat. They had lost, on the 16th and 18th, 40,000 men; but 135,000 remained; and these endeavoured to make their exit by every route that conducted in the direction of the Rhine. Those who were first in motion were the most successful in getting fairly on the road; but it was no easy task to evacuate Leipsic, choked up as all the approaches were by artillery and baggage waggons, ambulances, and other conveyances. Napoleon, who did not leave till ten o'clock—and, before he departed, again went, and said farewell to the king of Saxony and the queen—got out of the city with the greatest difficulty. In the meantime, the

allies were preparing for an assault; and the magistrates waited upon Alexander, to implore him to avert that dreadful catastrophe. Macdonald, also, sent a flag of truce, offering to surrender all that remained of the Saxon troops and the town, if the French garrison and their artillery were permitted to retire unmolested. This offer was refused, and the allies continued to advance. The defence of the city rested with Macdonald, Lauriston, and Poniatowski, whose first act was to set fire to 300 artillery waggons and chariots, which they knew they could not carry off. The French and Poles who remained, defended the gates and barriers as long as possible; but their resistance was unavailing—gate after gate, and barrier after barrier were forced. Then the contest was continued in the streets; and on both sides, says colonel Mitchell, quoting from the narrative of one who took part in it—"exasperation was at its height. The French had loopholed villas and garden-walls, and maintained their ground with bitter resolution. In a large building, called the Civic School, they fought from storey to storey, and from class to class, till the last defenders were absolutely thrown out of the upper windows, to perish by the bayonets of the enraged multitudes below. By degrees the fury of battle degenerated into an absolute thirst for blood:" and for some time this horrid strife continued. At length—whether from a conviction that further resistance was useless, or from absolute inability to continue it any longer—opposition to the allies began to die away; and all the French troops were soon in full retreat, making for the Elster, which they had to cross. There another disaster awaited them. The gunner whom Napoleon had ordered to blow up the bridge over this river, which had been undermined for the purpose, applied the match too soon, under the idea that nothing was left on the right bank but the baggage, and that the enemy, whose tirailleurs he saw in the gardens of the suburbs, were approaching. The explosion terribly alarmed the fugitives, who were directing their course to the bridge: a shriek of horror burst from their ranks as the truth forced itself upon them; and, rushing to the river, many threw themselves in, and attempted to get across. Few succeeded. Macdonald was one who reached the opposite bank; Poniatowski was amongst those who perished.

Whilst hundreds were thus miserably struggling for life in the Elster—and whilst the city presented, in all its approaches, and the streets which led to them, heaps of dead and dying, and the *débris* of much that was valuable in *matériel*, as well as in carriages and baggage—the allied sovereigns entered from the south, and the crown-prince of Sweden came in from the east. Surrounded by their numerous staffs, they met in the great square;

and there all was exultation—the shouts of the people, the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the display of banners and flags, and the merry peals from the bells of all the churches, evincing their joy. The king of Saxony was made a prisoner, but treated with the greatest respect.—The French lost on this day, in killed, wounded, prisoners, and drowned in the Elster, more than 20,000 men; Lauriston and Regnier, seven generals of division, seven brigadiers, and several hundred staff and other officers, were among the prisoners. The allies took, also, 200 cannon, and 900 caissons or waggons. Their loss, in men, was great—46,000 in the battles of the 16th and 18th, and the assault of Leipsic on the 19th; which included twenty-one generals, and 1,793 general officers: nearly one-half the total loss fell upon the Russians. Of the dead, on both sides, none was regretted more than prince Poniatowski; his corpse was found, and interred at Leipsic with every mark of respect.

Napoleon continued the retreat by Marc-Renstaedt, Weissenfels, Rippach, and Freyburg, to Erfurth, where the wreck of his fine army arrived on the 23rd of October. They had been harassed in their retreat by Blucher and Sacken, losing both prisoners and guns; and were glad to get under the shelter of the works of Erfurth, where they were supplied with ammunition, food, and clothing. Their German allies had now entirely deserted them: not a single soldier of that nation was left in their ranks. Many Poles had also deserted; and less than 90,000 men followed the eagles out of Erfurth: they were divided into six corps, under Victor, Ney, Bertrand, Marmont, Augereau, and Macdonald. St. Cyr still remained in Dresden; and numerous garrisons were in the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula; where the stragglers, sick and wounded, who could reach them, took refuge. The emperor left Erfurth on the 25th, and took the road to Hanau, a town of Hesse-Cassel, on the left bank of the Kinzig, near its junction with the Maine. There general Wrede, at the head of the Austro-Bavarian army, with the troops of Würtemberg—together about 60,000 men—had marched by another road, with a view to arrest the retreat of the French; whilst Blucher followed in their rear. The retreating army reached Hanau on the 30th of October, to find their advance impeded by this force, which was posted in the forest of Hanau, directly across the great road to Mayence, which the French must take. But though fugitives, the troops of Napoleon evinced all their old courage and determination. The remaining two battalions of the old guard, under general Curial, with their cavalry, under general Nansouty, supported by general Drouet and fifty pieces of artillery, made a desperate charge upon the enemy drawn up to receive them. They literally

crushed down the ranks in the quarters where they came in contact with the Bavarians; and though the latter stood their ground well, the French fought their way through, with the loss of 7,000 killed and wounded; 3,000 of the latter were left in the forest. Wrede had 12,000 men put *hors de combat*. The next day Napoleon pursued his route to the Rhine, Mortier commanding the rear-guard; Marmont being left before Hanau to protect his retreat. Mortier drove a party of Austrians, who were with Wrede, from that town, and Marmont forced the right of the enemy back on the Maine. The French were pursued by Wrede, and at first discomfited, but they finally beat back the Bavarians. Wrede, severely wounded, had to relinquish the command: the pursuit was discontinued; and the rear-guard joined the main army at Frankfort. That army crossed the Rhine on the 1st of November, and entered Mayence, where the emperor remained six days, till he saw all the relics of his once splendid force collected. Then, leaving the command to Ney—for Murat had left him at Erfurth, under pretence that his presence was required at Naples—he took his way to France, and arrived at St. Cloud on the 9th.

The allied troops had followed the French, but had not been quite so rapid in their movements. Their advanced guard entered Frankfort on the 4th of November, the head-quarters of the sovereigns being fixed at Aschaffenburg, and those of Blücher at Geissen. The capture of Hochheim, and the *tête-de-pont* of Cassel, by Gölitz, closed the campaign, as far as the main armies on either side were concerned. The allies were then posted, for repose after their toil, around Frankfort, on the right bank of the Rhine, their bivouacs extending some way along the river, on both sides of the town. The

French were principally stationed at Mayence and Coblenz; they had not a soldier, except in garrison, on the left side of the river. Though there was no more fighting in the field, the fortresses in the hands of the French were not neglected. St. Cyr was blockaded in Dresden by Klenau, after he had gallantly sallied from the city, and defeated the Russians, on the 17th of October. After suffering greatly from famine, hundreds of both soldiers and citizens dying of hunger, he capitulated on the 6th of November, on condition that the garrison—consisting of thirty-two generals, 1,795 officers, and 33,000 rank and file, 25,000 being effective—should be sent to France, not to serve till they were exchanged. It is a blot on the character of the allied sovereigns, that they refused to ratify this convention; and St. Cyr and his companions were detained prisoners of war. Stettin was taken on the 21st, Torgau on the 28th, of November. Other small fortresses were given up: Dantzic held out till the 1st of January, 1814, when it capitulated.

Thus the results of the campaign were very fatal to Napoleon. The disasters of the French re-established the independence of Germany. Of the possessions of France beyond the Rhine, Hamburg, Magdeburg, and Wittenberg, on the Elbe; Cüstrin and Glogau, on the Oder; and the citadels of Würzburg and Erfurth, alone remained. The Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved; and the domination of Napoleon beyond that river was at an end. More than 300,000 men had been lost to the empire; and of 1,200 cannon, 1,000 remained in the enemy's hands. These were the results in Germany; but the effects extended beyond that country, as will be shown in succeeding pages.

CHAPTER XIX.

AFFAIRS OF ITALY; THE FAMILY OF ORANGE RESTORED IN HOLLAND; NAPOLEON AT PARIS; DISCONTENT OF THE PEOPLE; MEETING OF THE COUNCIL AND SENATE; FRESH LEVIES; PROPOSALS OF THE ALLIES; MEETING OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY; NAPOLEON'S QUARREL WITH THE DEPUTIES; PREPARATIONS FOR WAR; NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE POPE; DEFECTION OF MURAT; ARMIES OF THE ALLIES, AND OF FRANCE; OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN; BATTLE OF BRIENNE; BATTLE OF LA ROTHIERE; SUCCESSES OF THE FRENCH AT CHAMPAUBERT, MONTMIRAIL, AND VAUCHAMPS; OCCUPATION OF TROYES BY THE ALLIES; COMMENCEMENT OF THE MOVEMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE BOURBONS; BATTLES OF NANGIS AND MONTEREAU; STORMING OF SOISSONS; RETREAT OF THE ALLIES; ARMISTICE OF LUSIGNY; NEGOTIATIONS; CONGRESS AT CHATILLON; TREATY OF CHAUMONT; AFFAIRS AT BAR-SUR-AUBE; BATTLES OF CRAONE AND LAON; BATTLE OF ARCIS; FALL OF PARIS; ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON; THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT;

BEFORE we follow Napoleon to Paris, the affairs of Italy, and the events which transpired in Holland, in the latter part of the year 1813, connected as they are with the history of France, require a brief notice.

We have seen that Napoleon, when he joined

the grand army, sent prince Eugene to Italy, for the purpose of organising a contingent in that country, which could be brought into action against Austria, if necessary.* The prince arrived at Milan on the 18th of May, to find that the once fine army of Italy was reduced, by the Russian disasters, to a few hundred privates, and about 300 commissioned and non-commissioned officers. His orders from the emperor were, to raise an army of 80,000 men, all native soldiers. The prince could not rally round the eagles so large a number; but in little more than six weeks he had enrolled 50,000 men, who had, however, a large Austrian force opposed to them; and instead of threatening Vienna, he had to defend himself from the attacks of the enemy.

Part of his army was stationed between Udina and Gorizia; and part was posted by Palma-Nuova to the heights of Tarvis and Villach; the two divisions occupying all the eastern passes which lead into Germany. Opposite to them was a respectable Austrian army of full 50,000 men, under field-marshal Hiller; and this force was, shortly after the campaign commenced, supported by the landwehr of Illyria and Croatia. On the 17th of July, two columns of this army passed the frontier stream of the Save at Agram, directing their march on Karlstadt and Fiume. General Jeannin, who commanded that part of the Italian army with whom this Austrian force would first have come in contact, was obliged to retreat: his retrograde movement was the signal for insurrection; and the inhabitants of Croatia, Illyria, and the whole Dalmatian coast, eagerly returned to their allegiance to Francis Joseph. Prince Eugene then found, that he must abandon a considerable part of the line he at first occupied. He withdrew, therefore, to an intrenched camp at Tarvis; and the Austrians having occupied Villach, he drove them out, and established his head-quarters there. The maritime coast was then occupied by the Austrians, general Nugent taking possession of Fiume towards the end of August. The Italians, however, carried the Austrian positions on Mount Leobel and at Fies-tritz; but were defeated, with the loss of 1,200 men, in an attack on the Austrian lines. Hiller having followed up this success by marching with the bulk of his army towards Trieste, prince Eugene took advantage of his having weakened his forces in that direction, and marching on Fiume, drove out the garrison which Hiller had left there, replacing it with Italians. These military events led to no decisive result; but as Istria followed the example of Croatia, and revolted against the authority of France, the advantage was certainly on the side of Austria, whose cause soon became triumphant. Hiller's army being reinforced by the landwehr of

the adjoining province, he passed the Drave on the 19th of September; and the accession of Bavaria to the European alliance against France, having again given Austria the command of the Tyrol, he was enabled to advance his army so as to bring it in unexpected proximity to prince Eugene's force, which he drove from the fortified position of Tarvis; obliging the viceroy to fall back from the mountains to the plain of Friuli, and concentrate his troops on the banks of the Tagliamento. He had lost 15,000 men since the commencement of the campaign—a loss which he attempted to supply by ordering a levy of conscripts to that amount. But the conscripts did not readily obey the call; and the Austrians, supported by the spirit displayed by the population, successively drove the viceroy from post to post till he had to fall back on the Adige. Trieste was bombarded, and taken on the 31st of October; Dalmatia was subdued before the end of November; Palma-Nuova was besieged, and Venice invested; all the continental part of Venetia was taken possession of; and the country, to Ferrara and the banks of the Po, was in the hands of the Austrian troops.

Stimulated by the patriotic feeling evinced in Germany, and not ignorant of the enthusiasm with which the Croats, Illyrians, and Istrians were seizing the opportunity of turning against France, and reacknowledging the sovereignty of Austria—the inhabitants of Holland, after the battle of Leipsic, began to long for the presence of their old sovereign; and they soon had the opportunity of recovering their independence. There were only 6,000 French troops, and two German regiments, in the country. As the allies, under Bulow and Winzingerode, advanced by the road of Münster, the douaniers from the coast, and the garrison of Amsterdam, were withdrawn, and concentrated at Utrecht. The inhabitants of the capital immediately rose *en masse*, deposed the French authorities, hoisted the orange flag, and established a provisional government. Their example was followed by the people of Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Delft, Leybach, Haarlem, and the other chief towns: the provisional government issued a proclamation from the Hague, announcing that Holland was free; and the cry of "*Orange Boven*" resounded through the land. The prince of Orange, who was in England, was sent for, and reached the Hague on the 27th of November. The Russians, early in December, invested and took the forts of Mayder and Hafweg; Bulow captured Dornburg and Arnheim: the French then withdrew altogether from Holland; the fleet in the Texel hoisted the Orange flag; the prince of Orange entered Amsterdam in triumph; and when 1813 closed, the tricolour floated only over the walls of Bergen-op-Zoom, and a few of the fortresses on the southern frontiers.

When Napoleon arrived in Paris, in November,

* See *ante*, p. 223.

1813, he found the public, says Thiers, "in a state of profound sorrow, almost of despair, and particularly irritated against him." They "could not forgive him for neglecting the happy opportunity afforded by the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen, to conclude peace. They regarded his ambition as extravagant—as cruel to humanity, fatal to France." These feelings were very general amongst the people, but they had not yet extended to the council of state, which the emperor convoked immediately after his arrival. On their assembling, he laid before the members an exact account of his losses, described the position of his remaining army, and insisted upon the necessity of vigorous measures to avert the dangers which threatened France. "Why should we fear to speak the truth?" he said. "Has not Wellington invaded the south? Do not the Russians menace the north? What shame! and the nation does not rise, *en masse*, to drive them away. All my allies have abandoned me: the Saxons betrayed me on the field of battle; the Bavarians endeavoured to cut off my retreat. Never talk of peace till I have burned Munich. The same triumvirate which partitioned Poland has arrayed itself against France: we can have no truce till it is defeated. I demand 300,000 men; and, with what remains of my armies, I shall then have a million of soldiers. Councillors! what we want is energy; every one must act; and you must give an example of courage." The council, after this address, decided that, under the pressing emergency, it was necessary to have recourse to a dictator, and to call upon France to make great sacrifices to sustain her honour, and defeat the efforts of her enemies. Of those sacrifices, the emperor set the example, by appropriating 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000) from his private coffers in the Tuileries, to the public service. He followed up this step by assuming the dictatorial power; and his first exercise of it was, to increase the land, window, and door tax thirty per cent.; to double the tax on movables; and to add three-fifths to the excise duties and the salt-tax. These harsh measures were necessary to afford funds for the unavoidable expenditure; for, at that period, the finances were at the lowest ebb. The sale of the communes* had not produced half the amount that was expected; and a loan was impossible, for no capitalist would advance his money to the government. The public were indignant, however, both at the measures themselves, and at the manner in which the taxes were imposed: their pressure increased the popular discontent, which manifested itself on various occasions. That discontent was still further heightened as the real state of the army became disclosed. Whilst he was candid with the council, the emperor caused articles to be published in the *Moniteur*, to the effect, that his

* See *ante*, p. 217.

forces were being rapidly reorganised; and that the marshals had received sufficient reinforcements to enable them to maintain the barrier of the Rhine. These representations, for a time, deceived the public; but, when the truth was known, indignant denunciations were heard on every side; pasquinades were circulated; and such was the demonstration at the theatres, when anything was said on the stage which could be applied to the then state of France, that new dramas were prohibited which contained passages permitting of this temporary application; and, from those in possession of the stage, all such passages were carefully expunged.

The senate assembled on the 15th of November, and immediately agreed to place at the disposal of the minister of war, the 300,000 conscripts demanded by the emperor. That body had, in the previous month, at the request of the empress, granted 280,000 men; and from both these levies the married men were to be exempt; but it was found impossible, after the levies in the early part of the year, to complete the 580,000 from the ranks of the single men. The senate also decreed, that the council and senate should assist at the sittings of the legislative body, and that the emperor should name a president of that body. He did so, and named Regnier, the duke of Massa, who was not a member; twenty-three vacant seats were also filled up by the same authority, instead of by election. Previous to the meeting of that body a correspondence took place with the allies, founded on proposals received from them, to reopen negotiations for peace. During their advance on the Rhine, the count St. Aignan, ambassador from France to the court of Saxe-Weimar, was taken prisoner. He was received with kindness by Metternich; and, when the allied sovereigns were at Frankfort, they sent for the count, to whom they repeated their desire for peace. He had permission to return to Paris, being entrusted with a private letter from the emperor of Austria to Maria-Louisa; and a diplomatic note, signed by the three sovereigns, in which they proposed, as the bases for negotiation, that "France should be restricted to its natural limits between the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; that Spain should be restored to the ancient dynasty; and that the independence of Italy, Germany, and Holland should be secured." Maret, the duke of Bassano, replied to this note, on behalf of the emperor, "that a peace, concluded on the basis of the independence of all nations, as well in a continental as a maritime point of view, had been the constant object of his majesty's solicitude." This answer was not deemed sufficiently explicit by Metternich, as it did not positively accept the bases proposed by the allies. Maret, however, replied, "that in admitting, as the basis, the independence of all nations, the emperor really had

accepted all for which the allies contended." This explanation was deemed satisfactory; and, on the 1st of December, the allies published a declaration from Frankfort, in which they expressed their desire of "obtaining a general peace, on a solid foundation;" and avowed, that "they did not make war on France (which they wished to see powerful and happy, its commerce reviving, and arts flourishing, and its territory more extensive than was known under its ancient kings), but on that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the emperor Napoleon had long exercised beyond the limits of that country." It was to put down that preponderance they had taken up arms, and they would not lay them down "before they had attained that great and beneficent result; till the political state of Europe was once more secured; till the immutable principles of justice had resumed the ascendant over vain pretensions; nor till the sanctity of treaties had at length secured a real peace." If Napoleon had at once closed with these proposals, Caulaincourt admits that he might have arrested the march of the allies, and concluded peace. But the despatch of the latter, accepting the declarations of Napoleon as satisfactory, was sent off on the 10th of December, and he suffered the negotiation to linger; no answer being returned till the 6th of January, 1814. Of course the allies, with the experience of the armistice of Plesswitz, were not idle during that time; and when the emperor did resume the negotiation, circumstances were materially altered.

The session of the legislative body was opened by the emperor on the 19th of December. He addressed the members in a long speech, in which he spoke of the great victories gained in the late campaign, and expressed his desire for peace, which, he said, "added to the security of thrones and of families. Negotiations," he continued, "had been commenced with the allied powers; he adhered to the preliminary terms which they had offered; and had given orders that all the original papers should be communicated to the members." These papers were submitted to a joint commission of ten members; five being members of the senate, and five of the legislative body; and, in the nomination of the latter, the first symptoms of opposition were shown. Both lists were prepared by Maret, and circulated amongst the senators and deputies. The former accepted the list without hesitation; but the latter threw it aside, and nominated five independent members, of whom M. Lainé was chairman. Though a joint commission, separate reports were made. That laid before the senate by M. Fontanes was adopted by that body, and was highly approbatory of the government policy. The report presented to the legislative body was drawn up by M. Lainé. It was adopted by the commission on the 28th of

December; and, on the 29th and 30th, was discussed in the legislative body, which adopted it on the latter day, by 223 votes to 31. The document was ordered to be printed, to the great indignation of the emperor, as he considered it reflected strongly upon his conduct. "To prevent the country from becoming the prey of foreigners," said the report, "it was necessary to nationalise the war; which could only be done by uniting the nation to the government in closer bonds. It was indispensable to give a satisfactory answer to their enemy's accusations of aggrandisement; and there would be real magnanimity in a formal declaration, that the independence of the French people, and the integrity of the territory of France, were all that they contended for. It was for the government frankly to propose measures that would at once repel the enemy, and secure peace on a durable basis. Those measures would be soon efficacious, if the French nation were persuaded that the government, in good faith, aspired only to the glory of peace, and that their blood would no longer be shed, except to defend their country, and to secure the protection of the laws. These words, however—'peace' and 'country'—would resound in vain, if the institutions were not guaranteed which secured those blessings. It appeared, therefore, to the committee, to be indispensable, that, at the same time that the government proposed the most prompt and energetic measures for the security of the country, his majesty should be supplicated to maintain, entire, the execution of the laws which guarantee to the French nation liberty and security, and the free exercise of its political rights." The Confederation of the Rhine, and the sovereignty of Holland, might be abandoned as useless to France; and the necessity of peace was insisted upon from the state of the empire, which "was menaced on all points;" whilst "commerce was annihilated, agriculture languished, industry was expiring, and there was no Frenchman who had not, in his family or fortune, some wound to heal."

As soon as the emperor was aware of the nature of this report, and that it was ordered to be printed, he was extremely indignant. He ordered the printing to be stopped; seized the proofs; and summoning the council of state, he inveighed bitterly against the deputies, who, he said, "had taken advantage of the communication made to them, to arm against him—that is, against the country. Instead of aiding him by their efforts, they restrained those that he would make. An imposing attitude could alone repel the enemy: theirs attracted him. Instead of exposing to him a front of brass, they laid bare the wounds of the country." Having exhausted his themes of reproach, he read a decree, which he told the council he intended to issue, and by which he put an end to the session.

Two-fifths of the members had served their term; that of another fifth would expire on the 1st of January, 1814: he therefore prorogued the body till the elections were completed. On New-year's-day, there was the usual *levée* at the Tuileries; and when some of the members of the legislative body presented themselves, he addressed them in language of taunt and reproach. "Messieurs," said he, "you might have done much good, and you have only done harm. One of you in twelve only are good; the rest are factious. What do you hope for by putting yourselves in opposition? To put yourselves in power?" * * * "Four times I have had the votes of four millions of men for me: I have a title to supreme authority, which you have not." * * * "M. Lainé is a conspirator—an agent of England: he is in correspondence with her, by means of the advocate Desèze. The others are actuated by bad motives." * * * "Your report is drawn up in an astute and perfidious spirit, of the effects of which you are well aware. Two battles lost in Champagne would not have done me so much mischief." * * * "You wish to imitate the constituent assembly, and bring about a revolution. Be it so. You will find that I shall not imitate Louis XVI. I would rather abandon the throne. I would prefer making part of the sovereign people, to being an enslaved king." * * * "As to the enemy, in three months we shall have peace. The enemy will be chased from our territory, or I shall be dead. We have greater resources than you imagine. Our enemies have never conquered us—never shall. They will be chased across the frontier more quickly than they have now passed it." This is not above one-third of the emperor's address, which was as undignified as it was intemperate. The deputies retired, soon after, from the Tuileries, and went to their different departments; and the emperor employed himself in preparations to resist the enemy, who—no answer having been received to the communication of December 10th, agreeing to negotiate upon the explanation of the proposed bases given by the emperor—were pressing forward into France. On the 6th of January, an answer was dispatched; but, after the month's delay, the allies were not disposed to negotiate, except on the condition that France should give up *all* her conquests. They have been very much blamed for departing from the conditions proposed at Frankfort. But Napoleon's conduct a few months previously in Germany, could only induce them to believe, when he was adopting the same policy of delay, that he had the same object in view at one period as he had at the other; viz., gaining the time necessary to enable him to recruit his army, disabled by the previous campaign. Napoleon's own friends and confidants admit that he might have concluded peace, if he had caused the nego-

tiations to be followed up, and had not let a month elapse without taking a single step in advance.

That month was employed, not in acts of peace, but in preparations for war. When the allies first advanced to the Rhine, Napoleon had dispatched engineers to repair all the works of defence, fortresses, and forts on that river; and the marshals in command were ordered to make adequate preparations for resisting the advance of the enemy. Alison remarks, that "the great frontier stream, the Rhine, above 500 miles in length, extending from the foot of the Alps to the sands of Holland, and strongly studded with fortresses, presented indeed a most formidable line of defence." But it required from three to four hundred thousand men to garrison the works, and to oppose anything like an imposing front to an invader, such as threatened to enter France in the last month of 1813. To attempt to stem the torrent with sixty or seventy thousand broken and dispirited troops—troops not only worn out with fatigue, but who were then suffering from disease, and equally destitute of medical and military stores—was perfectly useless. These remains of the "grand army" were therefore ordered to fall back on the Vosges. In December, all the fortresses in the line of march which the allies were likely to take, were put in a state of defence; the levies of men voted by the senate were enforced; and in those districts which the enemy's forces seemed destined to enter, a levy *en masse* was ordered. By a decree of the 4th of January, the budget was fixed at 1,176,800,000 francs (£47,072,000); and the new taxes imposed were ordered to be rigorously enforced.—After his return from Mayence, as already noticed, Napoleon had concluded the treaty of Valençay with Ferdinand VII.* He was prompted to abandon Spain by the necessities of his position; and the same necessities urged him to endeavour, once more, to come to an accommodation with the pope. Early in January, he opened a communication with his holiness, through a lady, the marquise Anne Brignole, of Sienna, attached to the household of Maria-Louisa: rather a singular negotiator to employ with the head of the church. The negotiation failed, as the pope positively refused to accept or agree to any terms till he was restored to Rome. All efforts to move him from this determination failed; still the emperor appears to have been afraid to detain him at Fontainebleau. On the 22nd of January, he ordered him to be removed to the south of France. In hopes that his fortunes would change, however, he would not lose all hold of his victim, but caused him to be detained at Tarascon, near the mouth of the Rhone. There Pius was visited by the archbishop of Bourges, who had a similar mission to that entrusted to

* See *ante*, p. 182.

the marquise Brignole; but he equally failed in inducing the pope to alter his resolution.

Simultaneously with the events we have described, Napoleon was carrying on negotiations with Murat; and that intrusive sovereign was, at the same time, endeavouring to come to terms with the allies. He demanded from Napoleon, that he should put the provinces beyond the Po at his disposal, and he would engage that the Austrians should never cross the Adige. He urged a speedy answer, as time pressed, and he, "in his turn, would be driven to make a choice, and forced to join the enemy." Napoleon returned no answer to Murat's demand; and the latter joined the allies, on their guaranteeing to him his Italian dominions—marching to the Po with 30,000 men. Leaving 10,000 on that river, he entered Rome on the 19th of January, at the head of 20,000; the French garrison retiring into the castle of St. Angelo. Immediately on establishing himself in the once "imperial city," Murat issued a proclamation to his soldiers; in which he said, that "as long as he could believe that the emperor Napoleon combated for peace and the happiness of France, he fought by his side. It was no longer possible to give credit to that illusion. The emperor breathed nothing but war; and he (Murat) would betray the interests of his native country, of his present dominions, and of his troops, if he did not at once separate his arms from the emperor's, and join them to those of the powerful allies, whose magnanimous intentions were, to re-establish the independence of nations and the dignity of thrones."—The defection of Murat, like that of Moreau and Bernadotte, may confirm the opinion entertained of the policy of the emperor, as what they said of it corresponds with the facts known to the world, and the representations of those who remained his friends; but it was damaging to the character of the individuals—of Murat especially, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, who had elevated him to the rank of royalty, and had always been his fast friend.—Another friend and ally finally seceded from France about the same time that Murat abandoned the cause of the emperor. In the middle of January, the crown-prince of Denmark signed a treaty with Austria and Prussia; and Napoleon was left without an ally—almost without a friend; for even prince Eugene Beauharnais entertained overtures from the allies; and whilst he professed that he would not separate himself from one who had been to him so great a benefactor, he entered into negotiations with that benefactor's enemies, to serve his own interests.

When the allies began a fresh campaign, they had concentrated the entire forces of Germany against France. The princes of the dissolved Confederation of the Rhine all joined the new Germanic league, except the king of Saxony, who was detained a prisoner at Berlin. All his

resources, civil and military, were, however, made use of by the allies, under whose banners the Saxon soldiers served as cheerfully as if they were led by their prince. The German princes acted much more zealously against Napoleon than they had done for him; and they each supplied a portion of their revenue to the fund for the maintenance of the army; the sum thus raised amounting to 17,116,500 florins, equal to £1,770,000. The twenty-one states that had formed the confederation, also engaged to raise seven *corps d'armée*—comprising 103,520 men. By this accession of force, and the all but universal arming of the German people, who, as landwehr or militia, eagerly came forward to support the regular armies, the allies were enabled to blockade all the fortresses on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Oder, which remained in the hands of the French, and in the walls of which about 100,000 excellent troops were shut up, who would have been of the utmost use to Napoleon in the field. Several of his marshals persuaded him to evacuate these posts, and to concentrate their garrisons; but he could not reconcile himself to the loss of power and *prestige* which he thought such a step would imply.—Besides the force employed in these blockades, the allies had large armies under prince Schwartzenberg, Blucher, and Bernadotte, ready to invade France and the Netherlands. The first was called "the grand army;" and, besides the Austrian corps of Bubna, Giulay, and Lichtenstein, it comprised the Würtemberg corps, under prince Eugene; marshal Wrede's Bavarians; the Austrian guards and reserve, under the prince of Hesse-Homburg; the German confederates, under prince Philippe of Hesse-Homburg, and count Hochberg; the Prussian guards; and the Russian reserves, under the grand-duke Constantine and Milaradovitch: in all, nearly 250,000. Blucher's army was called the army of Silesia. It included the Prussian corps of York and Kleist; the Russian corps of Langeron and Sacken; and two corps of German confederates; and the total number of men was 137,000—of whom 50,000 were Russians. Bernadotte's army comprised the Russian corps of Winzingerode; the Prussians, under Bulow; 30,000 German confederates, under the dukes of Saxe-Weimar and Brunswick; Walmoden's corps; 20,000 Swedish auxiliaries; and 9,000 English: in all, 174,000 men. But this immense force did not constitute the entire military strength of the "grand alliance." There was an Austrian reserve, of 20,000, under the arch-duke Ferdinand; a Russian corps, blockading Hamburg, under Benningsen, 50,000 strong; a Russian reserve in Poland, of the same number 50,000 Prussian landwehr, by whom the fortresses on the Elbe and the Oder were invested; a Prussian reserve, of 20,000 men, in Westphalia, under prince Louis of Hesse-Homburg;

15,000 Russians and Prussians who were blockading Glogau; and an Austrian force of 80,000, under marshal Bellegarde, in Italy. Here was an additional force of 235,000 men: the entire military array comprising 796,000 men of all arms. No wonder that, ultimately, the power of Napoleon fell before such a stupendous force.

These various corps were scattered over an immense extent of territory; but it was estimated, that above 350,000 men could be immediately brought into action between the Rhine and Paris. To oppose them, Napoleon had the "grand army" of 105,700 men, which he commanded in person; and the army of the south, 30,000 strong, under Augereau. He had, also, 80,000 men in garrison in France, besides the 100,000 who occupied the forts on the Rhine, Elbe, and Oder; a corps of 20,000, under Maison, in the Netherlands; one of the same number, in Germany, under Davoust; the army of Italy, 50,000 strong, under Beauharnais; and the armies of the Pyrenees and Aragon, under Soult and Suchet, comprising 90,000 troops, the latter occupied by Wellington. Including them, Napoleon's military force was 496,000 men.

The campaign may be said to have opened on the 21st of December, 1813; when—prince Schwartzenberg and Blucher having issued a proclamation, declaring that it was against Napoleon and his principles that war was waged, and not against France—the first corps of the allied troops crossed the Rhine, and entered Switzerland, the entire army lying close to that country, which embraced the opportunity of again asserting its independence. Blucher's force extended from Mannheim to Coblenz; and, on the 31st of December, he crossed the river, blockaded Mayence with part of his force, and with the remainder pushed through France into Champagne, hoping to meet and unite with the other portion of the army before the end of January. To Bernadotte—who entertained the hope, if Napoleon were deposed, of becoming his successor, and was therefore reluctant, though he had joined the alliance, to act against France or Frenchmen—was left the task of completing the conquest of the Netherlands, where France had 70,000 men in garrison and in the field. It was with Bernadotte's army that the 9,000 English, under Sir Thomas Graham, were destined to act.

Napoleon, aware of his danger, but not anticipating the full extent of the disasters which awaited him, left Paris on the 25th of January, having, before his departure, again conferred the regency on Maria-Louisa; joining with her his brother Joseph as lieutenant of the empire—to whom he entrusted the management of his most important affairs. A very impressive and affecting scene took place on the 23rd, the day on which these appointments were made. It was

Sunday; and, having first heard mass, Napoleon assembled the principal officers of the national guard at the Tuileries; and, introducing to them the empress and the king of Rome—described as being "a most lovely child of three years old"—he briefly, but feelingly, addressed the officers, telling them that he left in their charge all he held dearest in the world—his wife and his son—and asking their protection for them. The enthusiasm of that moment was unbounded, and vows of attachment and fidelity were made. The next day was employed in making his last arrangements, which included the burning of a great many papers; and, on the 25th, he embraced his wife and child, and bade them farewell. He never saw them again!

By this time the army of Silesia had overrun the whole country from the Rhine to the Marne, and had descended into Champagne; whilst the allied grand army, having taken possession of Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and Alsace, had debouched on the plains of Burgundy, and opened a communication, by its right, with the army of Blucher. Napoleon joined his army on the 27th of January; and, directing his march on the Aube, he took up ground between the two invading forces. The Prussians occupied Brienne, near the right bank of that river; the approach to which was by an almost impenetrable forest. The emperor was guided through its mazes by a parish priest, who had escaped from the Prussians; and the passage of the army was greatly facilitated by the zeal of the peasantry, who, in that district, did not manifest any enmity against their emperor. On the 1st of February, Blucher himself was at Brienne, with Sacken's Russian corps. Here the first action of the campaign took place. On that day Ney drove in the outposts, which was the first notice Blucher (who was at dinner) received of the approach of the enemy, so well had Napoleon laid his plans. A destructive fire of artillery was then opened on the town, into which the infantry rushed, charged through the streets, and captured twelve guns. They were, however, soon expelled, the guns recaptured, and eight of their own taken. The fighting continued till nightfall—was renewed in the night, and again the next day, Blucher and Sacken being both very nearly made prisoners; whilst, on the other side, Napoleon narrowly escaped death from the lance of a Cossack. Ultimately Blucher withdrew his troops to Trannes, on the road to Bar-sur-Aube, where the allied grand army was cantoned. Each side lost about 3,000 men in this affair.

The allied generals now found it necessary to concentrate their forces, and employed the 30th and 31st of January in getting the grand army into line at Trannes—the corps of Wittgenstein and Wrede being stationed at Vassy and St. Dizier, to cover the right, and open up a communication with the corps of York. On the

1st of February, 100,000 men were collected under the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia; but Schwartzemberg chiefly directed the movements of the mighty mass. The troops were drawn up on the heights of Trannes, the right being composed of the corps of the hereditary prince of Würtemberg; the centre, of the Prussians, under Blucher; and the left, of Giulay's Austrians; the Russians, under Barclay de Tolly, were in reserve on the centre, and Colloredo's corps on the left. As there were a great variety of uniforms—to distinguish them from the enemy, all, from the general to the private, wore a white badge round the left arm. Napoleon, finding that he was outnumbered, resolved not to give battle; but he did not decline accepting it when offered. His army was posted directly opposite the allies, on the plain bounded by the Aube, and its tributary the Voire; the right, under Girard, being based on Dienville, thirteen miles north-west of Bar-sur-Aube; the centre, at La Rothiere and La Giberie; and the left, under Marmont, at Chaumesnil and Morvilliers. Napoleon commanded in the centre, having Mortier, Ney, and Oudinot in reserve in the rear. His entire force amounted to about 50,000 men.

The morning of the 1st of February was dark and stormy; the snow fell thickly, and, till mid-day, everything was in gloom and obscurity. About one o'clock the sky cleared; and Schwartzemberg having vested the general command in Blucher, orders were given to attack the French in all their positions. Some delay occurred in getting up the artillery, owing to the state of the roads; but, by three or four o'clock, the action became general, and it continued till midnight, having been fought, during part of the time, while snow was falling so thickly as to compel the combatants to pause, being unable to distinguish each other. The French were, by the above hour, driven from all their positions, which they bravely defended, notwithstanding their disparity of numbers; and, in the darkness of the night, the emperor withdrew to Brienne, which lay about two leagues and a-half to the north. He lost, in this engagement, 5,000 killed and wounded, 1,000 prisoners, and seventy-three pieces of cannon. The loss of the allies was nearly as great in men; but it scarcely affected their numerical strength, whilst it was a serious matter for Napoleon, with his reduced force.

The French emperor had thus failed in preventing the junction of the allied armies, and suffered a great diminution of strength. But he did not despair. He fell back on Troyes, the capital of Champagne, Marmont commanding the rear-guard, and gallantly maintaining a running fight with the Bavarians under Wrede, who had 20,000 men to 10,000 French. The allies occupied Brienne on the 2nd of February; and the pursuit was very tardily kept up, which was attributed to the secret reluctance of the emperor of Austria

to push matters to an extremity with his son-in-law—at all events, till the succession to the empire was secured to the son of Maria-Louisa. Whilst Blucher's cry was constantly "to Paris!" (and he was supported by the Russians), impediments were as constantly thrown in the way by prince Schwartzemberg. At Brienne, it was determined, once more, to divide the grand army from the army of Silesia—a step which very nearly ruined the allied cause. It was arranged that Blucher should advance on Paris, by Chalons and the Marne; and that Schwartzemberg should make his way to the capital, by Troyes and the Seine. As soon as Napoleon was aware of this division of forces, he resolved to leave the Austrians in the rear, and attack Blucher. The Prussians pursued their march rapidly, by Chalons, which was wrested, by York, from Macdonald, who retired by Epernay to Paris. They occupied Champaubert, and advanced upon Montmirail, without opposition; the Russian division of Olsoofief being at the former town on the 10th of February, where it was ordered to remain till further orders. Napoleon had received reinforcements since his defeat at La Rothiere; his army at this time, as we learn from a letter he wrote to his brother Joseph on the 9th of February, amounting to nearly 70,000 men. It was composed of three corps. On the right was Oudinot, with 25,000 men; in the centre, Victor, with 14,000; and the emperor himself had 30,000. On the 10th, the advanced guard, under Marmont, descended upon Champaubert, where the Russians, about 6,000, were preparing their breakfast, little dreaming that an enemy was so near them. They were attacked both in front and flank, the French being, this time, greatly superior in numbers. The gallant Russians defended themselves throughout the day, but were ultimately defeated. Generals Corneloff and Udom, with 2,000 men and twelve guns, succeeded in cutting their way through the attacking force, and reached Pont-à-Binson; but Olsoofief, two other generals, forty-five officers, and 1,800 privates were taken; twenty-one pieces of cannon were captured by the victors. The remainder of the division fell on the field.

The next day Napoleon marched to Montmirail, to which point Sacken was hastening, with a view to effect a junction with York. The French advanced guard reached the town first, and Sacken was obliged to fight, as Olsoofief did, the previous day, with inferior numbers. The battle began at eleven o'clock; and a courier soon after arrived, with a despatch from general York, who could not possibly reach Montmirail before three; and when he did arrive, he came without his cannon, which, from the state of the roads, he had been compelled to leave in the rear. Blucher was at Vertus, 16 miles W.S.W. of Chalons. At that place the resonance of the cannon at Montmirail could be heard. But he

had few troops with him, being waiting the arrival of Kleist's and Kaptsevich's corps; he was also destitute of cavalry; and Marmont, with 15,000 horse, had penetrated between him and his lieutenants. Sacken had to maintain the fight, therefore, unsupported, till the arrival of York in the afternoon; and then his force was not equal to that opposed to him. After a desperate combat of several hours—with the loss of 3,000 killed and wounded, 1,000 prisoners, and nine pieces of cannon, which could not be carried off, on account of the deep muddy roads—the allies retired towards Chateau-Thierry: their retreat was covered by Wassilchikoff's dragoons, who beat off the repeated charges of the French cuirassiers. Napoleon slept, that night, on straw, at the farmhouse of Grenots, and the next day started in pursuit. The French cavalry came up with, and defeated, the Prussian cavalry under general Horn, and dispersed a body of Russian infantry, taking 1,000 prisoners and three pieces of cannon. The main body, however, reached Chateau-Thierry, and crossed the Marne, destroying the bridges: this arrested the pursuit for a time.

On the 12th of February, Kleist and Kaptsevich joined Blucher. Being then at the head of 20,000 men, he advanced to Etoges, where Marmont was stationed, who fell back at the approach of the allies, retiring on the road to Chateau-Thierry, where Napoleon had halted till the bridges were repaired; and where the excesses committed by the Russians and Prussians in their retreat, caused him to be most joyfully received. Napoleon, apprised of Blucher's advance, left Chateau-Thierry on the evening of the 13th; and, at eight in the morning of the 14th, was joined by Marmont, who had just evacuated the village of Vauchamps, and was retreating in the face of the Prussians and Russians. Greatly outnumbered, and convinced, from the spirited and determined proceedings of the French, that Napoleon was with them, Blucher ordered his men to retire, which they did, formed in squares, the artillery being placed in the intervals. Repeatedly charged by the French cuirassiers, these gallant fellows continually closed up the ranks as their comrades fell, and fought their way to Champaubert. They could not defile very quickly through the village; and Napoleon sent Grouchy, at the head of 3,000 horse, to make a circuit, and attack them *en flank* as they emerged on the road. The position was fearful; but the greater part of the allies, with prince Augustus of Prussia at their head, forced their way through. The French cavalry, however, closed on the last squares, which had exhausted their ammunition; and two Russian battalions were literally "cut to pieces;" whilst two Prussian regiments were taken. The Russian horse artillery, formed into a line by their colonel,

Shusherin, and headed by Blucher, dashed at the French cavalry sword in hand, and, cutting and riding down all that opposed them, escaped. The different corps reached Etoges, but were closely pursued by Marmont; and they continued their route to Bergères, where they arrived at midnight, and early the next morning were again in retreat to Chalons: there Blucher collected the remains of his forces, placing them in cantonments on the north-east of the Marne. In this affair, known as the battle of Vauchamps, the allies lost 7,000 killed and wounded, 3,000 prisoners, and eighteen pieces of cannon. The loss of the French was also heavy. After the allies had retreated, Napoleon returned to Montmirail, where he slept; and the next morning, with his guard and cuirassiers, he again set off in pursuit, turning towards the Seine.

Schwartzenberg's army—after its separation from the army of Silesia—had pursued its route to Troyes, which was entered by the allies on the 7th of February. The occupation of that place was of considerable importance; for it had ample accommodation for the sick and wounded, and was a common centre where all the roads and communications in the province met. The allied sovereigns established their head-quarters at Troyes, under the walls of which 100,000 men encamped; whilst a corps of Würtembergers and another of Bavarians, under Wrede, were dispatched to defile along the road to Paris, following the track of Napoleon, after his retirement from La Rothiere. Soon after the allies arrived at Troyes, the first movement in favour of the Bourbons took place.

The royalists had long been powerless as a political party, though their scattered remnants were still numerous. The survivors of the nobles who perished by the guillotine were, many of them, deprived alike of property and influence. Some retained both; and after the amnesty published by Napoleon, many emigrants had returned, of whom a part took office under him, and a part retired to their possessions, if they retained any; or adopted some means of maintaining their position if they had no property left. But it appears, that a Royalist Association, or confederacy, had always existed at Bordeaux, with a branch at Paris, which—although hope, at one time, had entirely fled—had, after the disasters of the Russian campaign, commenced, in profound secrecy, to concert measures for taking advantage of any circumstances that might offer, to advance the cause of the Bourbons. The principal members of that family were residing in Great Britain, under the protection of the British government: the comte d'Artois, at Holyrood palace, Edinburgh; Louis XVIII., the duke and duchess d'Angoulême, and the duke de Berri, at Hartwell, near Aylesbury, a seat of the Lee family. The government at London,

had promised Louis and his relatives "a secure and honourable asylum," but distinctly declined to recognise the former as king of France: and although he protested against the "usurpation" of Napoleon, he took no step to assert his rights till the Royalist Association communicated with him, after the retreat from Moscow. When Napoleon recrossed the Rhine, Louis addressed a proclamation to the senate from Hartwell, calling upon that body to return to their ancient allegiance; and at the same time secretly circulated an address amongst all official personages in France, who were thought to be inclined to favour the return of the Bourbons. In this address, which was dated from Hartwell, December 1st, 1813, Louis undertook, if restored, "to forget the errors of his subjects, to recompense services, stifle resentments, legitimatise rank, and consolidate fortunes; to bring about, in short, nothing but an easy transition from present calamities and alarm, to future tranquillity and happiness." Application was next made to the British government, that the princes might be permitted to join the armies on the French territories. After much deliberation, permission was given, if they went simply as volunteers. In consequence of this permission, on the 2nd of February, 1814, the comte d'Artois landed at Rotterdam from Holyrood; and the duke d'Angoulême sailed for Spain, from whence he proceeded to join Wellington in the south of France. When the allied sovereigns entered Troyes (which was the residence of many of the exiled families), and when it was announced that Napoleon was retreating from La Rothiere, several members of those families hoisted the white cockade; and two of them, the marquis of Widranges and M. Goualt, after some difficulty, obtained an interview with the emperor Alexander. Their object was, to entreat the allies to favour the desire evinced for the restoration of the house of Bourbon; but the czar told them, the allies did not come to give a king to France, but to allow the inhabitants an opportunity of declaring their own wishes. As no manifestation in favour of Louis XVIII. could be obtained, the marquis left Troyes, and joined the comte d'Artois at Bâle. M. Goualt remained at Troyes, where the marquis de Vitrolles, a devoted adherent of the Bourbons, arrived about that time, to entreat the allies to make no delay in their advance on Paris. The marquis travelled under the name of M. St. Vincent; and his real rank, if revealed to the allied sovereigns, was not generally known.

Schwartzenberg would not remove from Troyes till the 11th of February. The prince of Würtemberg then assaulted and took Sens; and the vanguard of Wrede's division defeated the French near Nogent. A good many prisoners were taken, from whom Schwartzenberg ascertained, that Napoleon was moving in the

direction of Blucher's force. This occasioned an alteration in the plans of the Austrian general, who ordered Wittgenstein and Wrede to occupy Donnemarie and Provins; and dispatched the prince of Würtemberg and general Bianchi (the successor of prince Colloredo, disabled from attending to military duty by a severe wound), to establish themselves at Montereau. On the 12th, Moret, seven miles from Montereau, was taken; Platoff occupied Nemours, nineteen miles from Fontainebleau; a Russian division established itself near that imperial palace; and Montargis was captured and occupied by Seslavin, a part of whose detachment was dispatched to Orleans. Schwartzenberg fixed his headquarters at Nogent-sur-Seine, on the left bank of that river, twenty-nine miles from Troyes; and established reserves between that place and Bray-sur-Seine. These movements caused great consternation in Paris, and the city was filled with the most alarming reports. While they were in progress, Napoleon had advanced from Montmirail through the forest of Brie, to the valley of the Seine, to join Victor and Oudinot, who were retiring before the allies. The junction was effected on the 16th, and that night Napoleon established his headquarters at Guignes. The next morning he received large reinforcements from Spain; and the junction of several corps that had been acting against the army of Silesia, gave him a force of 55,000 men. Count Pahlen was then at Mormant, with 3,000 foot and half that number of horse. Hearing of the large army that was rapidly advancing to his vicinity, he retreated on Nangis, but was met by the French; and being so inferior in number, to avoid defeat was impossible. Wittgenstein came up with reinforcements, but only to be repulsed, and with difficulty to avoid being taken prisoner: the detachment was nearly destroyed; eleven guns, forty caissons, and 2,100 men were taken, and 900 killed. The same day, the Bavarians were defeated by Macdonald and Victor; but the French being too much exhausted for pursuit, they succeeded in crossing the Seine. On the 18th, Napoleon attacked the allies, under the prince of Würtemberg and general Bianchi, at Montereau, and again victory alighted on his banners. There were not more than 18,000 men opposed to 50,000: yet they made a most gallant defence, and the French lost 3,000 men in killed and wounded, before the allies were driven from their position, and compelled to cross the Yonne—retiring in the direction of Sens, after they had destroyed the bridge to arrest pursuit. In this battle, the allies also lost about 3,000 killed and wounded, 2,000 prisoners, and four standards. Whilst the contest was raging, Napoleon, standing on the heights of Surville, surveying the field, was greatly exposed to the fire of the allies. Being reminded of his danger by some

of his staff, he laughingly replied—"Fear nothing! the bullet is not yet cast which is to kill me."

This victory caused him to believe that he could yet retrieve everything; and as he noticed the flight of the allies, he exclaimed—"Thank God! I have saved my capital!" For the time he had; as the allied commanders, astonished at the progress he had made, and at the prowess of his troops, withdrew their men from most of the positions they occupied, and cantoned them between Nogent, Bray, and Troyes. The grand army still mustered about 100,000 men; and Napoleon, thinking that much greater destruction might have been caused, and the rout made more decisive, if his generals had done their duty, blamed several of them very severely—Victor especially. He deprived that officer of the command of his division, bestowing it on Girard; but he afterwards relented, and gave him the command of two divisions of the guard; saying, "Let there be no separation between us." He directed his advanced guard to follow Schwartzberg; whilst Augereau was ordered to resume the offensive at Lyons. That officer had been so powerfully reinforced, chiefly by arrivals from Spain, that the Austrian general Bubna, who had not more than 15,000 men, was obliged to retire on Genoa. The line of communication with prince Eugene's army in Italy, which had been cut off by the allies, was reopened; the emperor thought, not only of expelling the enemy from France, but again advancing himself to the Rhine; and more than once is reported to have said, "I am nearer to Munich than the allies are to Paris."

Bernadotte, however, was advancing on his rear; as were Bulow and Winzingerode, who, with the English under general Graham, had been besieging Antwerp. Finding that city was likely to resist their efforts for some time, they converted the siege into a blockade; the Prussians and Russians entered France, took possession of Avesnes and Rheims without resistance—the former on the 9th, and the latter on the 10th, of February—and were received by the inhabitants of the country between the Sarre and the Meuse, as friends rather than as enemies. The town of Soissons interposed between Rheims and Laon; which was occupied by a garrison of 4,000 men, under general Rusca, who had been one of the emperor's companions in his Italian campaign. General Chernicheff, with 4,500 men and eighteen pieces of cannon, attacked and carried this city by a *coup-de-main*, on the 11th of February; in the attack, general Rusca fell. The captors took fourteen guns, and 3,600 prisoners. The disasters that had befallen the army of Silesia, however, intelligence of which reached the allies at Soissons, made it necessary to abandon this capture, important as it was; and the town was shortly after reoccupied by the French,

under Mortier; whilst the Russians and Prussians joined Blucher at Chalons, where, on the 18th, he had concentrated 59,000 men, of whom 14,000 were cavalry. The gallant Prussian was ready again to resume the offensive; but, in the councils of the allied grand army, after the affairs of Nangis and Montereau, great despondency prevailed. The arrival of Augereau was positively dreaded; and on the 23rd of February, it was resolved, by a council of war, held at Troyes, in spite of the opposition of the emperor Alexander, to evacuate that city, and to dispatch an envoy to Napoleon, to propose an armistice. Prince Lichtenstein was the officer fixed upon to proceed to Chartres, where the emperor was at that time. He was the bearer, not only of the proposal for an armistice, but of a private letter from the emperor of Austria, in reply to one Napoleon had sent him after the battle of Nangis. This letter was very conciliatory; and to a question from Napoleon—whether the allies had recognised the Bourbons?—the prince replied in the negative. Napoleon was not satisfied; but he agreed to an armistice; and plenipotentiaries met at Lusigny to arrange the terms.—The allies began to withdraw from Troyes in the evening of the 23rd, and were marching all night. The French entered the next day; and the first act of Napoleon was, to order search to be made for the marquis de Widranges and M. Goualt, of whose visit to Alexander he had heard. The former had left the city, but the latter was taken, tried by a military commission, condemned, and executed by torchlight—placards being affixed to his back and breast, with the words—"Traitor to his country."—Up to this point, Napoleon, with about 70,000 or 80,000 men, had baffled the plans of the allies, and won several victories over them, though their force was so greatly superior to his own. For these results he was indebted to the divisions in the councils of the allies, and to the daring, incautious way in which Blucher advanced. Napoleon kept his men so concentrated, that he could always direct a competent force on any one point: the allies, on the contrary, were greatly divided; and, notwithstanding the inferiority of his whole force to that of the allies, he had the superiority of numbers in almost every engagement. If Austria had from the first acted as decisively as the emperor Alexander was resolved to do, and with a Wellington in command, the allies would have been in Paris before the first month of the year had expired.

Whilst the events we have narrated were taking place between the armies in the field, diplomatists were assembled in congress at Chatillon, for the purpose of negotiating terms of peace. This congress was opened on the 4th of February; the plenipotentiaries on the part of England, being lord Aberdeen, lord

Castlereagh, and Sir Charles Stewart. Austria was represented by count Stadion; Prussia by baron Humboldt; Russia by count Razamoffski; and France by M. Caulaincourt. The bases which Napoleon wished to treat upon, were those proposed by the allies at Frankfort;* but as there was no armistice—as the negotiations for peace were carried on amidst the din of war—the emperor of Russia, from the first, insisted that, those terms not being accepted at the time, they should not then be binding on the allies, if the successes of their arms warranted them in demanding others involving additional sacrifices on the part of Napoleon. All the plenipotentiaries, except count Stadion, agreed with Alexander; and Caulaincourt was expressly informed, that the terms of Frankfort, which he was authorised to accept, but nothing less, would not be granted; and France must go back to her limits under Louis XVI. The prospects of the French were then considered to be at the lowest ebb; as, not only were the allies in full march to Paris—but Joseph, when his brother urged upon him the necessity of forming an army of reserve at that capital, wrote to say, that he “had not 6,000 muskets; and therefore, the formation of an army of reserve of 30,000 or 40,000 men was out of the question.” Berthier, Maret, and Bertrand (who had succeeded Duroc as grand marshal), therefore, earnestly entreated the emperor to give Caulaincourt *carte blanche*. There was a stormy scene between the marshals and the emperor; the latter being especially averse to surrender Belgium—which was one of the conditions the new terms of the allies would impose. At length he yielded. He sent his plenipotentiary full powers; but before the terms of peace were finally agreed to, they were to be sent to Paris, to be laid before his council, which was to report upon them. It was on the 7th of February that full powers were sent to Caulaincourt. On the 9th, the conference being suspended, he wrote to prince Metternich, who was at Chatillon—and with whom he appears to have kept up a confidential communication whilst the congress was sitting—to state, that he was authorised to accept the bases of the ancient limits. On the 15th he received an answer from the prince, to say, that his letter would be taken into consideration; and the conference being resumed on the 17th, preliminaries were presented to him, the object of which was, to restrict France to her former boundaries, and restore to their rightful sovereigns the territories Napoleon had usurped. He was also to give up the titles of protector of the Rhine, mediator of Switzerland, and king of Italy. As a compensation for what France was asked to surrender, Great Britain offered to give up nearly all the French colonies she had captured, retaining only the isles of Saintes and Tobago in the West, and

those of Bourbon and Mauritius, in the East Indies. Sweden also agreed to evacuate Guadeloupe and Cayenne. These terms conceded, the allies were prepared to suspend hostilities, and to recognise Napoleon as emperor of France. Caulaincourt asked for time before he gave an answer to the proposals; and on the very day they were presented, Napoleon wrote to him, saying—“I gave you *carte blanche* in order to save Paris and avoid a battle, which was the last hope of the nation. The battle has been fought, and Providence has blessed our arms. Sign nothing now without my order, because I alone know my own position. If they had accepted your proposals on the 9th, there would have been no battle. I should not have trusted to fortune at a moment when the slightest failure would have been the ruin of France.” * * * “Now it is just that I should reap the advantages of my good fortune. I wish for peace; but I would not agree to any which imposed on me harder conditions than those of Frankfort.” As Caulaincourt had returned no answer to the plenipotentiaries, on the 28th of February they demanded a “categorical” one. He still delayed, having received no authority from Napoleon to accept the preliminaries. The emperor had, however, ordered Joseph to lay them before the council at Paris; and whilst members of that body thought some of the propositions of the conference unfair, they were of opinion, that the ancient limits should be accepted, rather than the occupation of the capital should be risked. On the 5th and 6th of March, Caulaincourt wrote to the emperor, requesting him to reconsider his letter of the 17th of February. “If we don’t take care,” he said, “the opportunity will slip away as it did at Prague.” * * * “If we do not give in a counter-project, with a modification of the Frankfort bases, all is at an end.” * * * “The negotiations once broken off, will never be renewed; and I implore your majesty to reflect on the effect this rupture will have on France, and to weigh well the consequences.” The emperor, however, was not disposed to depart from his letter revoking Caulaincourt’s full powers; and, on the 10th of March, that envoy sent in a “counter-project,” as he termed it; but which was, in truth, little more than a remonstrance against requiring France to return to her old boundaries, when circumstances were so changed around her. Russia, Austria, and Prussia had all been enlarged, and increased their wealth and their population. England had vastly added to her territories in the East; and “if the population of that Indian empire could not be considered as an addition to the inhabitants of Great Britain, it gave her an immense increase of riches, the other great element of power.” When all was thus changed around France, if the equilibrium of power was to be preserved, she must change also; and the

* See ante, p. 239.

proposal to return to her ancient limits could not be entertained. The allied plenipotentiaries, considering this memoir no answer to their propositions, were on the point of breaking up the conferences. Then, at first verbally, and, three days after, in writing, a formal counter-project was sent in. The terms proposed were, that France should retain Belgium, and still have her frontier extended to the Rhine; that Italy, to which the Ionian Islands should be annexed, should be secured to prince Eugene and his descendants, the Adige being the boundary between the prince's dominions and the Austrian possessions; that Lucca and Piombino should be secured to his sister Eliza; that Berthier should retain the principality of Neuchâtel; and that Great Britain should surrender all her conquests—the island of Saintes excepted. These terms were so essentially different from those proposed by the allies, that the plenipotentiaries at once rejected them; and as no further proposal was made, the conferences were declared at an end on the 19th, when the congress broke up. The plenipotentiaries returned to the head-quarters of their respective sovereigns; and Caulaincourt—who says, in his *Souvenirs*, that “to all his letters he only received evasive answers” from the emperor, “who never replied categorically to his demands”—returned to Paris.

While it was yet doubtful what course Napoleon would pursue with respect to the proffered terms of the allies, their plenipotentiaries were engaged in conferences and negotiations amongst themselves, which ended in the treaty of Chaumont, signed on the 1st of March; the contracting parties being England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. This treaty was only to be in force if Napoleon refused the terms of the 17th of February. In that case, each of the four powers agreed to maintain 150,000 men in the field; and Great Britain, besides defraying all the expenses of her own contingent, was to pay £5,000,000 per annum towards the maintenance of those of the allies. Many details followed, but these were the bases; and there were secret articles, stipulating, if the war had to be continued, the territorial arrangements which should be made when peace was concluded, and which were afterwards carried out in the treaty of Vienna. This treaty was ratified, and the congress broke up; after which the allies published an admirable answer to Napoleon's propositions, showing that they sought nothing for themselves, and only wished to restrain France within limits which would render her less dangerous to the peace of Europe. “The allied powers do not,” they said, in conclusion, “make war upon France. They regard the proper dimensions of that empire as one of the first conditions of a proper balance of power; but they will not lay down their arms till their principles have

been acknowledged and recognised by its government.”

It was a curious anomaly—that the congress, whose efforts were directed to conclude a peace, should be sitting at Chatillon; negotiations be going on at Lusigny for an armistice; and hostile operations be continued—all at the same time: yet so it was. On the 25th of February, Blucher crossed the Aube at Aughère, and advanced, on the 26th and 27th, to Ferte-sous-Jouarre, Marmont retiring before him till he effected a junction with Mortier, who had retired from Soissons on the advance of Winzingerode and Bulow, by whom that city was again threatened. On hearing of these movements, Napoleon left Troyes on the 27th (on which day the negotiations at Lusigny were broken off), with the view of directing his entire force on Blucher. To effect a diversion in favour of the latter, Schwartzberg, at the request of the king of Prussia, resumed the offensive. Wrede and Wittgenstein advanced on the road from Troyes to Chaumont, and defeated Oudinot at Bar-sur-Aube, with the loss of 2,500 killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners. The allies, who lost 2,400 men—general Wittgenstein being amongst the wounded—also captured the town. Oudinot, in his retreat, succeeded in forming a junction with Macdonald, who had advanced from La Vert-sur-Aube; and the united corps was defeated, on the 3rd of March, at La Guillotière. They retreated to Troyes, which they scarcely held twenty-four hours, when they were again on the march; having lost nine guns, 500 killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners: the loss of the allies amounted to 800. Apparently satisfied with these successes, Schwartzberg, establishing his head-quarters at Troyes on the 5th of March, posted his troops at Sens, Pont-sur-Yonne, and Montierender, where they were kept wholly inactive till the 13th. The French marshals retired behind the Seine, taking up the positions at Bray, Nogent, and Montereau, which the allies had previously occupied.

By the inactivity of the allied grand army, that of Silesia was left to contend alone, on the banks of the Aisne, with the concentrated forces of France, under Napoleon. Blucher, who had with him 55,000 men, when he received intelligence of the emperor's approach, crossed the Marne at La Ferte-sous-Jouarre, and, breaking down the bridges, took the direction of Soissons. Winzingerode and Bulow had united their forces, on the 2nd of March, on the right bank of the Aisne, opposite that town; and Blucher arrived in its vicinity, on the left bank of the river, in the afternoon of the same day, his rear-guard having had an engagement with the corps of Marmont and Mortier, and lost 500 men. The allies prepared for an assault on Soissons the next morning; but colonel Moreau, who commanded the garrison of 1,500

Poles, agreed to surrender, on condition that the troops should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, and carry off the guns, six in number. The allies had scarcely established themselves in Soissons on the 3rd, when they found the French were fast gaining upon them. Napoleon had been detained four-and-twenty hours at La Ferte-sous-Jouarre, till the bridges broken down by the allies were repaired, and then he lost no time in pursuing the retreating foe. The day gained allowed the army of Silesia and the two corps from the army of the north to unite; and now, being 100,000 strong, and 24,000 of the number being well-trained cavalry, Blucher determined to await the arrival of the French, and accept battle. He took up his position, with a part of his army, on the elevated plateau of Craone, between the Aisne and the Sarre, near the road from Soissons to Laon. Bulow, with his corps, was sent to defend that town; Radzewitz, with 6,000 men, occupied Soissons; York was posted on the high-road between Soissons and Laon; and Winzingerode, with 12,000 cavalry, sixty pieces of horse artillery, and the corps of Kleist and Langeron, was left at liberty, to operate on the flanks and rear of the enemy.

On his march to Soissons, Napoleon issued two decrees, both bearing date the 5th of March. The first commanded "all the French citizens to take up arms; to sound the tocsin as soon as they heard the cannon of the troops approaching them; to assemble together, scour the woods, break down the bridges, block up the roads, and fall on the flanks and rear of the enemy." If "any French citizen taken by the enemy should be put to death, he should be forthwith avenged by the shooting of a prisoner taken from the enemy." The second decree adjudged, that "all mayors, public functionaries, and inhabitants, who, instead of stimulating the patriotic ardour of the people, should strive to allay it, and should dissuade them from adopting measures of legitimate defence, should be considered as traitors, and treated as such." Thus, the emperor sought to establish a guerilla war in France, though he had himself punished the inhabitants of Pavia, and given up the town to pillage, for engaging in one; and his generals, Soult, Augereau, and Bessières, had issued decrees in Spain, denouncing death to all guerillas; the latter extending the penalty to their relatives.

The capitulation of Soissons irritated Napoleon excessively, and he ordered colonel Moreau to be tried by a military commission. It preserved the allies from being attacked at a great disadvantage, and enabled them to take up a most effective position for defence; notwithstanding which, the emperor determined to give them battle. The first point of attack was Soissons. This important place he ordered Marmont and Mortier to recover at all hazards;

and they made the assault on the morning of the 5th of March. Both attack and defence were of the most daring and desperate description: but after fighting all day, and 1,500 men being killed and wounded on both sides, the French were obliged to retire. Disappointed in his desire to regain this important post, the emperor resolved to attack the allies on the plateau of Craone—a formidable position, being bounded on three sides by ravines, which offered great impediments to the operations of an army. The Russian infantry of Winzingerode's division, under Woronzoff and Sacken, 27,000 in number, were posted upon this plateau; and they were attacked in the forenoon of the 7th of March. The corps of Ney and Victor, and the dragoons of the guard, led by Ney, made the principal assault on the left flank of the Russians; and Nansouty, with the Polish dragoons and Excelman's division, took the right; the former having to climb a slope, descending to the valley of the Lette, and the latter to ascend one much steeper, which ran from Ouche and the Aisne. The attack on the neck of the plateau was made by the imperial guard, at whose head the emperor placed himself. The attacks on the three points commenced, under the fire of a hundred pieces of cannon from the side of the French, which was replied to by incessant discharges from sixty Russian guns. The assailants were 40,000 in number; but the nature of their position enabled the allies to repulse Victor's attack, and to withstand those made in the other directions for about five hours. Blucher was in the battle part of the time; but finding that the cavalry and horse artillery under Winzingerode, prevented by the badness of the roads, did not come up to assail the enemy's flank, he left Sacken in command, and rode off to endeavour to bring up those corps in another direction. The battle continued to rage for some time after he left; but the Russians beginning to be short of ammunition, and the French gradually gaining the summit of the plateau, whilst their numbers increased in the valleys, Sacken ordered a retreat. It was made reluctantly, and several attacks of the French on the retiring forces were repulsed; Woronzoff making a determined stand, to allow his wounded, his carriages, and his cavalry to get upon the road to Laon. All the defenders of the plateau finally fell back upon that town, which is twelve miles to the north-west of Craone. In this action—in which deeds of the greatest heroism were performed on each side—the French had 29,423 men under fire, and the Russians, 21,204. The latter lost 5,000, the former 8,000, killed and wounded: not a single prisoner, gun, or standard was taken as a trophy of the engagement. Amongst the French wounded, were Victor, Grouchy, Nansouty, Boyer, and two other generals.

On the 8th of March, Blucher concentrated his army round Laon—upon which position the French moved in two columns. Napoleon had collected his entire army for another attempt, and had 52,000 men round his standards: but the allies at Laon greatly outnumbered him—the total of Blucher's force being estimated at 80,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and sixty guns. No troops could occupy a finer position. Laon stands on a conical hill, at a height of nearly 250 feet from the surrounding plain. The town occupies the summit; gardens and orchards the slopes; and on the 9th of March, the irregular walls which surround the town were crowned with cannon; batteries were erected on the slopes; and detached houses which stood at the foot of the hill, were loopholed, and converted into miniature forts. Blucher's men were placed upon, and round, the hill of Laon and the adjoining heights, so as to support each other. The French arrived on the morning of the 9th; but Napoleon did not immediately make his attack: he waited for Marmont, who was coming up on the side of Rheims. Towards the middle of the day, favoured by a thick fog, Ney occupied Ardon and Semilly, villages at the foot of the hill; but he was driven out by the Prussians as soon as discovered. The French, however, retook Ardon, and captured the village of Clacy, and the abbey of St. Vincent, also at the hill foot.—The division of Marmont—which had marched in the morning from Bery-au-Bac, by the defile of Festieux—reached Athies, on the Rheims road; expelled the Prussians under York from that town; and having taken up their bivouac, sunk to sleep, overcome with fatigue. They were surrounded, in the night, by a Prussian division, under prince William; and being taken completely by surprise, were driven back on the road by which they came, and lost 2,500 prisoners, forty pieces of cannon, and 101 caissons. There were very few killed and wounded; but the division was entirely dispersed.—This untoward event rendered Napoleon's contemplated attack on Laon absolutely desperate; but it was equally dangerous to retreat. He therefore drew up his men in a firm, compact line, and awaited the movements of the enemy. Blucher recalled the infantry from the pursuit of Marmont; and in the course of the forenoon the French moved nearer the hill, and commenced a cannonade. The discharges of artillery from Laon soon obliged them to retire; and it is difficult to account for Blucher's not becoming the assailant. But only a desultory firing was kept up till about 4 P. M., when the French withdrew on the road to Soissons; having, in the two days' fighting at Laon, lost 6,000 men: the loss of the allies was about 4,000.

Soissons had been abandoned by Radzewitz, who had joined Blucher at Laon; and the former

town now afforded a refuge for the fugitive French, whose movements were for some days uninterrupted by Blucher. The army of Silesia was exhausted by fatigue, and in want of provisions; and the general himself was suffering from ague and inflammation in the eyes, which rendered him unable to sit on horseback during the rest of the campaign. These causes delayed, for a short time, the catastrophe that was inevitable; and which, if it could have been averted by the efforts of a master-mind, most certainly Napoleon would have succeeded. He never evinced greater proofs of military genius than in the three months' campaign in France; and, after the retreat from Laon, he proved that he had lost none of his customary vigour.—General St. Priest, who had commanded the Prussian reserves at Chalons, finding that Rheims was left with a garrison of only 2,000 men and twelve pieces of cannon, resolved to make the attempt to take it; and he succeeded. Its capture was of importance to Blucher, as it established his communications with the allied grand army; whilst it enabled him to threaten Napoleon's flank. For these reasons, its occupation by the allies was detrimental to Napoleon; and he determined, at all hazards, to retake it. Leaving Mortier's corps to defend Soissons, he started, early on the 13th of March, with the rest of his army, for Rheims; and on the evening of the same day he appeared before its walls. The Prussian videttes were driven in; but St. Priest, for some time, refused to believe that there was anything to alarm him: he thought it was merely a few light troops that had extended their excursion beyond their bounds. He soon found his mistake. Napoleon himself followed his troops; and remarking, that "the ladies of Rheims would soon have a bad quarter of an hour," he ordered the attack. His dispositions were made with his usual skill, and they were all successful. The Prussians and Russians fought bravely, but they were overpowered; and St. Priest being early disabled by a wound in the shoulder, the command fell on general Emmanuel. The attack and defence continued during the day, and into the night for several hours; the French, though superior in numbers, being repulsed when attempting to enter the town. About midnight, it was found, that the assailants, by fording the Vede—a river which runs past Rheims to the Aisne, near Soissons—were surrounding the place. The occupants then resolved to retire; and leaving a gallant band of 200 men to defend the gate for which the enemy was making, the remainder of the troops defiled out by the others; some on the road to Chalons, and others on that to Laon. When the garrison was beyond the walls, an officer was sent to withdraw the troops from the gate, and he found them coolly dividing their remaining cartridges, resolved to hold out, even to death. It is

gratifying to know that they retired in order, and left the town in the darkness—effecting their retreat in perfect safety. Soon after Napoleon entered by torchlight, his troops cheering; and the inhabitants, as soon as they knew who was their deliverer, are said to have rent the air by “enthusiastic cheers;” and “to have given vent to the general transport by a spontaneous illumination.”

Napoleon cantoned his forces in Rheims and its vicinity. He was joined there by general Jansen, and 6,000 men whom he had collected from the garrison of Ardennes; and now sensible of the impolicy of which he had been guilty, and of the injury he had inflicted on himself by keeping so many thousand men in garrisons on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Rhine, he permitted Ney to send messengers to all the forts and fortresses; who took secret orders to the commandants, to hold themselves in readiness to join the emperor as soon as they were commanded to do so: and the necessity for their presence was evident when Napoleon reviewed his troops at Rheims. Their melancholy appearance showed how weak they were both in *physique* and *matériel*: in numbers they were greatly diminished since they crossed the Marne; and their bodily strength was visibly “wasting away.” About the same time that Napoleon reviewed his troops, Blucher did the same with his army, greatly reinforced, at Laon. His men had recovered from their fatigues; and he had under his command, 80,000 infantry, 29,000 cavalry, and 265 guns.

The French emperor remained at Rheims till the 17th of March. The allies were then again pressing on Paris; and, on the 16th, Napoleon wrote to Joseph, giving him secret orders to send off the empress and the king of Rome, if the capital was seriously threatened. He had received reinforcements, besides those brought him by general Jansen; and was enabled to leave Marmont and Mortier, with 20,000 men, to operate against Blucher, on the Aisne; whilst he himself, with 26,000, marched to join Oudinot and Macdonald, who were at the head of 35,000 troops of all arms; and the united army was to operate especially against the communications of Schwartzberg, who was at the head of 100,000 men. Napoleon marched by Epernay, Fère-Champenoise, and Sens, to Plaucy, where the junction with the two marshals was effected on the 19th. Schwartzberg had, at the instance of Alexander, put his troops in motion; and they were, at the same time, concentrating between Arcis and Plaucy. Napoleon was not prepared for this: he had expected to cut off the enemy's communications, and he found them united; but still hoping to turn their right, he ordered his troops to take the route by the right bank of the Aube; and, on the 20th, he occupied the town of Arcis, on that river. There he found that he had the allied grand army in his front; and Schwartzberg, at

last, took the offensive. The action commenced by an affair of outposts, which gradually extended to cavalry and artillery; and the French were ultimately driven back to the gates of Arcis. In another quarter, on the left, Wrede's Bavarians, and an Austrian battalion, maintained, from noon till nightfall, a combat with Ney's corps, with alternate success; but the French succeeded in regaining their original position, from which they had been driven, and maintained themselves there till darkness put an end to active hostilities for a few hours. In front, a tremendous cannonade was kept up for the same time; at ten o'clock at night it died away, and all was still.

The next morning, the contending parties, who had slept on the field of battle, again stood in hostile array; but hours passed without a shot being fired. At length, about 1 P.M., there were decided indications shown of the intention of the French to retreat: for two hours, however, Schwartzberg observed the movement without offering any interruption. At length he gave the signal. It was then three in the afternoon; and, though a fire was opened from a hundred guns, and the allies pressed on the right and centre of the French, the attack had been too long delayed to produce much effect. The greater part of Napoleon's army had passed the Aube; and the rear-guard, commanded by Macdonald, bravely covered their retreat. Before the day closed, prince Eugene of Würtemberg, at the head of his corps, reached Arcis, and drove out all the French who remained, and who rushed to the river, where they found the bridge blown up. The cavalry crossed over; but the infantry were mostly cut up by the pursuers, or drowned in the stream. The French defended the other side of the river by a heavy cannonade, which enabled Napoleon to reach Vitry—having lost, in the two days, 4,000 men, and six pieces of cannon. The loss of the allies was nearly, if not quite, as great.

The emperor's plan of falling upon the rear, and interrupting the communications of the allied grand army, having thus been frustrated, he resolved to draw near to the Rhine, for the purpose of availing himself of the garrisons as early as possible, and, on his way, to move on St. Dizier, on the right bank of the Marne, and still endeavour to cut off the communications of the enemy. He detailed his plan in a letter to Maria-Louisa: the courier who was conveying this letter was taken by the Cossacks, and his plan of operations was thus revealed to the allies. A secret despatch from Savary was also intercepted, which described the state of Paris in the most gloomy colours. The aspect of that city, and of France, seems to have changed very much since the report of M. Montalivet had been drawn up.* M. Guizot, in his work,† now (1860) in course of publication, to illustrate

* See ante, p. 217.

† *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

the history of his own time—writing of the state of things in the middle of March, 1814, says—"I have still before my eyes the aspect of Paris, particularly of the Rue de Rivoli (then in progress of construction), as I passed along on the morning of my departure. There were no workmen and no activity; materials heaped together without being used; deserted scaffoldings; buildings abandoned for want of money, hands, or confidence, and in ruins before completion. Everywhere, amongst the people, a discontented air of uneasy idleness, as if they were equally in want of labour and repose. Throughout my journey, in the high-ways, in the towns, and in the fields, I noticed the same appearance of inactivity and agitation, the same visible impoverishment of the country. There were more women and children than men; many young conscripts marching mournfully to their battalions; sick and wounded soldiers returning to the interior: in fact, a mutilated and exhausted nation. Side by side with this physical suffering, I also remarked a great moral perplexity, the uneasiness of opposing sentiments, an ardent longing for peace, a deadly hatred of foreign invaders, with alternate feelings, as regarded Napoleon, of anger and sympathy. By some he was denounced as the author of all their calamities; by others he was hailed as the bulwark of the country, and the avenger of her injuries. What struck me as a serious evil, although I was then far from being able to estimate its full extent, was the marked inequality of these different expressions amongst the divided classes of the population. With the affluent and educated, the prominent feeling was evidently a strong desire for peace, a dislike of the exigencies and hazards of the imperial despotism, a calculated foreshadowing of its fall, and the dawning perspective of another system of government. The lower orders, on the contrary, only roused themselves up from lassitude, to give way to a momentary burst of patriotic rage, or to their reminiscences of the revolution. The imperial rule had given them discipline without reform. Appearances were tranquil; but, in truth, it might be said of the popular masses, as of the emigrants, that they had forgotten nothing, and learnt nothing. There was no moral unity throughout the land; no common thought or passion, notwithstanding the common misfortunes and experience. The nation was almost as completely divided in its apathy, as it had lately been in its excitement." These divided feelings, however, were rapidly merging into one of discontent, which speedily made the movement in favour of the Bourbons generally popular.

Napoleon arrived at St. Dizier on the 23rd of March. There he learned the final breaking-up of the congress at Chatillon; and that all prospect of an accommodation was at an end.

The allies were then, in pursuance of the advice of prince Volkousky, marching direct on Paris, having dispatched 8,000 horse and forty-six pieces of artillery in the direction of St. Dizier, to operate against the French. This detachment was commanded by Winzingerode; and, as Napoleon was soon aware that it was following him, he imbibed the impression that the main body of the allies was in full pursuit. He therefore dispatched a messenger to Marmont and Mortier, who were retiring towards the capital, with orders to change their route, pass through Vitry, and join him in the vicinity of that town—little imagining that the prescribed route would lead them into the very arms of the enemy. The emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwartzemberg, had their head-quarters at Vitry on the 24th of March. On the 25th, the allied grand army was marching through Fère-Champenoise, and the Silesian army from Chalons (which had been reoccupied by Blucher), with the intention of concentrating upon Meaux, twenty-five miles to the E.N.E. of Paris. The French, under the two marshals, were at the same time marching from the capital. They had with them 17,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and eighty-four guns. They were met by the advanced guard of the allies at Fère-Champenoise, and defeated with great loss. At the same time, a French division of 6,000 infantry, escorting artillery and bread, to join the emperor, and which had taken the route to Fère-Champenoise, to avoid the advanced guard of Blucher, and thus fell in with the allied army, was also entirely broken up; and whilst the convoy was captured, the troops were either killed or taken prisoners. The loss to the French was 7,000 prisoners, including two generals of division, and four of brigade; 4,000 killed and wounded, eighty guns, 200 ammunition waggons, a large quantity of bread, and the baggage.

By these successes, the road to Paris was opened to the allies; and they marched towards that city in high spirits. The detachment under Winzingerode was not so fortunate. Napoleon had moved on Doulevant, from St. Dizier; whilst the Russians had advanced in another direction, and occupied the latter town. But the emperor soon had reason to believe that he had mistaken the object of the allies; and, retracing his steps, he reappeared before St. Dizier with a force greatly superior to that under Winzingerode, who was defeated on the 26th of March, and driven back to Bar-le-Duc, losing in the action 1,500 killed and wounded, 500 prisoners, and nine guns. The French only lost 700 men. After this victory, Napoleon marched on Vitry, where he received full details of the defeat of the marshals, and that the allies were rapidly advancing upon the capital. Filled with dismay, he again returned to St. Dizier. There he shut

himself up, and is said to have spent the night of the 27th in studying the maps. His determination was taken to turn from the Rhine, and try to reach Paris; and the troops were, on the 28th, ordered to advance in that direction, by Doulevant, Troyes, Sens, and Fontainebleau; which place he reached on the 30th of March.

The same day the allies arrived before Paris. News of their advance had preceded them; and on the 28th, the empress, the king of Rome, and the council of regency (with the exception of Joseph, Talleyrand, and Savary), quitted the capital, taking with them a large quantity of baggage, and all the money in the treasury. They retired, according to the orders of the emperor—who, in a note to Joseph, said, “he would rather see his son in the Seine than in the hands of the enemy”—beyond the Loire, taking the road to Rambouillet. On their departure, Joseph issued a brief proclamation to the inhabitants; in which he said—“The council of the regency has provided for the safety of the empress and the king of Rome. I remain with you. Let us arm to defend this city, its monuments, its wealth, our women, our children—all that are dear to us. The emperor marches to our succour; second him by a brief and vigorous resistance, and we shall preserve the honour of France.”

Although the people were called upon to arm, and there were 30,000 new muskets and a large quantity of ammunition then in the arsenals, no arms were given to them; and if they had been placed in their hands, resistance would have been vain, as the heights which commanded the city were occupied by 180,000 men. Marmont and Mortier (who, after the defeat at Fère-Champenoise, had fallen back on Paris) were compelled, having made a brave but unavailing resistance, to capitulate; being permitted to quit Paris with their arms, but leaving untouched the arsenals and military stores. Joseph made his escape; and by nine o'clock in the morning of the 31st, a great part of Paris was occupied by the allies. While they were entering the city, a party of royalists, with the white banners of the old *régime* waving in the air, paraded the boulevards, shouting, “*Vivent les Bourbons.*” This success had not been attained without great loss. In an attack on the heights of Montmartre (which were most gallantly carried), and in the battle of Paris, the allies lost more than 9,000 men,* and the French 4,500. The former took eighty-two guns on the field; and upwards of seventy more were surrendered by the capitulation.

Paris in the hands of the allies, prince Schwartzberg immediately issued a proclamation which had been prepared several days previously; it

* The number returned as killed and wounded, was—7,100 Russians, 1,840 Prussians, and 153 Würtembergers: total, 9,093.

bearing date the 29th of March. The citizens were told, that the “allies were under their walls; their object being to obtain a sound and durable peace with France.” The allied sovereigns “desired to find in France a beneficent government, which should strengthen her alliance with all nations; and, in the present circumstances, it was the duty of the Parisians to hasten the general pacification.” They were assured, that “the preservation of their city and of their tranquillity should be the object of the allies;” that “troops should not be quartered upon them;” and they were called upon to “justify the confidence which Europe placed in their patriotism and prudence.” The Parisians, who had been alarmed by the fear of the plunder and devastation which usually follow the entrance of hostile troops into a conquered city, were reassured by this proclamation; and by learning that the corporation had waited upon the emperor Alexander as soon as they knew that the capitulation was signed, and had been assured of protection; and that “the allied sovereigns had come neither to conquer nor to rule France, but to learn and support what France deemed most suitable for its own welfare.” They were, therefore, prepared to give a cordial reception to the sovereigns. It was mid-day when Alexander and the king of Prussia, accompanied by prince Schwartzberg, lord Cathcart, lord Burghersh, lieutenant-colonel the honourable George Cathcart, and a brilliant suite, entered the city by the Porte St. Martin. A large crowd was assembled; and the cries of “*Vive l'Empereur Alexander!*” “*Vive le Roi de Prusse!*” “*Vivent les Allies!*” “*Vivent nos Libérateurs!*” were heard on all sides. As they passed along, the crowds increased, and the windows became filled with elegantly-dressed females, many of whom waved their white handkerchiefs, and “*Vivent les Bourbons!*” was heard from their sweet voices. Many of the fair sex in the streets begged to be taken up on the horses of the officers, that they might have a nearer view of the “great men”—a proceeding which excited the indignation of Savary, who says—“There were to be seen ladies, and even ladies of rank, who so far forgot the respect due to themselves, as to give way to the most shameful delirium. They eagerly broke through the circle of horses which surrounded the emperor of Russia, and testified an *empressement* more fitted to excite contempt than to conciliate kindly feeling.”

Amidst these demonstrations, the emperor of Russia proceeded to the hôtel of prince Talleyrand, where he was joined by the king of Prussia; and soon after, a number of the leading men of the city arrived. The subject of discussion was, what course should be pursued under the circumstances—whether the Bourbons should be restored? Talleyrand—who had been alternately royalist, republican, and imperialist—now

became royalist again; and strongly advocated the cause of Louis XVIII. After several hours spent in consultation, it was resolved, that the abdication of Napoleon in favour of his son should be insisted upon; and a proclamation was issued, signed by Alexander, in which it was declared, that the allied sovereigns would not treat with Bonaparte, or with any member of his family: but their majesties were ready to acknowledge and guarantee the constitution which the French people might form: till that question was decided, the senate were called upon to form a provisional government, to administer affairs, and preserve order. Before nine o'clock at night on the 31st of March, this proclamation was printed and placarded all over Paris; and the next morning it was sent by post through the departments.

On that day (April 1st) the senate assembled. There had long been a party amongst its members hostile to Napoleon: that party found its number greatly increased by recent events; and, at this meeting, it agreed to appoint a provisional government, composed of Talleyrand, Bournonville, Jaucourt, the duc de Dalberg, and M. de Montesquiou. The members who had assembled—sixty-four out of 140—then solicited an audience of the emperor Alexander, by whom they were most graciously received; and their request for the liberation of the French prisoners in Russia was instantly granted. On the 2nd, the senate again assembled; when two decrees, addressed to the French soldiers and to the French people, drawn up by Talleyrand, were agreed to, and instantly promulgated. In the first, the army was told, that its members “were no longer the soldiers of Napoleon; that the senate and people of entire France absolved them from their oaths.” In the latter, addressing the people, the senate said—“That Napoleon had forfeited the crown; that the right of succession in his family was abrogated; and that the French people and the French army were absolved from their oaths of allegiance to him.” The second decree was prefaced by a declaration of the reasons by which the senate justified their conduct; and certainly they were amply sufficient, if they were founded in truth, to show that the late emperor had forfeited all claim to public confidence. He was charged with violating his fundamental compact with the French people, especially by levying taxes without the sanction of the law; that he had, without cause, prorogued the legislative body, and suppressed, as criminal, one of its reports; that he had undertaken a series of wars on his own authority, in violation of the law; that he had illegally issued several decrees, imposing the penalty of death; that he had annihilated the responsibility of monarchs, confounded all powers, and destroyed the independence of the judicial bodies; that he had trampled under foot the liberty of

the press, by means of a corrupt and enslaved censorship; that he had put the finishing-stroke to the miseries of the country, by refusing to treat with the allies on terms which the national interest required him to accept, and which were not derogatory to the national honour; that, by the abuses he had made of the men and money entrusted to him, he had effected the ruin of towns, and the depopulation of the country, and had everywhere induced famine and contagious pestilence. These were among the reasons for which the senate declared, that the imperial government had ceased to exist. They obtained the sanction of the legislative body, seventy-seven of whose members assembled in Paris; and the provisional government, from that time, took the place of Napoleon's ministers, and immediately replaced all the members of his administration, and all the authorities appointed by him.

Napoleon, whose empire had thus suddenly terminated, was at Fontainebleau whilst the senate were taking these proceedings against him. Arriving there, as we have stated, on the 30th of March, he reposed during the night; and, the next day, gave orders to march upon Paris, which he expected would be able to defend itself till his approach at the head of the troops which still remained with him; and, though they had endured both disaster and fatigue, adhered with unabated loyalty to his fortunes. In the evening, the advanced guard encountered some stragglers from Paris, who informed them of the capitulation of that city. When the news was brought to Napoleon, he could scarcely be induced to credit it. At first he urged his men forward, and declared that he would himself, at all hazards, proceed to the capital. For some time he was deaf to reason; and it required earnest entreaties, almost amounting to force, to induce him to return to Fontainebleau. From thence he instantly dispatched Caulaincourt to Paris, with instructions to open negotiations with the allies. He arrived late in the day, and had an interview with Alexander in the night of the 1st of April. On the 2nd, he was dismissed with the following reply, received from the hands of that sovereign:—“Return to the emperor Napoleon; tell him faithfully all that has passed here, and, as soon as possible, come back with an abdication in favour of his son. The emperor Napoleon shall be suitably treated, I give you my word of honour.”—It was late at night when the envoy reached Fontainebleau. On stating to Napoleon the result of his mission, he refused to abdicate in the most peremptory terms, and ridiculed the idea of restoring the Bourbons. The allies might, he exclaimed, “take advantage of the stupor occasioned by the occupation of the capital, to proscribe him and his family; but to make the Bourbons reign in France!

Never!"—On the morning of the 3rd, he mounted on horseback, and presenting himself to the soldiers, addressed them in a few spirited words. "Some factious men," he said, "had mounted the white cockade, and surrounded the emperor Alexander." But "in a few days he would attack the enemy, and force him to quit the capital. He relied on his troops. Was he right? Their cockade was the tricolour, and, before they abandoned it, they would all perish on the soil of France." The soldiers answered this appeal with approving shouts; and some of the young officers supported them. But the marshals and old generals saw nothing but failure in any hostile operations, and were eager for an accommodation with the allies. Even Ney and Caulaincourt were of this opinion; the latter maintaining, that to establish a regency would be the best plan to propose. During the night, intelligence that the senate had declared Napoleon's reign at an end, was received. The next day, he held a council with Berthier, Bertrand, Lefebvre, Macdonald, Maret, Oudinot, Ney, and Caulaincourt; the result of which was, that he agreed, by the following declaration, to abandon his throne in favour of his son, and the regency of the empress.—"The allied powers having declared, that the emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe—faithful to his oath, he declares, that he is ready to descend from his throne, to quit France, and even life itself, for the good of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, of the regency of the empress, and of the maintenance of the laws of the empire." As soon as this declaration was signed, Caulaincourt, Macdonald, and Ney were dispatched to Paris, to place it in the hands of Alexander.

Before these messengers reached Paris, another important event had taken place. On the 3rd of April, prince Schwartzberg opened a communication with Marmont, which led to that officer's giving in his adhesion to the provisional government. The terms of the convention, to which the parties affixed their signatures, guaranteed the life and personal freedom of Napoleon, who was to take up his residence in some place fixed by the allies. The convention accepted by the sovereigns, the 12,000 troops who were with Marmont, passed over to the allies; and shortly after, with their arms, cannon, and baggage, retired to Normandy, where they went into quarters; Marmont, in an order of the day, telling them, they required repose; and that "good cantonments, and his paternal care, would soon, he trusted, make them forget the fatigues they had experienced."—The same day (April 4th), Barclay de Tolly issued a proclamation to the Russian troops; to the effect, that "their perseverance and valour had delivered the French nation from the yoke of a tyrant, who

acted for himself alone, and forgot what he owed to an estimable and generous people. That people had declared for the allies; the cause of both was now the same; from that moment, the French became their friends; and, if they had, by their arms, to destroy the considerable band of unfortunate men who still adhered to the ambitious Napoleon, the cultivators of the soil, and the peaceable inhabitants of towns, must be treated with consideration and friendship, like allies united in one common cause and with the same interests." The line of conduct proscribed in this proclamation was strictly adhered to by the allied troops; whose abstinence from pillage and acts of violence had a favourable effect upon the susceptible people of France.

The news of this capitulation reached Fontainebleau about the same time that Napoleon's envoys arrived at Paris. He scouted the idea of the senate and Marmont making terms for him; whilst the feeling in favour of the Bourbons was becoming so manifest in Paris, that the allied sovereigns found it would not be prudent to accept the conditional abdication, which would still leave Napoleon at liberty to act. The emperor Alexander admitted, that the regency of the empress for her son "sounded well;" but the restless spirit of Napoleon would not suffer him to remain quiet. "He would, ere long, put himself at the head of the regency, or in its place; and the very apprehension of such an occurrence would oblige the allies to keep their armies on foot, and thus frustrate all the intentions with which they made peace." In vain Caulaincourt and Macdonald pressed the emperor's proposition on the allied councils. "It is too late," was the reply; and they returned to Napoleon with the demand for an unconditional abdication, and a pledge to retire from France. Ney, for the time, abandoned his late master. He gave in his adhesion to the allies; and on the 5th of April, his declaration in their favour appeared in the *Moniteur*. "No course remained," he said, "to prevent a civil war, but to embrace the cause of the ancient kings." On that day the senate sent forth another decree, ordering all the armorial bearings, emblems, and other insignia connected with the imperial government, to be effaced from public buildings and other places; and if the emperor Alexander had not taken the public monuments under his protection—especially the monument of the Place Vendôme, surmounted by a statue of the emperor, which he engaged should be replaced by a figure of peace—such was the feeling of the populace, that they would all have been destroyed. This feeling was greatly stimulated by a pamphlet, entitled *De Bonaparte et des Bourbons*, from the pen of Chateaubriand; which was extensively circulated—a pamphlet which contributed, in an eminent degree, to give that



Drawn by T. Allam.

Engraved by J. B. Allen.

The Salon d'abdication, Fontainebleau.

Salon d'abdication, Fontainebleau.

Salon der Abdankung, Fontainebleau.

practical direction to public opinion, which led to the re-establishment of Louis XVIII. on the throne of his ancestors.

When Napoleon was informed of the refusal of his conditional abdication, he burst into one of his uncontrollable fits of passion, in which he threatened, at the head of his guards, and with men summoned from Lyons, Italy, and the army from Spain, to retire to the Loire, and there defend his rights and those of the king of Rome. "I will rest on my sword," said he, "which has visited every capital in Europe. I will inscribe on my eagles, 'Independence and our country!' and they will again become terrible." His generals, however, refused to stand by him; after the first emotion had subsided, he grew more calm; and finally, declaring, that "he treated with a conquering enemy, and not with the provisional government, in whom he saw nothing but a band of factious traitors," he signed, on the 6th of April, the following declaration:—"The allied powers having declared that the emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of a general peace in Europe, faithful to his oath, he declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the throne of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, not even that of life itself, which he is not willing to make for the interests of France." A formal treaty, based on this abdication, was drawn up. It was agreed that he should retain the title of emperor; that he should reside at Elba, as prince of that island, which he should possess in "full sovereignty and property;" with an income of 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) per annum, reserved from the revenues of the countries he ceded; the duchies of Parma and Placentia were secured to the empress Maria-Louisa, and her son, in full sovereignty; his mother, brothers, and sisters were to retain the titles of princes and princesses, and a collective revenue was secured to them, equal to that of Napoleon; 1,000,000 francs (£40,000) was allotted to the ex-empress Josephine; and all their personal effects and moveables were to continue the property of the Bonaparte family; but the furniture of the palaces, and the crown jewels, were reserved for the new sovereign.

This treaty was negotiated by prince Metternich, count Nesselrode, and baron Hardenberg, on the part of the allies; and by Caulaincourt, Macdonald, and Ney, on that of Napoleon. When signed, on the 10th of April, lord Castlereagh gave in the adhesion of his Britannic majesty; "but only to be binding upon him with respect to his own acts, and not with respect to the acts of third parties." His lordship objected to the treaty, generally, on the following grounds:—1st. That it recognised the title of Napoleon as emperor of France, which England had never yet done, directly or indirectly.

2ndly. That it assigned him a residence in independent sovereignty, close to the Italian coast, and within a few days' sail of France; while the fires of the revolutionary volcano were not extinguished in either country.—The protest had no effect at the time; events proved, however, how sound were the views which his lordship entertained.

The signing the treaty—the final vanishing of all his dreams of greatness and universal sovereignty—seems, for a time, to have prostrated the once gigantic mind of Napoleon. On the retreat from Moscow, he had a poison prepared for him, by Ivan, his favourite Mameluke, which he wore suspended from his neck, in a case covered with silk, intending to take it should he fall into the hands of the Cossacks. That poison he still possessed; and, on the night of the 11th of April, after laying thinking of his altered fortunes, he determined to drink it. He leaped out of bed, mixed the poison, and drank it, he told Montholon at St. Helena, "with a sort of happiness." But time had weakened its efficiency; and, though he suffered great pain, and alarmed all his attendants, he recovered: from that time, he resigned himself to his fate.

It was stipulated that he should leave Fontainebleau on the 20th of April. Amidst the general defection, Caulaincourt and Macdonald; generals Bertrand, Drouet, Cambronne, Belliard, Gorgaud, Kosakowski and Varsowich; colonel Anatole Montesquiou; barons Fain and De la Place, and M. Maret, remained with him to the last. He had also been expecting the empress, and was very unwilling to leave Fontainebleau before she arrived. Baron Köller assured him that she was absent of her own free will; and he then consented to depart. In the forenoon of the 20th, the soldiers at Fontainebleau were drawn up, and he took an affecting farewell of them. He then entered his carriage, and set out, accompanied by Bertrand, Drouet, and Cambronne, and 400 soldiers of the guard, who had obtained leave to accompany him. Four commissioners also formed part of his *cortège*; colonel Campbell, for England; baron Köller, for Austria; count Waldburg-Truchess, for Prussia; and general Schouvaloff for Russia. The journey was not a pleasant one. On the road through Burgundy and the Bourbonnais he met with nothing to occasion much additional mortification. But, remarks M. Thiers, "soon the journey became more painful. In the neighbourhood of Moulins, the cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' ceased, and those of '*Vive le Roi!*' were heard. Between Moulins and Lyons, the people only showed curiosity, without any significant demonstration. At Lyons, Napoleon had always counted many partisans, for what he had done for this city, and its industry; yet there was also a portion of the population quite the contrary. In order to avoid any manifesta-

tion, they passed through Lyons during the night; yet some cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' received the imperial *cortège*. But these were the last." As the party approached the coast, the manifestations became decidedly against him; and the fear of violence caused him to assume an Austrian uniform. A week was occupied in the transit to the coast. Napoleon and his escort arrived at Frejus on the 27th; on the 28th, he and his attendants embarked on board the British frigate, the *Undaunted*, which conveyed him to Porto-Ferrajo, the capital of Elba, where he arrived on the 4th of May. He was received by the mayor, who presented to him the keys of the town; and he took up his residence at the Mairie.

The empress Maria-Louisa, with the young Napoleon, were at Blois when the abdication was signed. Their court at once forsook them; and when the empress left Blois for Orleans, on the 9th of April, no one but her chamberlain accompanied her. At Orleans, she met most of the members of Napoleon's family; who, a few days after the abdication was signed, left France. Madame la Mère, and the cardinal Fesch, went to Rome; Louis, the ex-king of Holland; Jerome, the ex-king of Westphalia; and Joseph, the ex-king of Spain, to Switzerland. The empress had a great desire to join Napoleon; but she was induced, instead of going to Fontainebleau, to proceed to Rambouillet, where her father and the emperor Alexander met her. By them she was persuaded to make Vienna her residence till a more settled state of things prevailed; and she set out for that city, taking with her her infant son, then about three years of age. She left Rambouillet on the 25th of April, and crossed the Rhine on the 2nd of May, when her husband, whom she was never to meet again, was on the seas, proceeding to Elba.—Josephine, who was residing at Navarre, when the treaty was signed, was seriously affected by the change in the fortunes of one whom she had never ceased to love. She went to Malmaison, at the request of the emperor of Russia, who treated her with the greatest respect. But she was melancholy and depressed, and never rallied, expiring on the 29th of May, with the words, "Island of Elba" on her lips. She evidently did not exult at, but mourned over, the disappointment and mortification of the man, whose ambition had tempted him to obtain a divorce from her, in order that he might contract an alliance with royalty.

In Belgium and Italy, the fortunes of Napoleon had also been on the wane. In the former, after the independence of Holland had been re-established, Napoleon was particularly anxious to maintain Antwerp, which he considered one of his most important fortresses, and in whose port the fleet which he had been building for the invasion of England, was

collected. He conferred the command, in Belgium, on count Maison; but instead of an army of fifty-five battalions, which he was promised, that officer could not command 20,000 men for the defence of the French dominions in that quarter. He, therefore, gave up all idea of re-establishing the Napoleonic rule in Holland; and confined himself to defending Belgium, which was threatened, on the side of the sea by England; and on that of the Meuse by the Prussians and Russians. An English division of 6,000 men, under Sir Thomas Graham, acted in concert with general Bulow, till the latter had to pass into France. On the 13th of January, 1814, these allies defeated the French, with the loss of 1,000 men, at the village of Merxem, near Antwerp. On the 25th, the Prussian took Bois-le-duc by escalade; and Maison felt himself compelled to leave Antwerp, with its garrison of 15,000 men, to its own resources, and to retire to Louvaine. The former city was invested by the allies, and bombarded, but with little effect; attempts to destroy the fleet by missiles being frustrated by the precautions of admiral Missiessy, who covered the ships with turf and wet blankets. Early in February, Napoleon and Carnot were reconciled. The latter, a stern republican, who had refused all offers of employment after Napoleon assumed the purple, wrote to him on the 24th of January, offering him his services. "The offer is little, without doubt," he said, "of an arm sixty years old; but I thought that the example of a soldier, whose patriotic sentiments are known, might have the effect of rallying to your eagles a number of persons, hesitating as to the part they should take, and who might possibly think, that the only way to serve their country, was to abandon it." To this letter Napoleon replied: "Since Carnot offers me his services, I know he will be faithful to the post which I assign to him: I appoint him governor of Antwerp." The measures taken by him and admiral Missiessy, were most judicious. Repeatedly did fire break out in the city and the docks, from the shell and shot thrown in by the bombardment, and as repeatedly was it extinguished. No impression was made on the walls, when Bulow was summoned to France. Sir Thomas Graham not having a sufficient force to continue the investment, raised the siege, and went into cantonments near Bergen-op-Zoom. On the 8th of March, he attempted to take that fortress by a *coup-de-main*, which was defeated, great gallantry being evinced on both sides.—At the close of February, another Prussian corps, under the Prince of Saxe Weimar, had entered Belgium, and in the middle of March he was reinforced by the arrival of general Thielman, and 15,000 Saxons. These forces caused the enemy to evacuate Brussels; Gorcum was taken; and Maison was driven from before Courtray, under

the cannon of Maubeuge and Lisle. Attempts to take those places were defeated; and the French flag also continued to float over Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Condè, and Ypres: all the rest of Flanders was in the hands of the allies.

In Italy, Eugene Beauharnais, who occupied the line of the Adige, with 36,000 men, was opposed by 50,000 Austrians, under Bellegarde. The defection of Murat compelled the former to fall back to the Mincio; and he cantoned his troops behind that river, his right being at Mantua, his left at Peschiera. A British expedition from Sicily, under lord William Bentinck, had also landed on the Etrurian coast, and threatened Leghorn and Genoa. The viceroy had thus three armies to contend with. He resolved to attack Bellegarde first, before Murat could join him. The Austrians were equally desirous of assuming the offensive; and there were several days fighting on the Mincio early in February, the advantages of which were on the side of the French. About 3,000 were killed and wounded on both sides; the Austrians also lost 1,500 prisoners. The capture of the castle of Verona by the Austrians on the 14th, and of Ancona, by Murat, on the 16th of February; added to the desertion of great numbers of his Italian troops, compelled Eugene to withdraw from the Mincio to the Po. Offers were now made to him to join the allies, but he refused, though, according to the *Rapport Confidentiel* of M. Bignon, the kingdom of Italy was offered to him, if he would separate himself from the emperor; but he refused to do so. The successes of Murat, however, induced Fouchè, who was still governor of Rome, to enter into a convention with him, by which Pisa, Leghorn, and Lucca were delivered to the allies; as were Volterra, Civita-Vecchia, Florence, and the castle of St. Angelo; the garrisons of those places, it was arranged, should be sent to France. Fouché, soon after, had an interview with Murat, in which he contrived to extract some money from the Neapolitan's coffers; and he then set off to Paris, to take his share in the events transpiring there, with a view of seeing whether he could not turn them to his own advantage. A proclamation of the hereditary prince of Sicily, claiming the throne of Naples, annoyed Murat, and was very near inducing him again to declare for Napoleon. As it rendered combined opera-

tions with him impossible, lord William Bentinck directed his movements on Genoa, in co-operation with another English detachment which had landed in the gulf of La Spezia. Murat attacked the French on the Po, and was defeated at Guastalla, by general Grenier; who made himself master of Reggio, which was retaken by Murat, who then remained inactive before Parma. When Napoleon signed his abdication, a good part of Italy had been wrested from his dominion.

From January to April, there had been marching and countermarching, from Lyons into Switzerland by the force under marshal Augereau, and much fighting with the Austrians, generally to their advantage; and ending in the capture of Lyons, twenty-two cannon, and a quantity of military stores. The French were compelled to retire behind the Isère; and there Augereau heard of the capture of Bordeaux; and Napoleon having promised him 10,000 men of Suchet's army, wrote to say, that 6,000 of them must join him. Augereau now began to despair of the emperor's cause; and he wrote to prince Eugene, calling upon him to cross the Alps, and give Napoleon the support of his troops. Eugene could not leave Italy; and Augereau kept up a position on the Rhone. In April, he went to Valence; and there, on the 16th of that month, after he had heard of the deposition of Napoleon by the senate, and his abdication, he addressed a proclamation to his soldiers, telling them, that the senate, worn out by the despotism of Napoleon, had dethroned him and his family. He would be replaced by a new dynasty, strong and liberal, descended from the ancient kings. "Soldiers!" he said, "you are absolved from your oaths; you are so by the nation in which the sovereignty resides: you are still more so, were it necessary, by the abdication of a man, who, after having sacrificed millions to his cruel ambition, has not known how to die as a soldier." When Napoleon was on his road to Frejus, he met Augereau coming from Valence. They alighted from their carriages, and, after embracing, walked together, conversing in the most amicable manner, for a quarter of an hour. They separated as friends; and when Napoleon, shortly after, entered Valence, the first thing he saw was, the proclamation we have quoted on the walls!

BOOK VIII.

THE RESTORATION; THE BOURBONS, AND THE ORLEANISTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOURBONS RE-CALLED; ENTRY OF THE COUNT D'ARTOIS INTO PARIS; ARRIVAL OF LOUIS XVIII. AT CALAIS; DECLARATION OF ST. OVEN; ENTRY OF THE KING INTO PARIS; RETURN OF THE POPE TO ROME; THE FIRST MINISTRY OF LOUIS; THE CHARTER; THE TREATY OF PARIS; MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT; STATE OF PARTIES IN FRANCE; THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

WHILST the armies of the allies and of the emperor were engaged in the field, the chief members of the provisional government, joined to deputies from the senate, were consulting upon the question, of what constitution should be adopted, now that the despotism of Napoleon was at an end? The members of this committee, under an impression that what they might determine upon would not be acceptable to the Bourbons, sought to obtain the sanction of the allies to their proceedings. At their request, count Nesselrode attended their meetings, and they did not finally conclude upon any proposition, till it had received his approbation. In this committee MM. Lambrechts and De Tracy, members of the senate, more especially represented the liberal sentiments; while the Abbé de Montesquiou supported the abstract claims of the Bourbons. A proposed declaration that the people "freely" called Louis XVIII. to the throne, he termed "a monstrosity;" and maintained, that "the crown belonged of right to the brother of Louis XVI.;" he also asserted, that it was the sole privilege of the king to create peers, and scouted the pretensions of the senate to declare that body to be a permanent one, and their office hereditary. By the influence of count Nesselrode, concessions were made on both sides; on the 6th of April the committee made their report to the senate, by whom it was adopted, and the next day it was published to the people.

This report, or draft of a constitution, contained twenty-nine articles, of which the first three were as follows:—1st. "The French government is monarchical and hereditary, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture." 2nd. "The French people freely call to the throne of France Louis-Stanislaus Xavier, of France, brother of the late king; and, after him, the other members of the house of Bourbon, in the ancient and usual order."—3rd. "The old nobility resume their titles, and the new nobility preserve theirs." The following articles established the senate and the legislative body, and affixed limits to the royal authority. The public

debt was also guaranteed; and many of the establishments and conquests that flowed from the revolution, were preserved. The decree of the senate, promulgating this constitution, was published on the 8th of April, accompanied by several orders from the provisional government. One of these related to the press, and regulated the censorship. A second put down the tricolour, and declared the white cockade to be the true emblem of France. A third set at liberty all prisoners of war then in the French territory. The publication of these decrees was followed by the adhesion of many of the leading men of the empire, and of public bodies, to the new order of things. Amongst the latter was the university. That body, in an address to the senate, signed by Fontanes, Villaret, Delambre, de Beausset, Cuvier, and others, said—"It eagerly hoped for the time when it should be enabled to present to the descendant of St. Louis, of Francis I., and of Henry IV., the homage of its love and fidelity."

On the 10th of April, being Easter-Sunday, a general thanksgiving was solemnly performed in the Place Louis XV., by the allied sovereigns, their suites, many members of the senate, and the Parisian authorities. The next day the provisional government issued a proclamation to the army, stating, that the new constitution would assure to them their honour, their grades, and their pensions. On that day the comte d'Artois, who had assumed the title of lieutenant-general, which the senate, at first, refused to recognise, arrived at Livry; and, on the 12th, his royal highness made his solemn entry into Paris. He was on horseback, and surrounded by a large number of officers and gentlemen, who had gone out to meet him. They received him with cheers, and the *cortège*, which had a brilliant appearance, advanced to the barrier of Pantin, where it was met by the marshals of France in full uniform. Ney was at their head, who, addressing the comte, said—"Monseigneur, we have served with zeal a government which commanded us in the name of France; your highness and his majesty will see, with what

fidelity we shall serve our legitimate king." The comte replied—"Messieurs, you have made the French arms illustrious; you have carried, even into countries the most remote, the glory of the French name: the king claims your exploits: what has ennobled France can never be foreign to him." The procession then proceeded to Notre-Dame, where a solemn service was performed in the midst of an immense congregation. The comte returned thanks for being enabled, once more, to set foot in his native country; and he said to those by whom he was surrounded—"There is nothing changed, only a Frenchman more in Paris. This is the first day of happiness I have experienced for twenty-five years."

Two days after the comte d'Artois had entered Paris, Talleyrand, having overcome the objection of the senate to recognise him as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, waited upon his royal highness with a decree, appointing him to that office, till the arrival of his brother. In his reply the comte said, he was not authorised by the king to accept the constitution; but he was sufficiently aware of the sentiments his brother entertained, not to doubt that the bases laid down would be admitted by him.—The first acts of the new lieutenant-general were, to enforce obedience to the decree of the senate, abolishing the tri-colour; and, in conjunction with the provisional government, he took measures to withdraw the French garrisons from all the fortresses they still occupied in the countries of the allies. The ports were also opened for the admission of the produce of England and her colonies, which the decrees of Napoleon had excluded; and as this measure caused the price of the most useful commodities to be greatly reduced, it had an excellent effect on the public generally, though it irritated the producers, who found that the value of their articles was proportionately diminished. The convention, by which the fortresses were surrendered, was signed on the 23rd of April; under its provisions, all the guns, ammunition, and stores, contained in those strongholds, nearly sixty in number, were given up; and the garrisons, amounting collectively to upwards of 100,000 men, returned to France. On the 27th of April the allied sovereigns and the comte d'Artois signed another convention or treaty, by which they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Isle of Elba to be vested in Napoleon Bonaparte.

The decree of the senate, recalling Louis XVIII., was communicated to that monarch with all possible speed. On the 20th of April he left Hartwell, and proceeded to London, where the prince-regent received him with all the honours due to royalty. The king displayed great emotion at the meeting. "Sire," he said, "I shall always consider that, under God, I owe my restoration to your royal highness, as well

as that happy state of things which enables me to close wounds, calm passions, and restore peace, repose, and happiness to all nations:"—a declaration, which, when the emperor Alexander became acquainted with it, offended him greatly. There is reason to believe, however, that the prince-regent of England's urgent advice and recommendation, not to treat with Napoleon or any of the Bonapartes, but to recall the Bourbons (pressed upon count Lieven, the Russian ambassador to London, in an interview on the 25th of January, 1814,) gave the initiative to the steps taken by the allied sovereigns, and had very great effect in producing the result so important to the restored monarch. Louis did not remain in London, but went on to Dover, accompanied by the prince-regent; and embarked for Calais, where he landed three days after he quitted Hartwell. Received by general Maison, and a deputation of officers, he accompanied them to Compiègne, where he arrived on the 29th, and was met by Berthier, Ney, Moncey, Brune, Lefebvre, and several other of Napoleon's marshals, of whom Ney and Berthier were the most demonstrative in their professions of attachment. The legislative body followed the marshals; the greater number of its members arriving at Compiègne on the 30th of April, and they were received by Louis with great respect, as the real representatives of the people. The next day the emperor of Russia visited the newly-restored monarch; and, as his majesty was completely in the interest of the senate, being influenced by Talleyrand, he endeavoured to induce Louis to accept the constitution, which that body had drawn up; and which, as it recognised the rights of the people, the senators expected would give them a fair ground to demand that they should be constituted into a permanent hereditary body, resembling the English house of lords. But Louis would not give up the point of his hereditary right, and refused to accept the constitution, which recognised the *right* of the people *freely* to call him to the throne. There certainly was some force in the arguments used by the monarch, to support his own view, "that he was now king of France by the right hereditary, or the right divine," and "through no other claim." Exclusive of that right, he said, "What was I?—An infirm old man, exiled, and condemned to beg for bread afar from his country. Such I was a few days back. That destitute old man was, however, in right, the king of France. And this right, alone, has induced the nation, enlightened as to its real interests, to recall him to the throne." The discussion between the two sovereigns resulted in a compromise; and, on the 2nd of May, the king issued the following declaration, known as the declaration of St. Ouen:—

"Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and of Navarre, to all, by these presents, greeting.

—Recalled, by the love of our people to the throne of our fathers, enlightened by the misfortunes of the people we are destined to govern, our first thought is to invoke that mutual confidence so necessary to our repose and happiness. After having attentively read the plan of a constitution proposed by the senate, we have recognised that the bases are good; but that many of the articles bear such essential marks of the precipitation with which they were drawn up, that they cannot, in their actual form, become the fundamental laws of the state. Resolved to adopt a liberal constitution, wishing that it should be wisely combined, and not having it in our power to accept one, which it is indispensable to rectify, we convoke for the 10th of next June, the senate and legislative body, undertaking to lay before them a constitution, which we will draw up, in concert with a commission to be named by the two assemblies. This constitution shall have the following principles for its basis:—The maintenance of a representative government, divided into two bodies—the senate and the chamber of deputies—sent by the different departments. Taxes shall be freely imposed; public and individual liberty insured; the freedom of the press respected, such regulations only being adopted as are necessary to secure public tranquillity; the liberty of worship shall be guaranteed, with the rights of property, which is to be inviolable and sacred: the sales of national property being irrevocable. The ministers of the crown are to be responsible; they may be impeached in one chamber, and judged in another. The judges shall be irremovable and independent; the public debt guaranteed; pensions, grades, and military honours preserved, whether belonging to the old or new *noblesse*; and the legion of honour, of which we shall fix the decoration, shall be maintained. Every Frenchman shall be admissible to civil and military employment; and no individual shall be disquieted for his previous votes or opinions.”

“LOUIS.”

On the 3rd of May, Louis made his public entry into Paris. At this period Chateaubriand describes him as having “a superb head;” his look being “that of a king, and a man of genius.” Another authority says—“though gouty and fat, he was lively, and made himself agreeable.” Owing to his gout and obesity, “he walked with difficulty, yet in a manner touching and noble.” When he entered Paris he was in an open *caleche*, the duchess d’Angoulême sitting by his side, attired in the English fashion, which greatly offended the French ladies. The English head-dresses, at that period, were worn very low, whilst the French were as disproportionately high; and the enthusiasm of the royalist ladies, so prominently displayed on the arrival of the allied sovereigns,* seemed to

* See *ante*, p. 182.

evaporate, because the bonnet of the duchess was not in the fashion. The entrance was made in the midst of a large concourse of spectators, the streets being lined with the old guard. The populace and the officers displayed much enthusiasm, real or assumed; but the privates of the guard—“covered with wounds, the conquerors of all Europe,” except England, which never succumbed to, or quailed before the victor of the continent,—“these men, robbed of their old captain, were brought,” says Chateaubriand, “to grace the triumph of an old king, invalid with years, not wars, whilst an army of Russians, Austrians, and Prussians surrounded and watched them.” They showed their disapprobation unmistakably to those who narrowly regarded them.” “Some made their large hats fall over their eyes, so that they could not see what was passing around them.” “Others lowered the corners of their mouths, in the contempt of their rage; others athwart their moustache, displayed their teeth, like those of tigers.” A slight thing would have caused a collision, in which such were the numbers opposed to them, that the guards must have perished. But all went off, as if by clock-work. Louis proceeded first to Notre-Dame, where he returned thanks for the change in his fortunes; and then to the Tuileries, where the duchess d’Angoulême was so overcome by the recollection of her parents’ fate, that she fainted, falling down insensible at the king’s feet, as they entered the palace. It was some time before she regained composure; and the king did not instantly recover his equanimity. He did not, however, suffer private griefs or personal regrets to interfere with the important demands upon him. Those which most immediately pressed, were, the formation of his government, the grant of a constitution, and the conclusion of a peace with the allies. To those essential matters he turned his attention without loss of time.

Previous to the arrival of Louis, the provisional government had ordered the pope—who, when Napoleon abdicated, was still in Provence—to be set at liberty, and had given directions that he should be conducted to the frontiers of Italy with the greatest respect. The health of Pius was affected by his long confinement, and his bodily strength was greatly reduced, so that he had to travel very slowly. It was the 23rd of May before he reached the environs of Rome, and he entered that city the next day. There had been divisions amongst the former subjects of the pope as to the propriety of his restoration; and many of the leading nobles had signed a memorial to the allied sovereigns, praying that the Roman states might be put under secular government, and incorporated with some of the adjacent sovereignties. Murat had this document intrusted to him, and he treacherously put it into the hands of the pope,

whom he went to meet soon after his holiness crossed the Italian frontiers. The prelate, understanding the purport of the document, without looking at the signatures, threw it into the fire. This generous act had its due effect; the return of Pius was generally hailed as a most welcome event; and he resumed the exercise of his functions at the Vatican with general approbation.

Louis selected, for his leading ministers, M. de Talleyrand, the abbé de Montesquiou, and M. de Blacas, whom he made ministers of foreign affairs, of the interior, and of the household; D'Ambray was the chancellor and minister of justice; general Dupont, who had signed the capitulation at Balen, of war; baron Louis, of finance; and baron Malouet, of marine. Of the first three, not one, according to M. Guizot, was "suited to the government they were called upon to found." M. Talleyrand had acted with cool determination, and exerted the influence he undoubtedly possessed, very beneficially, when the fortunes of Napoleon and of the Bourbons were suspended in the balance. At Vienna he had displayed considerable diplomatic tact, and ably supported the interests of France. But he had no sincerity, no decided honesty of purpose; being "a diplomatist without scruples, indifferent as to means, and almost equally careless as to the end, provided only that the end advanced his personal interests." Of true freedom, of the principles of rational social liberty, he had no conception. The abbé Montesquiou was an old royalist. He had always been faithful to his principles, his friends, and his order. He had that honesty, which was so glaringly deficient in Talleyrand. He had, also, great natural talents, and a richly-cultivated mind. He, however, liked the old system better than the new one, and would rather have recurred to the splendid despotism of Louis XIV. than have seen the sovereign shackled with the constitutional restrictions which limited the authority of Louis XVIII. M. de Blacas, as honest as the abbé, and thoroughly devoted to the king, was much more fitted for the atmosphere of Hartwell than for that of Paris. He had "no political genius, no ambition, no statesmanlike activity." A sovereign, who had been himself fitted to rule, and to a mind to conceive, united the will to execute, might have made these ministers—different as they were—useful to their country; but Louis XVIII. had scarcely any of the qualities requisite in the governing head of a great nation. "Outwardly imposing, judicious, acute, and circumspect, he could reconcile, restrain, and defeat; but he could neither inspire, direct, nor give the impulse while he held the reins. He had few ideas, and no passion. Persevering application to business was as little suited to him as active movement. He sufficiently maintained his rank, his rights, and his power, and seldom committed a glaring mistake; but, when once

his dignity and prudence were vindicated, he allowed things to take their own course, with too little energy of mind and body to control men, and force them to act in concert for the accomplishment of his wishes."*

The ministry was formed on the 13th of May, and, directly after, a commission—comprising nine senators, nine members of the legislative body, and four members appointed by the king—met to frame a constitution. They commenced their labours on the 22nd, and concluded them on the 27th of May. The result was the Charter, based on the declaration of St. Ouen, which the king adopted. It declared the person of the king inviolate, vesting in him the executive power, the command of the forces of the kingdom, the right of declaring war, and concluding peace, of appointing officers, conferring titles, as the "fountain of honour," and of proposing and publishing the laws. It established the legislative power in two bodies—the chamber of peers, substituted for the senate, and the chamber of deputies, which took the place of the legislative body, with power so enlarged, that it became, in fact, like our house of commons, the depository of almost all the actual executive powers of the government. Neither that body, nor the senate, however, had the privilege of proposing or initiating laws: by the 14th article, that power was reserved for the king, who was also "to make rules and issue ordinances, necessary for the execution of the laws and the security of the state." The king named the members of the chamber of peers, whom he could appoint for life only, or declare their titles and office hereditary. The members of the chamber of deputies were to be elected by colleges of electors, composed of persons who paid direct contributions to the state, of 300 francs (£12) yearly; and no person was eligible to be elected a deputy, who was not forty years of age, and did not pay 1,000 francs (£40), annually, in direct contributions. The deputies were to be elected for five years, one-fifth retiring every year. The power of convoking and proroguing the legislature was vested in the sovereign, and also that of dissolving the chamber of deputies; whenever that step was resorted to, another chamber was to be summoned within three months. All laws relating to imposts and taxes, were to be first presented to the chamber of deputies. The personal rights of Frenchmen, as set forth in the declaration of St. Ouen, including freedom of speech and action, and security of property, were all established in the charter, which also abolished the conscription. Still it pleased none of the parties into which France was divided. The liberals complained that it sought "to cover the retreat of royalty as

* Guizot's *Memoirs of my own Time*, vol. i., p. 41. Guizot was appointed secretary-general to the minister of the interior; his first introduction to official life.

the revolution had sought to protect its own;" that "it replied to the pretensions of the revolutionary system by the pretensions of the ancient form;" and that it "presented itself as purely a royal concession, instead of proclaiming its true character, and what it really was—a treaty of peace after a protracted war—a series of new articles, added, by common accord, to the old compact of union between the nation and the king." The strict legitimists objected, that it restricted the kingly power, which should be absolute, that being "the only form of government which suited France." The moderates, led by M. de Villele, condemned the charter as "being an importation from England, foreign to the history, the ideas, and the manners of France;" and which, they said, "would cost more to establish, than the ancient organization would require for repairs."*

Louis, amongst his first acts, created the comte d'Artois colonel-general of all the national guards of the kingdom; and as the charter abolished the conscription, he issued an *ordonnance*, authorising the conscripts of 1815 to return to their homes. The publication of this *ordonnance* was followed, on the 30th of May, by the signature of the treaty of Paris. By this treaty, France was restored to her ancient limits, as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792, with a few exceptions. Small strips of territory were annexed to the departments of Ardennes, Moselle, Bas Rhin, and Aix; a part of Savoy was still considered a portion of the kingdom; the principality of Avignon, the territories of Venaissin and Montbeliard, were also reserved. The territory of Flanders—lying between Holland, the sea, and the Meuse—was appropriated to Holland, very much to the annoyance of Talleyrand, through the efforts of the English plenipotentiaries; it being the opinion of England, that the formation of two Protestant kingdoms, stretching, with Hanover, across the continent to the north of France, would afford an impassable barrier in that direction, should French ambition prompt to future conquests. The Rhenish provinces were ceded to Prussia; and the free navigation of the Rhine to vessels of all nations, was guaranteed. The independence of Italy was recognised; but Murat remained at Naples. The king of Sardinia, restored to his dominions, received Genoa in exchange for Chambery, which remained attached to France. Switzerland was once more declared free and independent. England agreed to surrender to France all her conquests, except the islands of Tobago and St. Lucie in the west, and the Isle of France, in the east. The portion of St. Domingo which had belonged to Spain was seized by France, and retaken by the English, was ceded to its former possessor; England was declared protector of the Ionian

Isles, and Malta was ceded to her in perpetuity; France regained the right of forming commercial establishments on the coast of India, and of fishing in the seas of Newfoundland, and in the gulf of the St. Lawrence. Provisions were also made for the payment of the debts which France had incurred when her troops occupied other European countries; for the abolition of the slave trade, on the condition of the restoration of her West Indian colonies; and for the retention, by France, of various works of art, brought to Paris from the countries once occupied by her armies.

Directly after this treaty was signed, preparations were made by the allies for withdrawing their troops from France. Whilst they were in progress, Louis summoned the senate, in the chamber of peers, and the legislative body, in the chamber of deputies of departments, to meet in the Palais de Bourbon. Only sixty of the senators were summoned; some being set apart as regicides, and others because their opinions were not considered favourable to the present order of things. That number was increased to 152 by the addition of some of the ancient *noblesse*, and of Ney, Berthier, Suchet, Masséna, Oudinot, and Mortier. The two bodies met on the 4th of June; and were joined by the king, attended by all the princes of his family. His majesty addressed the assembly briefly, but pertinently; telling them, that, "Entering that hall for the first time, surrounded by the great bodies of the state and the representatives of the nation, who had given him the most touching proofs of their affection, he was proud to be the dispenser of those benefits which Divine Providence had vouchsafed to his people." He announced the conclusion of peace, and remarked, that "the rank which France occupied amongst nations remained hers—it had been transferred to no other state. What other states had acquired in the shape of security, augmented, also, the security of France, and, consequently, its true power. The cession of conquests it had been unable to preserve, did not diminish its real strength, and the glory of the French arms had received no tarnish: the monuments of its valour still remained amongst them, and the *chefs-d'œuvres* of art now belonged to them by rights more stable than those of victory. The paths of commerce, so long closed, were free; the market of France would not be the only one open to the products of its labour and soil: but their manufactures would again flourish, their seaports be resuscitated; and everything promised that long tranquillity abroad, and durable felicity at home, would be the happy fruits of peace." A feeling tribute was paid to Louis XVI.; who, said his majesty, "lives in the immortal testament which he destined for the use of his august and unfortunate son. My eyes being fixed on that immortal production, and my mind penetrated by

* Guizot's *Memoirs of my own Time*, vol. i., pp. 34, 35.

the sentiments which dictated it—guided by the experience and seconded by the counsels of many among you—I have drawn out the constitutional charter, which you are about to hear read, and which establishes the prosperity of the state on a solid basis.” The charter—which concluded with the words, “Given at Paris, in the year of grace, 1814, the nineteenth of our reign”—having been read, the two chambers voted addresses thanking the king for his speech, in the sentiments of which they generally concurred; and the address of the deputies closed with a declaration of the conviction of that chamber, that the people of France would “owe much happiness to Louis the desired.”

On the 16th of June, France felt once more restored to her independence. From the 31st of March, hostile armies had occupied her capital; and so numerous were the various nations whose representatives had assembled there, that, as has been aptly remarked, “The dream of Ariosto was realised;”

“For not the walls of Paris could contain
From various nations such a counterstrain,
There rich and poor—there all degrees on earth,
Of Grecian, Latian, and Barbarian birth,
Throughout the world—that tongue can scarce relate,
The lords and envoys sent from every state.”

There were soldiers and civilians from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south; and Paris never presented a more magnificent spectacle than when the allied troops, 70,000 in number, with eighty-two guns, were reviewed previous to their departure; and the sovereigns, with the plenipotentiaries, and the various personages connected with them, appeared on the ground. The soldiers were drawn up in a line three deep, which extended from the barrier of Neuilly to the bridge of St. Cloud; and a finer set of men were never collected together. This review took place on the 14th of June; two days after which the allied sovereigns and their armies left Paris, the former visiting London, before they returned to their own capitals, a visit which impressed them all deeply with convictions of the freedom, the power, the wealth, and the vast resources of the British people.

The difficulties of the restored king now began to commence; and it is probable, that, had the whole of his measures been as wise and judicious as some of them were most undoubtedly the reverse, he would have failed to satisfy all the parties which soon sprang up in France. Properly administered, the charter contained within itself the elements of sound constitutional freedom; and, as the Code Napoleon remained in force, and a general amnesty was proclaimed, there was good reason to hope for a reign of peace, and a return of prosperity. But from the first, many who would probably have been satisfied with the provisions of the charter, *per se*,

were displeased with a speech of the chancellor D’Ambray, in which he said, that the king was “in full possession of his hereditary rights over that noble kingdom;” and with the date affixed to the charter—“the 19th year of our reign.” They thought this indicated a determination to ignore all that had passed in the last twenty-five years; and even many royalists were not desirous of a return to the ancient state of things. Discontent, therefore, existed from the first, which was not long before it was openly manifested.

Public attention was soon called to the acts of the legislature. The chamber of deputies had a difficult task to settle the financial question. The king, upon having the names of five members presented to him, in pursuance of the charter, nominated as president M. Lainé, who appears to have been one of the few men who had a just view of what the government could effect to satisfy the national moderate party. Soon after his appointment, his majesty communicated to the chamber a report from the minister of the interior, upon the enormous losses which France had sustained in the last two years, in various ways connected with the military events of the empire. The total amounted to 1,305,000,000 francs [£52,320,000]. In adjusting the budget for the year, the expenditure, though considerably reduced, amounted to 618,000,000 francs, whilst the receipts, with undiminished taxes, were estimated at 545,700,000 francs. The deficiency was provided for by government bills, bearing an interest of eight per cent., to be repaid in three years; and to afford security for this repayment, it was resolved, on the proposition of baron Louis, that 300,000 *hectares* of forest land, belonging to the state, should be sold. The discussion of this proposition introduced the question of the propriety of restoring to the church and the emigrants so much of their property as remained unsold. A law was proposed to that effect; but the violent and imprudent language of M. Ferraud, a member of the administration, caused it to be dropped. The legislature, however, adopted a law, making the state liable for the debts contracted by Louis XVIII., during his exile, amounting to 30,000,000 francs. The civil list was fixed at 25,000,000 francs; and by a provision of the charter, that was to be the amount during the reign of Louis. The other members of the royal family were to receive 8,000,000 francs per annum, which was independent of the extensive and valuable royal demesnes. These measures did not call forth much public censure; but the press, having become very violent, in opposing some measures of the king and his counsellors, especially with respect to the army, the minister of the interior, on the 5th of July, laid before the chamber a law for regulating the press, and subjecting all works containing less than 30 printed sheets, or 480 printed pages, to a pre-

liminary censorship, whilst it was proposed that newspapers and periodicals should only appear with the permission of the king; and that no person should become a printer or publisher without a royal license. This law was strongly opposed by the public and in the chamber; the committee appointed in the latter to consider it, unanimously resolving, that "the censorship was unjust, dangerous, and unconstitutional." It was debated at great length, and a majority was obtained for it at last, by reducing the extension of the works, to be subjected to the censorship, from 30 sheets, or 480 pages, to 20 sheets, or 320 pages. With this alteration, the law was adopted, on the 21st of October, by 317 votes against 217. The legislative session did not end till December 30th, when the chambers were prorogued to the 1st of May, 1815; but, with the exception of those named, none of the measures brought before the peers and the deputies were of any particular interest.

While the legislature was in session various acts were adopted by the king and his government, some of which were unobjectionable, whilst others became a fruitful source of increasing the public discontent. Those for which his majesty was more immediately responsible, were an ordonnance, providing that from the day of the abolition of the charter, the names then remaining on the list of emigrants should be effaced. On the 3rd of August he formed a new council of state. About the same time the royal orders of the Holy Ghost, of Military Merit, of St. Louis, and of St. Michael, were revived; the order of the Silver Lily was founded; and the Legion of Honour was re-organised, receiving a new decoration—the portrait of Henry IV. If the ministers had done nothing more unpopular, there would have been less angry excitement. But Dumont, the minister of war—by putting many of the officers on half-pay, and replacing them by royalists, members of the old families; by substituting the white flag for the tricolour; by altering the numbers of the regiments, and the designations of the officers, reviving those of the old monarchy; by compelling the protestant as well as the Roman-catholic soldiers to attend mass, and to go to confession; by removing the imperial guard from the Tuileries, and replacing them with Swiss troops and Vendéans; and by the suppression of the military schools of the empire and the restoration of that established in 1751; most of which measures, though done in the name of the king, were ascribed to his influence—had rendered himself so extremely unpopular, that, before the year closed, he was removed, and replaced by Soult, who was made a member of the chamber of peers. He became soon as unpopular as his predecessor, by accepting the presidency of a commission, formed to superintend the erection of a monument on "the very spot where the victims of Quiberon were

immolated," who were styled (if truly, still imprudently, as it revived old acerbities and animosities), "Christian warriors, whose last words were words of affection for their king, and prayers for their country."

Whilst these measures affected the army, the general public felt the heavy pressure of the taxes, which, as they had been promised relief, excited great discontent; and this was increased by the injudicious measures of the priests, who had obtained a complete ascendancy over the comte d'Artois; and whose importunity frequently gained the assent of Louis to measures of which he secretly disapproved. One of the first acts interfering with the liberty of the subject, was an ordonnance issued by the director-general of the police, Benquot, at the instance of the priests, forbidding any one to work on Sundays; and ordering wine-sellers, the keepers of cafés, billiard-rooms, and other establishments of the kind, to close their doors on Sundays and fête-days, during the hours of divine service. This ordonnance, however defensible on religious grounds, was such an interference with the public habits, that no prudent man would have recommended its abrupt introduction. As Napoleon had dealt unfairly with the priests, so they now endeavoured to tyrannise over the laity, especially in the matter of education. The services of the Roman catholic church, with every superstitious observance, were restored at the Tuileries; crosses and *prie Dieux* were placed in the public roads; and one historian tells us, that "France was covered with ceremonies, and monuments, and vows for expiation for crimes, or for deeds committed during the quarter of a century of revolution." The old prejudices against certain classes were, also, attempted to be revived. Thus, in January, 1815, on the death of Mademoiselle de Rancourt—a celebrated actress, a lady, whose latter years, at all events, had been marked by an unostentatious piety, and by a most extensive exercise of benevolence—the clergy resolved that the funeral service of the church should not be read over her corpse. It was taken to the church of St. Roche; but the gates were closed. The populace soon collected in great numbers, forced their way into the church, and insisted that a priest should be found, and compelled to read the prayers for the dead. It is impossible to say how this affair would have ended, if the king, hearing of it, had not sent one of his own household priests to perform the ceremony. This caused the tumult to cease; but the irritation of the people continued; and it led them to ridicule and treat with contempt a procession of the clergy through the streets of Paris, in honour of the Virgin Mary, as the especial protectress of France, to whom Louis XVIII. owed his throne. And when, on the 21st of January, 1815, the remains of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were removed from their

unworthy resting-place in the garden of Des-clozeaux, Rue d'Anjou, to St. Denis, the populace regarded it as a complete return to the principles of the old *régime*; especially as the owner of the garden, who had endeavoured to preserve the remains, was named a knight of St. Michael, and had a pension settled upon him and his daughter; while it was ordered, that, on the 21st of January, in every year, a service should be celebrated for the repose of the soul of Louis XVI.; that the court, and all civil and military authorities should wear mourning; and that the courts of justice and the theatres should be closed. These causes of discontent were heightened by what the ladies of the empire considered an insult to themselves. Every place at court was given to the wives, daughters, or relatives of the old *noblesse*. However amiable and deserving, those of the princes, dukes, and counts, created under the imperial dynasty, were rigidly and systematically put on one side. No wonder that the ladies felt indignant, and that this indignation was also entertained by those with whom they were connected in the most intimate relations of life. The personal character and conduct of Louis, contrasting so strongly with those of Napoleon, were also influential, after a time, in strengthening disaffection, where it did exist, and in creating it where it did not. He liked ease, indeed he was unable to bear fatigue, and was seldom seen. He could not mix with the army or the people, had he been inclined. If he witnessed the movements of the former at all, it was from a balcony of the palace; and the only notice he took of the latter was sometimes to kiss his hand to them, and then place it on his heart. Reading the journals and reports of the police, and hearing mass, were his chief occupations. He was well disposed; but quite destitute of that physical energy which could have rendered him popular with an animated and excitable people.

The causes of irritation we have enumerated gave rise to various parties, which, towards the close of 1814, and early in 1815, began to assume great significance. There was a party desirous of seeing the imperial dynasty restored, the members of which rallied round Hortense, the daughter of Josephine, and the ex-queen of Holland, who was aided by the counsels and personal influence of the dukes of Bassano and Rovigo, and count Lavalette. Some still longed for a republic, the *beau idéal* of governments, in their opinion. Carnot, Barras, and Grégoire were members of this division of the political world; and the name of Fouché was classed with them; but of *his* sincerity there are great doubts. La Fayette led a number of men, of great talents and ability, who contended for a constitution in which the rights of the people should be placed above the claim of kings to reign by a divine dispensation. With his name

we find associated those of Benjamin Constant, Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, and De Broglie. These two latter parties were desirous of restricting the royal power; but there was a party who wanted still further to increase it. At their head was the comte d'Artois; and there can be little doubt that the unwise tendency of the policy of Louis XVIII. to despotism, and an entire disregard of popular opinion, was owing to the influence of the comte over his much better-disposed, but too easily led, brother.

During the last three months of 1814, and the two first of 1815, important events were taking place at Vienna. When the allied sovereigns left Paris, it was with the intention of assembling, the next month, in congress at that capital. But the visit to England, and other circumstances, prevented their meeting till the 25th of September. There were then present, in that capital, the emperor Alexander, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, with a number of the minor princes of Germany, who were joined by lord Castlereagh on the part of England, and M. Talleyrand, on that of France. Before the proceedings closed, the duke of Wellington, who had been appointed ambassador from the court of London to that of Paris, joined the congress, and took part in its deliberations. The sittings extended into March, 1815, much time being occupied with discussions, now of little interest; the results being what it is necessary for the reader to be acquainted with. In deciding upon those results, France, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden had votes; and the plenipotentiaries of the kings of Naples, Sicily, Bavaria, the Low Countries, Saxony, and Denmark; and of the Swiss and Genoese republics, were in attendance, to urge the interests of those states. The decisions at which the congress arrived (some of them not come to, without great difference of opinion, which, at one time, nearly led to war), were:—1. That Belgium should be united to Holland, and form the kingdom of the Netherlands.—2. That Norway should be annexed to Sweden, and the two should be called the kingdom of Sweden and Norway.—3. That Hanover, with a considerable accession of territory taken from the kingdom of Westphalia, should be restored to England. 4. That the German states should be formed into a Germanic Confederation, bound to support each other against the attacks of foreign foes, and whose federal concerns should be regulated by a Diet, in which Austria and Prussia should have two votes, the other kingdoms one each. 5. That the great fortress of Luxembourg, with its territory, should form part of the Germanic Confederation; the title of the king of Holland being in future, king of the Netherlands and grand-duke of Luxembourg.—6. That Holland should cede to Great Britain the Cape of Good

Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; Great Britain restoring Java to that power.—7. That the nineteen original cantons, with the Valais, Geneva, and the principality of Neuchâtel, should form the independent federal republic of Switzerland.—8. That Saxony should cede all Lower, and a part of Upper Lusatia, Wittenberg, Thuringia, and some other territory, on the banks of the Elbe, in all containing 1,100,000 souls, to Prussia; a much smaller portion, with a population of about 250,000 to Hanover; and the king should retain the remainder.—9. That the navigation of the Rhine, the Necker, and the Elbe should be free.—10. That measures should be taken to abolish the slave trade.

The questions of the future destiny of Poland produced such angry discussions, arising out of the claims for large additions to their territory from that kingdom, made by Russia and Prussia—the latter country also claiming Saxony, in the first instance—that the conferences were interrupted, and in danger of being broken up. These disputes led to a secret treaty between France, Great Britain, and Austria, signed on the 30th of February, 1815, in which the contracting powers agreed to sustain the principles of justice and equity, advanced in the negotiations preceding the treaty of Paris; and mutually to support each other, if attacked. The negotiations were, however, resumed; and the point in debate was, whether Murat should continue to be recognised as king of Naples, several of the powers contending that he had so

completely failed in keeping his engagements, that the allies were liberated from theirs. Before this question was decided, reports which were received of a correspondence being carried on between Napoleon in Elba, and certain persons in Italy, gave rise to another, as to whether the late emperor of France should not be removed from that island? These discussions were carried on with some acrimony, in the midst of great gaiety, Vienna being the centre of balls and fêtes, given in honour of the illustrious visitors; when, on the 7th of March, intelligence arrived that Napoleon had departed in secrecy from the island where he was placed. This alarmed all the sovereigns, and particularly irritated the emperor of Russia, who had earnestly contended against his removal. All differences were now at an end, as the necessity for union was apparent. The discussions on the future of Poland and Naples were suspended; and the sovereigns agreed to a declaration that Napoleon Bonaparte, by breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, had destroyed the sole legal title to which his political existence was attached; that he had placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations; and, as the general enemy and disturber of the world, was abandoned to public justice; that the allies were firmly resolved to maintain the dispositions sanctioned by the treaty of Paris; that they would give the king of France all necessary assistance; and make common cause against those who should disturb the public tranquillity.

CHAPTER II.

NAPOLEON AT ELBA; HIS OCCUPATION AND PURSUITS; HOW HIS INTERCOURSE WITH THE CONTINENT WAS KEPT UP; CAUSES WHICH PREPARED THE PEOPLE TO WISH FOR HIS RETURN; HE LEAVES ELBA AND LANDS IN FRANCE; HIS ADVANCE ON PARIS; MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT; NAPOLEON AT LYONS; PROCEEDINGS IN THE FRENCH CHAMBERS; LOUIS XVIII. LEAVES PARIS; TRIUMPHANT ENTRY OF NAPOLEON INTO THE FRENCH CAPITAL; HIS GOVERNMENT, AND FIRST MEASURES; THE "ADDITIONAL ACT" TO THE CHARTER; MEETING OF THE CHAMBERS; EVENTS IN THE PROVINCES; LOUIS XVIII. AT GHENT.

WHEN Napoleon landed in Elba, accompanied by his sister Pauline and a few only of the many hundred apparently devoted adherents, who had paid court to him at Paris, whatever were his real thoughts and intentions he never betrayed them, not even to Bertrand and Cambronne, his two most intimate associates. The island was within a few hours' sail of his birth-place, Corsica. It is, says Lamartine, "nothing but a block of iron, covered with rocks, notched and jagged by the winds, and with a layer of earth accumulated in the hollows of the hills—displays but few narrow valleys, winding between the

mountains and little creeks, half opening to receive the waves of the ocean. Amidst these meanderings, and upon the slopes of hills which look upon the sea of Italy, nature and cultivation have enclosed some rural domains and some gardens, shaded by olive trees, and watered by scanty streams. It is in one of these creeks that the town of Porto Ferrajo presents its roadsteads, its ports, and its fortifications to the wanderers of the deep." Napoleon established himself, his sister, household, and guard in the old chateau and the principal houses of the town, and placed his 1,500 troops in barracks. His first efforts

appeared to be directed to get his civil and military followers properly and comfortably arranged, and to place himself on good terms with the people of the island and with the commissioners of the allied powers, especially with Sir Neil Campbell, the English commissioner. The instructions of that gentleman were couched in the following terms:—"You will pay every proper respect and attention to Napoleon, to whose secure asylum in Elba it is the wish of his Royal Highness to afford every facility and protection; and you will acquaint Napoleon, in suitable terms of attention, that you are directed to reside in the island till further orders, if he should consider that the presence of a British officer can be of any use to protect the island or his person from insult and attack." This commissioner was repeatedly in the habit of breakfasting with the emperor, at his request, after which they generally joined the other commissioners in a stroll on the beach; and then very often Napoleon would detach Sir Neil from the rest, and, embarking in a small boat with that officer alone, under the pretence of fishing, would enter into an apparent confidential communication with him. So the mornings were most usually spent. *Au reste*—we cannot describe Napoleon's *Life in Elba* more graphically nor, we believe, more accurately, than it has been done by Lamartine.

The emperor—for such was still his title—did not abandon his military habits. Besides attending to the discipline of the small body of troops which accompanied him, he armed and organised the militia of Elba, paying great attention to minute details, and endeavouring to animate them with a spirit of military patriotism. He also devised new buildings, new roads, and other improvements in his limited territories. In his house, or palace, "he retained the habits, and surrounded himself with all the luxuries, of his French palaces, having, to all appearance, only changed the seat of government." In this manner he passed the autumn and the winter—"luxury mingling with simplicity, and festivity with retirement, in his residence. The wreck of his immense fortunes, and the first instalment of the allowance secured to him by treaty, appeared to have been devoted to the embellishment of the island, and to the acquisition of a small fleet, destined, as he alleged, to the commercial and military service of his new subjects. To this flotilla he gave a flag, as to a naval power, intended to maintain a position, and to make itself recognised and respected in the waters of the Mediterranean. Works of art, furniture, books, and the journals of Europe, arrived for him, incessantly, from Genoa, Leghorn, and Paris." Visitors, also, continually arrived from all parts of Europe, especially from England. They were received cordially, entertained pleasantly, and left delighted with the attentions of the man who—once dictator of Europe—seemed now to

have forgotten all his former greatness, and to have devoted himself to the duties of the confined sphere in which he was placed. Nor were any of these visitors insensible to the attractions and charms of Pauline Borghese, who, having been one of the most popular personages of the imperial court, did not appear to be regarded with less interest in her present position. "She adorned the exile of her brother, gave life and soul to it, impassioned it with her charms, and made it touching by her fidelity to misfortune. She constituted the splendour and the grace, while she did the honours, of his *salons*." But there was an under-current at work. Pauline "travelled, under the pretext of visiting her sisters and brothers, from Elba to Rome and Naples, and from Rome and Naples to Elba." Important events were dependent upon these journeys, apparently of pleasure or duty; and Pauline was the medium of communication between Elba and the continent,—“an ambassador, without seeming importance, and free from suspicion;” one “whose very volatility shielded her, in the eyes of the continent, from all imputations of sinister intentions.”

If Napoleon did not go to Elba with a determination to return to France, and attempt to recover his position, he formed that determination soon after his arrival. It is probable that after events induced him to make another throw for fortune; and if the Bourbons had wished to favour his pretensions, they could not have acted more unwisely than they did. As we have seen, their measures offended all parties, except the extreme royalists; and some of them were justly offensive to that part of the nation it was their interest to have conciliated and attached to their cause by every honourable means—the army. The dukes of Bassano and Rovigo—still warmly attached to their old general—were made the depository of the complaints of the men and officers, whose discontent they encouraged; and, as Hortense also resided in Paris—her hotel and fortune being secured to her through the interest of Alexander,—a central-point was afforded, round which all the Bonapartists could rally; and M. de Lavalette, late post-master, being also a strong Bonapartist, afforded the means of keeping up a communication, through Pauline, with the exile. No wonder, with these materials and facilities at his command, that Napoleon succeeded in organising a conspiracy in Paris, against the Bourbons, which was, before he took his culminating step, spread throughout almost every department in France. Whilst progress, if gradual, decided, was thus making towards the desired end in France, the pope, like the Bourbons, not having learned wisdom from misfortune, seemed bent upon doing all he could to render himself unpopular, and to make the people long for another suspension of his rule. His first act was, as we have seen, generous and politic; but

he had scarcely fixed himself again in the Vatican, than he revived all his former policy. He immediately recalled the Jesuits; then he restored the Inquisition, annulled the sales of church property, restored the monastic orders, issued restrictive and offensive regulations respecting the Jews; prohibited the receipt of foreign books in Rome, and also the lighting of the streets; the latter an act of pure barbarism, which it is difficult to account for. Victor Emmanuel, of Savoy, restored to his kingdom of Piedmont, rivalled the pope in his restrictive and reactionary policy; whilst Austria showed a disposition to renew all her objectionable system in Italy; and, to enable her to carry it out, she removed the Italian troops from her restored dominions, to Hungary and Bohemia, and supplied their places, in garrisons and cantonments, by Germans. In Spain, the reaction had commenced; Ferdinand having placed himself entirely in the hands of the monks, at whose suggestion, he revived the Inquisition, and abolished the constitution of the cortes. Thus, the fatuity of rulers, quite as much, or more, than the inclination of the people, prepared the way for the return of Napoleon to France.

Early in February, M. Fleury de Chabillon, who had been one of Napoleon's auditors of his council of state, presented himself at Elba, and had some long and confidential interviews with the emperor, informing him of the state of feeling in France, and the measures to which it had given rise. He received from the emperor assurances of his intention to take advantage of the change in public opinion, and again try his fortunes in the field. On dismissing De Chabillon, he said—"Depart, and tell those who have sent you what you have seen. I am determined to brave everything to meet their wishes, and those of the nation. I shall leave here, on the 1st of April, with my guard, perhaps sooner." What De Chabillon had seen, was, that Napoleon was silently, and, as secretly as he could, making preparations for an expedition. He was accumulating provisions and munitions of war, reviewing his guard, inspecting the arms of the few troops he possessed, and endeavouring to establish the most rigid discipline amongst them all. When he told De Chabillon that he should not leave Elba till the 1st of April, he did not intend to move before that date, as he wanted to give ample time to his friends in France to complete their arrangements. But he learned that there were other conspirators besides the imperialists—that there was a party, which, discontented with Louis, was endeavouring to raise a feeling in the army and the people for the duke of Orleans; and fearing that he should be anticipated by his royal highness, he hastened his movements. He had also cause to apprehend that his designs were suspected by the allied commissioners, who might at any time prevent their execution. It is certain, from a despatch

sent by Sir Neil Campbell to lord Castlereagh, on the 26th of February, that his motions were observed, and his intentions suspected. Sir Neil had been some days at Leghorn, from whence his despatch is dated; and he left that day, on his return to Elba. His object had been to see lord Burghersh, and arrange for a line-of-battle ship and frigate, which lay at Genoa, being sent to cruise off the island. In his despatch, he expressed his conviction that Napoleon meant to evade the supervision of the allies; and his opinion that, leaving general Bertrand to defend Porto-Ferrajo, he would take with him Drouet, Cambronne, and such of the guards as he could depend upon, and, embarking in the *Inconstant*, *L'Etoile*, and other vessels, would land either at Gaëta or Civita Vecchia,—Italy, it was supposed, as the nearest coast, being the point for which he would make. At that time Pauline had just returned from one of her visits to Italy. In her trips to that country she had had several interviews with Murat, who had been wavering and undecided as to the course he should take; but she succeeded in inducing him to declare for his brother-in-law and early patron and friend—a resolution, probably as much the result of a conviction that he had so completely excited the suspicions of the allies, that they would not keep terms with him, and the knowledge that an army of 30,000 men, which Soult had assembled at Chambery, was intended to watch his movements, as by the persuasion and intreaties of Pauline. Having taken his ground, Murat was very anxious that his brother-in-law should not linger over his plans at Elba, but act at once; and, when he learned that he might rely upon Murat's making a diversion for him in Italy, Napoleon appears to have resolved upon immediate action. On the evening of the very day that Sir Neil Campbell's despatch was dated, the princess Pauline gave a ball to the principal inhabitants of the island and the officers of the army, and it was attended by some English travellers, with whom Napoleon, who was present, chatted on the most easy and familiar terms. He remained till a late hour, and when he retired, he took with him generals Bertrand and Drouet, to whom he said, on separating for the night:—"We depart to-morrow. Let the vessels which are at anchor be seized to night; let the commander of the brig *Inconstant* be ordered on board, to take the command of my flotilla, and to prepare everything for the embarkation of the troops; let my guards be embarked in the course of to-morrow; let no vessel whatever leave the port or the creeks till we are at sea; and, until that time, let no one, except yourselves, be acquainted with my intentions." These orders were exactly obeyed; and at mid-day, on the 27th, 400 grenadiers of his guard were embarked on board the *Inconstant*, and he had, besides, embarked on board the *L'Etoile* and

three small merchant vessels, which had been seized during the night, 200 infantry of the guard, 200 Corsican light infantry, and 100 Poles. All being ready, he was taken on board the *Inconstant* by the barge of that vessel; and the little flotilla, of five vessels, with twenty-six guns, sailed without molestation. Elba—round which the allies ought always to have kept several vessels of war—had been entirely unwatched, except by an English brig, which was then on its way from Leghorn, bringing back Sir Neil Campbell; and the flotilla had no opposition to encounter. The captain of the *Inconstant* started with sealed orders, which he opened when two leagues from Porto-Ferrajo, and found that he was to make for St. Juan, on the coast of Provence. As soon as he had read the orders, the emperor being on deck, as well as most of the troops, Napoleon exclaimed to the latter—“Soldiers! we are going to France! we are going to Paris!” They shouted, in reply, with one voice—“To France! to France! *Vive la France! Vive l'Empereur!*” It is said, however, that the enthusiasm soon subsided when, after the first moments of excitement, there came leisure to reflect on the fearful odds they would have to encounter.

Napoleon employed himself, during the voyage, in drawing up proclamations to the people and the army, which he promulgated as soon as he set foot on shore; numerous manuscript copies having been made by the soldiers and sailors who could write. In the first, he attributed the disastrous result of the campaign of 1814 to the defection of Augereau at Lyons, and of Marmont at Paris. Under the circumstances, he “consulted only the interests of the nation, and exiled himself upon a rock, in the middle of the sea, as his life might be still useful to the people. He did not suffer the great number of citizens who wished to accompany him and share his fate, to do so, as he thought their presence at home would be useful to France; and only took a handful of brave men, necessary for a guard.” He proceeded to show, that the prince who had succeeded him, and who was seated on the throne by the power of those armies which had ravaged the French territory, had “endeavoured to bolster himself up by the principle of feudal rights, by which he could only serve the honour and the interests of a few individuals, enemies of the people; and the internal tranquillity, and the estimation in which France was held abroad, would be lost for ever. In his exile he had heard the complaints of Frenchmen, who claimed the government of their choice;” and “he had crossed the seas amidst dangers of every description, and was come among them to resume his rights, which were identical with theirs. All that had been done, written, or said by individuals, since the taking of Paris, he would be ignorant of for ever; it should have

no influence whatever in the recollection he preserved of the important services they had rendered; for these were events of such a nature, that they were beyond the control of human organisation.” The proclamation to the soldiers, denied that they had been conquered: “but two men from their own ranks had betrayed their laurels, their country, and their sovereign, their benefactor.” He asked, whether they would suffer those whom they “had seen, during five-and-twenty years, overrunning all Europe to raise up enemies against them, to inherit the fruit of their glorious labours, and seize upon their honours and estates, that they might calumniate their glory?” In “his exile he had heard their voices; he was home again, through every obstacle and every peril; their general, called to the throne by the voice of the people, and raised on their shields, was restored to them;” and he called upon them “to come and join him:” to “fling away those colours which the nation had prescribed, and which for twenty-five years had served as a rallying-point to the enemies of France; to hoist again the tricolour cockade, which they had worn in their glorious battles;” and “to range themselves under the standard of their chief, who existed only in their welfare; whose rights were only those of the people and theirs; whose interest, whose honour, and whose glory, were identical with theirs.” The first proclamation was signed by Napoleon alone; the second by him, and counter-signed by Bertrand, as “the grand marshal officiating as major-general of the grand army.”

The voyage was performed without incident; and, at 3 A.M. on the 1st of March, the flotilla entered the Gulf of Juan, where it anchored. The first step taken did not prove successful. Twenty-five men of the old guard were sent on shore, to secure the battery on the coast, if there was one: there was no battery; and the officer who commanded the men, marched them on to Antibes, expecting that the garrison there would hoist the tricolour. General Corsin, the commander, however, was true to his trust; he made the men prisoners, as he did a second party who presented themselves; but this did not interfere with the proceedings of Napoleon. The little army with him was disembarked at 5 P.M.; and, having bivouacked till the moon rose, at 11 at night, the emperor put himself at their head, and advanced into the interior. On the night of the 3rd, he slept at Bareme; on the 4th, at Digne; and, on the 5th, at Gap, where the proclamations were printed and distributed throughout Dauphiné, amongst the military and the people. On the 6th, the little band advanced on the road to Grenoble. The garrison at that place was commanded by general Marchand, who remained faithful to his trust. He had under his orders colonel Labedoyère, “an officer of handsome figure and elegant manners; descended from a respectable

family; young, enthusiastic, pleasing." Though he owed his appointment to the royalists, he was seduced from his allegiance by the fascinations of Hortense, and promised to lead a regiment he commanded, which was part of the garrison, to join Napoleon. Marchand received intelligence of the landing, and the near approach of the "exile from Elba;" and he sent a battalion of infantry towards Vizelle, to observe his movements. This battalion encountered the advanced guard of Napoleon, under Chambronne; and, instead of receiving the imperialists with open arms, seemed resolved to resist their advance. As Chambronne found he was outnumbered, he fell back three leagues, and sent an aide-de-camp to the emperor, with the information. Napoleon immediately joined his general, and advanced to meet the detachment from Grenoble, which consisted of about 800 men. He first sent the *chef d'escadron*, Raoul, to inform these troops of his arrival, but the officer could not obtain a hearing. Dressed in his well-known grey surtout, the emperor then went himself to the spot where the men had bivouacked, being followed by his guard, with their arms reversed. He preceded them till he got so near the troops that he could make his voice heard, when he exclaimed—"Comrades, do you know me again?" "Yes, sire," was the immediate response. He rejoined—"Do you recognise me, my children? I am your emperor; fire on me:" uncovering his breast, he continued—"If you wish, fire on your father; here is my bosom." These words appeared to electrify the soldiery; they broke their ranks, and rushed towards him, with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" They must have been provided with the tricoloured cockades, for one was seen immediately displayed on the breast of every man; the eagles also were restored, as if by magic, to their standards; and the men, sent out to arrest the progress of the emperor, ranged themselves on his side. Labedoyère had assembled his regiment on the afternoon of the same day, and, setting at defiance alike general Marchand and the prefect, who endeavoured to keep him to his duty, he marched his men out of the city. As soon as they were clear of the walls, he took an eagle from his pocket, which he placed on the standard; a drum was brought up, and, the head being broken in, it was found filled with tricoloured cockades, which the men placed on their breasts, or in their shakos, and marched, apparently in a tumult of excited enthusiasm, to meet Napoleon, who had now a column of near 3,000 men, with which he arrived, about 10 P.M., before Grenoble. The authorities here ordered the gates to be closed and locked, and the troops to line the walls; but the latter would make no resistance: they hailed the approach of the emperor with shouts; opened the gates to admit him; and he entered the town by torchlight—the inhabitants and troops alike giving him joyous shouts of welcome. He took

up his head-quarters at the *Cheval Blanc*, kept by an old soldier of his guard, and all was quiet for the night.

At Grenoble, assuming the imperial power, Napoleon issued three decrees; the first declaring, that all the acts of government should, from that date, be in his name; the second ordered the enrolment of the national guards of the five neighbouring departments; the third entrusted to them the care of the fortress of Grenoble. He also published a proclamation to the inhabitants of Grenoble; in which, contrary to the tenor of that to the people of France, printed two days before, at Gap, intimating that the government, forced upon the people by foreigners, had "endeavoured to bolster itself up by feudal rights"—he said, "the Bourbons had accustomed the people to political rights; he was prepared to follow out the same system: in a word, to apply to the cause of the revolution the results of a constitutional government." He had, he added, "been too fond of war; he would wage it no longer; he returned to restore its rights to the nation, and desired to be only its first citizen." The municipality did not wait for the appearance of this proclamation before they made their submission; the people also flocked round the hôtel where Napoleon had taken up his abode; and, on his appearing to review the troops of the garrison, who had hoisted the tricolour, he was received with shouts of, "*A bas les Bourbons!*" "*A bas les ennemis du peuple!*" "*Vive l'Empereur! et un gouvernement de notre choix.*" When he returned to his hôtel, "All is settled now," he exclaimed, "we are at Paris."

The king and the authorities at Paris, meantime, were in a state of consternation. The intelligence of the landing of Napoleon was announced, on the morning of the 3rd of March, in the French capital; and, though some of those by whom Louis was surrounded ridiculed the enterprise, and thought, or pretended to think, that it was the act of a madman, and would meet with the most signal discomfiture, Louis, from the first, thought that it would be attended with very serious results. For three days it does not appear that the government took any steps, either to arrest the progress of Napoleon, or to defend the capital. On the 5th of March, they issued a proclamation, which was more abusive than dignified, and reflected no honour on those by whom it was drawn up. It announced the escape of Bonaparte, "the man who, when he abdicated his power, retained all his ambition and his fury;" and who "was covered with the blood of generations." This man was come to "dispute, in the name of his usurpations and his massacres, the legitimate and mild authority of the king of France." * * "A few treasonable attempts, excited by his insane brother-in-law, inflamed the pride of the cowardly warrior of Fontainebleau. He exposed

himself, as he imagined, to the death of a hero; he would only die that of a traitor. France had rejected him—he returned—France would devour him."

The king, contrary to the advice of some of his ministers, followed up this proclamation by ordering troops to be concentrated at Grenoble and Lyons; an army to be formed in Franche-Comté, to close up to the invader all the routes to Paris; and a third army to cover the south. He also directed that the patriotism of Vendée should be roused by a spirited appeal to the inhabitants, to rally once more round their old standard. It was arranged, that the count d'Artois and the duke d'Orleans should go to Lyons. M. de Vitrolles advised that the latter should be united in the command with the count, and sent from Paris, as he was aware of the wish of some parties to place that prince on the throne. Overtures had indeed been made to the duke; and before he left Paris, in an interview with the king, he revealed to him all that had occurred, tendered some excellent advice to his majesty, and pledged himself not to separate his own cause from that of Louis and of legitimacy. Of the other armies, that in Franche-Comté was placed under the orders of the duke de Berri. The duke d'Angoulême, who, with the duchess, was at Bordeaux, was directed to place himself at the head of 12,000 troops, assembled at Nismes, with instructions to take Napoleon in flank and rear, if he appeared with his followers on the Rhone. The troops in Britany were put under the command of the duke de Bourbon, son of the prince de Condé. The ministers fully expected that both troops and people would be animated with a spirit of loyalty, by the presence amongst them of these branches of the royal house; and as they were all utterly inexperienced in military matters, marshal Soult arranged that the most illustrious men of the imperial army should be under their orders, for the purpose of giving them the aid of their strategetic knowledge, and also, by the example of their fidelity, to induce the troops to imitate it. Ney, who was at Paris at the time, was ordered into Franche-Comté, with the duke de Berri: the marshal took leave of the king on the 6th of March; and, when he kissed the royal hand, he said—"Farewell, your majesty; Bonaparte shall pay dear for his audacity. I will bring him to your majesty, bound hand and foot, in an iron cage." The monarch was touched with his apparent loyalty and devotion; and replied, with great feeling—"Farewell! I rely upon your honour and fidelity!"

Napoleon remained four-and-twenty hours at Grenoble, and then marched, by Bourgancy, on Lyons, where the count d'Artois and the duke d'Orleans had arrived, and been very coldly received. Marshal Macdonald, who commanded, could obtain no demonstration from the troops in

favour of the king: they at first offered no resistance to the marshal's orders, and took up positions on the bridges and quays looking towards Dauphiné, in which direction it was expected Napoleon would advance. When, however, it became known that the emperor was drawing near the city, two battalions of infantry refused to follow the marshal to defend the entrance of the bridge, on the side of the faubourg on which Napoleon was approaching; and when their general endeavoured to induce them, by a sense of honour, if not of duty, to obey him, two drunken Polish hussars dashed at him with drawn swords, and he with difficulty escaped with his life. The disaffection soon spread amongst the rest of the garrison; the marshal and the princes were obliged to leave the city; and the emperor entered in triumph. He took up his residence at the palace of his uncle, cardinal Fesch, and passed part of the night in drawing up nine decrees, by which he again took possession of the empire. Of these decrees:—No. 1 re-established all the magistrates who were in office in 1814, and dismissed those whom the Bourbon government had appointed in their place. 2. Expelled from the different *corps d'armée* all the emigrants who had returned with Louis XVIII. 3. Abolished the white flag and the lilies; restored the tricolour; and ordered that all the decorations which the government had conferred, should cease to be worn or displayed. 4. Reconstituted the imperial guard. 5. Confiscated all the property of the Bourbons. 6. Abolished the ancient *noblesse*, and restored that of his own creating. 7. Banished all the emigrants who had returned with the Bourbons, and placed their property under sequestration. 8. Annulled all the alterations made by Louis XVIII. in the Legion of Honour. 9. Dissolved the chambers of peers and deputies; abrogated the charter; and promised that a *champ-de-mai*—a sort of states-general of the nation—should be held, to deliberate on the nature of the institutions to be conferred on the people.

Having issued these decrees, Napoleon left Lyons on the 13th of March, his army being dispatched by the route of Burgundy. He slept that night at Villefranche, and the next day proceeded to Macon. On the road, according to Lamartine, he only received shouts of welcome from the "fickle, vulgar, and irresponsible mob;" all "who had anything at stake were silent." At Macon, he was also disappointed of the brilliant reception which he had expected: the crowd, who came to welcome him, was evidently composed of those classes whose support confers no honour on its object; and he indignantly inquired of the municipal authorities, whom he had summoned to his presence, "if they had nothing but that populace to show him?" From Macon, he forwarded the proclamations issued at Grenoble and Lyons, to marshal Ney, who was then at Lons-le-Saulnier, in

the department of the Jura, where he had removed his head-quarters, with advanced posts at Poligny, Dôle, and Bourg, ready to march, either on Lyons or Dijon, as the movements of Napoleon might require. After he left Paris Ney's enthusiasm for the Bourbons appears to have subsided, not gradually, but at once. He was met by emissaries of the emperor, who conveyed to him accounts of the reception given his majesty by the people and by the troops; and he sent one of his officers, M. de Rochemont, in disguise to Lyons, to ascertain the real state of public opinion. At Lons-le-Saulnier, he summoned his officers around him, to learn their feelings; and he met with little encouragement from them to be treacherous to the monarch to whom he had lately, and so warmly, protested fidelity. But, finding the soldiers, generally, were for the emperor, his mind was made up; and, on the 13th of March, the day Napoleon left Lyons, he drew up a proclamation to the army he commanded, in which he told the troops, that "the cause of the Bourbons was for ever lost. The legitimate dynasty, which the French nation had adopted, was about to reascend the throne. It was to the emperor Napoleon, their sovereign, that the sole right of reigning over their beautiful country belonged." * * "Liberty was, at last, triumphant, and their august emperor would consolidate it for ever." This proclamation, scouted by the generals when it was laid before them on the evening of the day it was drawn up, was received with enthusiasm when the marshal read it to the troops the next day, at a review he had arranged for the purpose. Then a scene of tumult ensued. The officers who refused to follow Ney in his apostasy—the inhabitants, most of them royalist in heart as well as profession—were insulted and threatened; and the troops spread through the town, as inclination or caprice dictated; all discipline for the time being at an end, and licentiousness and inebriety prevailing in every quarter. The next day things looked better. Ney had sent a messenger to Napoleon, with the proclamation enclosed in a letter, in which he promised to meet him at Auxerre. The receipt of this letter removed all Napoleon's doubts, as the defection of Ney opened to him the road to Paris, leaving Louis without an army in the vicinity of the capital. The imperialists, therefore, pursued their march without apprehension. On the 17th of March, at Auxerre, ninety-three miles from Paris, Napoleon and Ney met; and whilst the latter, with the circumstances of his last interview with Louis fresh in his memory, earnestly entreated the emperor not to believe all he heard of the king, as many untruths were in circulation—his old master assured him that he was, as ever, beloved by him, and considered as "the bravest of the brave." No delay, longer than was absolutely necessary for rest and refreshment,

was made on that day, or the next. On the route, at Montereau, a few of Louis's household troops, mixed with some infantry and cavalry of the old army, were encountered; when the latter, amidst cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" attacked and drove off the royal troops, and joined those which were advancing. All the regiments, on the roads to Melun and Fontainebleau, followed the example; and, on the evening of the 19th, Napoleon entered the latter town, in the midst of a torchlight ovation, and once more took up his residence in its palace. He then declared, that the march from Frejus had been the happiest period of his life. Indeed, he had reason to be perfectly satisfied with the events of the three last weeks; and had, no doubt, the fullest conviction that his enterprise would be crowned with success.

And what was going on in Paris? A complete net-work of intrigues—some royalist, some imperial, some Orleanist; others for moderate constitutionalism, in which Lafayette and Benjamin Constant were the principal actors; Fouché—the versatile, unscrupulous, treacherous, but inimitably clever Fouché—being deep in the secrets of all. It was he that was the means of disconcerting the movement in the army, in favour of the duke d'Orleans, which he had at first promoted; and he held himself ready to join, as he had always done before, the party whose prospects of success seemed the brightest. Louis remained at the Tuileries, his mind divided and distracted between hope and fear. Receiving intelligence on all sides of the defection of troops, he determined to summon the chambers; and, as his ministers objected, he drew up the proclamation with his own hand. The disturbance of that tranquillity which had been established, and which he had hoped would have led to a general and durable peace, was assigned as the cause for reassembling the legislature, which had been adjourned to the 1st of May. "Full of confidence" said the monarch, "in the zeal and devotion of which the chambers have given so many proofs, we hasten to summon them around us. If the enemies of their country have founded their hopes on the divisions they sought to foment, its legal defenders will destroy the criminal hope by the unattachable force of their indestructible union."

The 10th of March was the day when the members were again to meet in Paris. Only sixty-nine deputies obeyed the summons of the king, and the number of peers was much less. The same day, both chambers voted addresses to his majesty. That of the deputies, drawn up and signed by M. Lainé, a decided royalist, set forth that faults had been committed by the government, but that what was not the time to examine them. The events of the last few days called upon them to unite against the common enemy, in order to render the crisis profitable to

the security of the throne, and of public liberty. The peers professed their loyalty and attachment to the sovereign, "whose intelligence," they said, "had taught him that the constitutional charter, the monument of his wisdom, would ensure, for ever, the stability of his throne, and the security of his subjects." Simultaneously with the meeting of the chambers, the ministers drew up two *ordonnances*, which were signed by the king, and issued on the 11th. In one, his majesty declared that he relied on the patriotic feeling of the French people, upon their inviolable attachment to the throne, and to the constitutional charter, by which their destiny was fixed. The other document ordered the national guards to be organised, and volunteers to be enrolled; and denounced the punishment of death against deserters, and the encouragers of rebellion.—The same day, a spirited proclamation appeared, drawn up by Soult on the 10th, and addressed to the army. "Soldiers!" he said, "this man, who but just now abdicated, in the face of Europe, an usurped power, of which he made such fatal use—Bonaparte—has made a descent upon the soil of France, which he never ought to have seen again. What does he want?—civil war. What does he seek for?—traitors. Where will he find them? Is it amongst the soldiery, whom he has so often deceived and sacrificed, by misdirecting their valour? Is it in the bosom of those families which his name alone still inspires with horror? Bonaparte despises us enough to believe that we can abandon a legitimate and well-beloved sovereign, to share the fate of a man who is nothing more than an adventurer. He believes it, the madman! His last act of lunacy shows him in his true colours." The troops were then exhorted to be faithful as they were brave; and to "rally round the banner of the lilies, at the voice of the father of his people—the worthy heir to the virtues of the great Henry."

Neither the ministerial *ordonnances*, nor the proclamation of Soult to the army, had much effect; and, notwithstanding the strong language of the latter, there was a prevalent feeling abroad, that the marshal was not sincere in his professions of loyalty to the Bourbons. The constitutional party, with whom he had never been a favourite, pressed upon the king the propriety of dismissing him; very reluctantly Louis found himself obliged to comply; but he accompanied the note of dismissal with another, expressive of his personal approbation of the marshal's services. Clarke, duke de Feltre, was made minister of war in the place of Soult; and the latter immediately proceeded to join Napoleon. At the same time, Louis dismissed M. d'André, the chief of the police, whose incapability and inactivity had kept him ignorant of the various plots which had been concocted in the capital; and replaced him by Bourrienne, the former private confidential secretary of Napoleon; who, dismissed

for malversation, had ever since maintained a feeling of irreconcilable hostility to his former master.

A few days were passed in all the fever of uncertainty; then the king summoned, on the 16th of March, the peers and deputies to a "royal sitting," which he attended, and addressed the members present with great emotion. He had come amongst them, he said, "to draw still closer those ties which, uniting them together, constituted the strength of the state." Having returned to his country, and "reconciled it with all foreign powers, he had laboured for the happiness of his people, and had received, and still continued to receive, the most touching proofs of their confidence and love." At his age, he could not do better than die for his country; but he feared for France; as he who came to bring amongst them the torches of a civil war, would inflict upon them the scourge of a foreign one. He would also impose upon them his iron yoke, and destroy that charter which he (Louis) had given them! Then, giving way to great animation, and in an impassioned voice, the monarch continued—"That charter I swear to maintain. Let us rally round it! Let it be our sacred standard! The descendants of Henry IV. will be the first to range themselves beneath it. Let the co-operation of both chambers lend to authority all the power of which it stands in need; and this truly national war will prove, by its happy issue, what a great people, united by love for their king and the great fundamental law of the state, can achieve." This address roused all the loyalty of the chambers. Cries of, "Long live the king!" "War against the usurper!" resounded through the hall. And when the count d'Artois, who had arrived the evening before from Lyons, proposed that they should "swear to live and die faithful to the king and the constitutional charter," all at once assented, and, with enthusiasm, exclaimed—"It is our duty to cover with our bodies the king, the country, and the laws! The king, in life and in death! We will live and die for the king!"

This was the last ray of the expiring flame. On the 18th, the chamber of deputies again assembled, and resolved "that the war against Bonaparte should be declared a national war, and that all the French should be summoned to take arms against the common enemy." The same day, Louis addressed another proclamation to his troops, telling them that he had pledged himself to the allied sovereigns for their fidelity; and calling upon those who had deserted their standard to abjure their error; to come and throw themselves into the arms of their father, and, he pledged his honour, all should be forgotten. The next day, a review of the royal and national guards was ordered, but few attended. The defection of Ney, the subsequent one of Masséna, and the march of Napoleon upon Fontainebleau,

were known in the evening; and when Louis sat down to dinner, he announced to the few friends who remained around him, that he meant to quit the Tuileries that night. The next morning, a proclamation in the *Moniteur* announced his departure, and dissolved the chambers; the members being directed to separate, and assemble again wherever the king might appoint. Whilst the Parisians were reading this document, the royal party was far on its way towards Abbeville. That night the fugitive sovereign arrived at Lisle, where he stopped two or three days; when, finding that there treason was gathering round him, whilst his royal guard was rapidly disappearing, he went on to Ghent, where he arrived on the 20th of March, and held his court at that city till he was recalled to Paris, after the battle of Waterloo.

The news of the departure of Louis soon spread through Paris; and amongst the first who heard of it was count Lavalette. He immediately went to the post-office to get letters and collect news (such was his own account); but he found count Ferrand, the postmaster, eager to resign his office to him; and all the clerks and subordinates at once recognising his authority, he reinstated himself in his old office, and immediately dispatched a courier to Napoleon, to inform him that the palace of the Tuileries was vacant. When this courier reached Fontainebleau, he had an immediate interview with the emperor, to whom he delivered a letter from M. Lavalette. On reading it, the emperor exclaimed—"To Paris! the king and the princes have fled. I will sleep this night at the Tuileries." The cry, "To Paris," was re-echoed on all sides; and, very soon, the emperor and his staff were *en route* for the capital. They reached it about 9 P.M., when, passing under the arc de Carrousel, a number of the inhabitants met the *cortège*, and, thronging round the emperor, he was literally taken up in the arms of several Parisians, in their blouses, and carried to the palace. There, says one of the narrators of the events of that period, "the crowd of women from above, who had been employed in preparing the apartments vacated by the royal family for the emperor, stopping the influx of men from below, forced the latter to place the emperor on his feet, and he walked up, pale, but smiling, into those halls, the scenes alternately of princely splendour and of princely ruin."

The next day, the emperor, once more reinstated in the Tuileries, proceeded, first to review the troops in Paris, who were all enthusiastic in their cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and then to form his government. In this he found more difficulty than he expected: his old friends, Caulaincourt, Cambacérès, Molé, and others, did not appear to be impressed with a conviction of the permanency of the renewed empire, and refused office, which Napoleon had to force upon

them. After much trouble, the following appointments were made:—Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, minister of foreign affairs; Cambacérès, minister of justice; Carnot, minister of the interior; M. Molé, minister of roads and bridges; Davoust, prince of Eckmühl, minister of war; admiral Decrès, minister of marine; M. Gandin, minister of finance; M. Mollien held an office equivalent to our secretary of the treasury; M. Maret was secretary of state; and Fouché, duke of Otranto, again became minister of police. The direction of the civil list was given to M. de Montalivet; M. de Champagny was entrusted with the direction of naval stores; Savary, duke of Rovigo, took the command of the *gendarmes*; and Masséna was made commander of the national guard of Paris. The emperor also arranged his personal staff, on which he nominated all those officers who were upon it previous to his abdication. All accepted their appointments except Lauriston, who honourably refused to break the oath he had taken to the Bourbons. Labedoyère was appointed to the post Lauriston declined.

The ministry being formed, the constituted authorities, on the 26th of March, presented addresses to the emperor. M. de Cambacérès spoke for the ministers, and reminded Napoleon that he had promised "there were to be no foreign wars, except to repulse unjust aggression; no reaction within France; no arbitrary acts; but security for person, security for property, security for public opinion." In his reply, the emperor said—"These sentiments were his own; all for France, all for the nation, was his motto." The address of the council of state was drawn up by M. Thibaudeau, and read by M. Fermon, their orator. It stated, that the emperor had "returned to reign by the only principle of legitimacy which France had recognised for the last twenty-five years, and to which all the authorities were bound by oaths, from which only the people could absolve them." The emperor was called upon to "guarantee anew the liberal principles of individual liberty and equality of rights," the liberty of the press, the abolition of the censorship, the freedom of religious worship, the voting of contributions and of the laws by the representatives of the people; the independence and irremovability of the judges, with the responsibility of ministers and of all government agents. These institutions were to be revised, said the address, by a grand assembly of the people's representatives; and, till it met, the emperor was to exercise all power. In his reply, the emperor said—"Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is greater or less, as the interests of the state they govern may require. Sovereignty itself is only hereditary, because the interests of nations demand it. I have renounced all idea of the great empire, of which, for fifteen years, I had only been laying the foundation;

henceforward, the happiness and consolidation of the French empire shall be the sole object of my thoughts." The municipality of Paris were present on this occasion, and, in their address, reminded the emperor of his promise to grant a constitution.

Napoleon complied with the wishes of the council of state, by issuing decrees establishing the liberty of the press, abolishing the censorship, and decreeing the free election of municipalities. Another measure was of a highly objectionable nature. When he landed from Elba he proclaimed a general amnesty; but, fifteen days after his arrival in Paris, he issued a decree ordering the trial, and sequestration of the property, of the prince de Talleyrand, the duke of Ragusa, the abbé de Montesquiou, M. Bellard, and nine others, who had been active agents in promoting the restoration of the Bourbons. General Bertrand, who was his grand marshal, positively refused to countersign this decree, as being a breach of good faith in violating the amnesty; and M. Labedoyère was heard to say—"If the reign of proscriptions and sequestrations recommences, all will soon be at an end."

The decrees we have enumerated did not satisfy the council of state, nor the Parisians generally. The emperor was not disinclined to do something more; and he spent several weeks in consulting with Carnot and Fouché as to what measures he should originate. Not satisfied with the results, he summoned Benjamin Constant to the Tuileries. That statesman had, no longer ago than the 11th of March, made an indignant protest against the return of Napoleon, whom he termed "the man stained with the blood of France"—"who had stirred up against France all the nations of Europe, and brought upon her the humiliation of an invasion;" the man "who had thrice shamefully forsaken his troops, in Egypt, in Spain, and in Russia;" the man who "returned poor and greedy, having nothing to claim and nothing to offer:" and, after all this abuse, had declared that he, Benjamin Constant, "would not go like a miserable turncoat, crawling from one power to another, covering infamy by sophistry, and stammering out impious words to purchase a life of shame." This protesting civilian imitated the example set him by the military and by other civilians, and repaired to the palace—accepted the office of councillor of state, and agreed to assist Napoleon in forming a constitution. The result of the combined deliberations was, that on the 22nd of April, a supplementary or additional act to the charter was promulgated. By this document two legislative chambers were acknowledged—an hereditary chamber of peers, and a chamber of deputies, elected by delegates chosen by the people. This chamber was to consist of 629 members, not under twenty-five years of age. The "additional act" also re-established the

penalty formerly connected with the crime of high treason, but which had been abolished by the charter—viz., confiscation of property; and the last article declared the Bourbons to be a proscribed race, prohibiting the people from recalling them.

Both royalists and constitutionalists received this "additional act" with disapprobation; but the emperor resolved to submit it to the test of universal suffrage. On the 24th of April, a decree appeared in the *Moniteur*, convoking a *champ-de-mai* for the 26th of the following month, to be composed of the members of the electoral colleges and departments, who were to bring the returns of the provincial votes. On the 30th of April another decree appeared, convoking the electoral colleges for the election of deputies to the chamber, who were also to assist at the *champ-de-mai*. These elections caused that gathering to be put off to the 1st of June, when it took place amidst great pomp and ceremony—a throne being erected for the emperor, who took his place amidst the shouts of the assembled crowd, which appeared to comprise all the population of Paris. After mass had been performed, Cambacérès read the result of the voting, which, including the army and navy, gave 1,532,457 ayes, against 4,802 noes—only a small proportion out of the gross number of voters—upwards of 6,000,000. The herald then proclaimed the acceptance of the "Act," and Napoleon took an oath to observe it.

The next day, the emperor created 118 peers, who assembled on the 3rd in the palace of the Luxembourg, where they first became acquainted with each other. The list included the emperor's brothers, Louis, Lucien, Jerome, and Joseph; cardinal Fesch; prince Eugene; four archbishops, ministers, former senators, military men (one of whom was Masséna), and a miscellaneous selection from the old revolutionists; viz., Carnot, Fouché, Siéyes, Quinette, Thibaudeau, Roger Ducos, and Boissy d'Anglas. The deputies assembled the same day, and chose Lanjuinais for their president, to the great displeasure of the emperor. He was, at first, disposed to resist the choice; but Carnot, and some other of his councillors, told him, they would not be answerable for the consequences if he did. M. Lafayette, M. Dupont de l'Eure, general Grenier, and M. de Flaugergues, were the vice-presidents. Two of them were hostile to the government; and that hostility was manifested by the chamber in various ways. The session was formally opened by the emperor on the 7th of June; his brothers, cardinal Fesch, his mother, and queen Hortense, being present. His speech was very different to those he had been in the habit of addressing to the legislature. He now avowed, that "the desire of his heart was accomplished in commencing a constitutional monarchy, as he desired to see France enjoy all possible liberty;" especially "the liberty of the press, which was

inherent to the actual constitution." He concluded his address by saying, "the sacred cause of the country would triumph;" and by giving several recommendations to the chambers. The replies of those bodies were far from adulatory: they were couched in perfectly independent terms; and great interest was at first excited, to know what measures the peers and deputies would adopt. The events which were taking place, however, at Ghent and Vienna, and which led to the recommencement of hostilities, diverted attention from legislative proceedings.

It is necessary now to glance at the proceedings in the provinces, where, after the arrival of Bonaparte in Paris, some manifestations were made in favour of the Bourbons. The duke and duchess d'Angoulême were in the southern provinces when Napoleon landed from Elba; and at Bordeaux—where they had gone to be present on the 12th of March, the anniversary of the display of the white cockade in that city, in 1814—they had been the object of *fêtes* and ovations, given in honour of the daughter of Louis XVI.; ceremonies in which the army, under the command of general Decaen, appeared heartily to participate. When the advance of Napoleon became known at Paris, the command of the army of the south, as we have already stated, was given to the duke, with instructions to collect all the troops on the right bank of the Rhone; to put himself in communication with those under Masséna on the left flank; and the two armies to endeavour to crush Napoleon when his progress was arrested, as it was confidently expected it would be, under the walls of Lyons. The duchess remained at Bordeaux, where 15,000 of the inhabitants enrolled themselves as a national guard. The duke was also favourably received at Toulon; and as Masséna, at that time, remained firm in his allegiance, a combined plan of operations was agreed upon, which, if it could have been carried out, would have greatly impeded, if it had not entirely retarded, the advance of Bonaparte. But though the civil authorities and the people were on the side of the royalists, in this quarter of France the name of the emperor had not lost its magical influence with the army. When it was learnt that he was successfully marching towards the capital, Grouchy was enabled to lead a large force against the duke d'Angoulême; and Clausel, at the head of a considerable number of troops drawn from the central provinces, marched upon Bordeaux. The royalists of Vendée rallied round the duchess; and a body of volunteer national guards obtained some advantage over Clausel at the bridge of Dordogne. But the garrison of Blaye mutinied, and was followed by the other regular troops, amongst whom Clausel had caused the proclamations of the emperor to be distributed; and though one and all declared that they would not suffer any injury to be done to the duchess per-

sonally, not one would pull a trigger for the king. The duchess appealed to their patriotism, their honour, and their chivalry; but all in vain. She was obliged to leave Bordeaux; and, after having to anchor on the coast of Spain from stress of weather—and, while there, the king offered her a hospitable reception at Madrid—she proceeded to England, and soon after joined Louis XVIII. at Ghent.

The duke d'Angoulême, at first, had a prospect of better success than attended the duchess. After Bonaparte had entered Lyons, leaving the royalist, M. Vitrolles, in command at Toulon, the duke marched into the department of the Gard, and took the command of the troops from general Gilly. On the 18th of March he made a triumphant entry into Marseilles, where, being joined by from 3,000 to 4,000 volunteers, and at the head of about 13,000 men, he divided his force, and, sending general Loverdo with 6,000 men, to take the left bank of the Rhone and march on Grenoble, he intended himself to march on Lyons. The regular troops of Loverdo deserted him when he drew near Grenoble, and he had no resource but to send the volunteers back to their homes, to prevent them from being cut to pieces. The duke pursued his march towards Valence, and at Montelimart obtained a decided advantage over general Debelle: at the bridge of La Drome he also defeated a body of troops which opposed his progress, and soon after entered Valence. There he found that the troops of another detachment of his army, under general Ernouf, who had occupied Sisteron on the 27th of March, and who were to have co-operated with him against Lyons, had hoisted the tricolour; those with him did the same, except one regiment, the 10th. He also learnt that troops were advancing against him on all sides, and that if he would not sacrifice his volunteers he must retreat. He therefore fell back to Point St. Esprit; and there he ultimately surrendered to general Gilly, on condition that an entire amnesty should be awarded to all who had taken part with him and the duchess. At first Grouchy refused to ratify this convention; but Maret prevailed upon Napoleon to do so; and, by a despatch of the 11th of April, the emperor authorised Grouchy to conduct the duke to Cette, where he embarked for Spain. The duke de Bourbon soon after retired from Britany.

When Louis left Paris, the count d'Artois, the duke de Berri, and Marmont, were at the head of a small armed force, with which they followed the king, and, on the 23rd of March, occupied Bethune, the last fortified town on the French frontier. As a force was concentrating against them, the princes issued a proclamation, releasing the troops they commanded from their oaths to the king, and leaving them at liberty to return to their families or to follow his majesty. The prevailing feeling with the troops was, that they must not

take a step which probably would cause them to be arrayed in arms against their country; therefore they escorted the princes to the frontiers, and then returned to Bethune, closing the gates, and maintaining their position against a force sent by Napoleon, till they obtained honourable terms, being permitted to return to their homes and families, only giving up their horses. About the same time, the duke d'Orleans passed the frontier into Belgium, and went to England; leaving a letter for Mortier, in which he said he was too good a Frenchman to sacrifice the interests of France; released the marshal from the orders he had given him; and gave up the joint command he held in Flanders with that officer; whom he recommended "to do everything which his excellent judgment and pure patriotism would suggest to be best for France, and most conformable to all the duties which he had to fulfil."

—The attempt of the duke de Bourbon and M. Larochejaquelein to raise an insurrection in Vendée, also failed; not from any want of spirit or royalist principle in the people, but from the overwhelming force sent against them.—On the 20th of April salutes were fired from the Invalides, at Paris, and from all the fortresses in France, to commemorate the suppression of the civil war and the re-establishment of the imperial authority. The people of Vendée, however, rose again under their leaders, Augustus and Louis Larochejaquelein, d'Autichamp and Lapineau, and that part of France was not completely tranquillised till the return of the Bourbons. Whilst the members of that family had nearly all left France, the Bonapartes, madame La Mère, and the emperor's brothers, had returned; they took up their abode at the Palais-Royal, Lucien fixing himself in the apartments of the duke d'Orleans. Napoleon permitted the dowager duchess d'Orleans and her daughter, the duchess de Bourbon, to reside in France, with pensions between them of nearly 600,000*f.* per annum. These concessions to members of that house, and the letter of the duke to Mortier, caused a suspicion, both at Ghent and Vienna, that there was an understanding between this branch of the house of Bourbon and the emperor: we are assured, however, that such was not the case.

At Ghent, Louis XVIII. inhabited a private mansion, and when the count d'Artois and the duke de Berri arrived there, they took possession of an hôtel in the principal square of the city. The steps taken by the allies encouraged Louis to maintain his title, and assert his claims as king of France, and he held his court with all its formalities. On his arrival at Ghent he had only one minister with him, M. Blacas; soon after he had taken up his position there, as M. Talleyrand still remained at Vienna, he made M. de Jaucourt, the intimate friend and confidant of that diplomatist, his minister for foreign

affairs, *ad interim*; the duke de Feltre continued minister of war; the abbé Louis, minister of finance; M. Beugnot, minister of marine; Beurnonville and Lally Tollendal, ministers of state; and (according to Lamartine, "simply to give him a right to take his place at court, and have a voice in its political transactions,") Chateaubriand was named ambassador to Sweden. There was a handful of troops at Ghent, which were commanded by marshal Marmont, under the duke de Berri. The count d'Artois had also his privy council, composed of the count de Bruges, MM. de Vaublanc and Capelle; and during the months of April and May there were cabals of all descriptions carrying on in the little city. There was a general impression that the reign of Napoleon at the Tuileries would not be a long one; and different parties were endeavouring to establish and strengthen their own interests, under the impression that "favour in Ghent would be fortune in Paris." The count de Bruges and M. de Blacas acted together, and endeavoured to maintain harmony between the king and his family, as well as their own supremacy. There was another party, composed of the friends of Talleyrand and Fouché; the latter, though Napoleon's minister of police, being in correspondence with the Bourbons. A third class favoured the duke de Richelieu, perhaps the most honest of all the men by whom Louis was surrounded. As for Louis himself, he appeared to feel no diminution of confidence, and he never evinced the slightest idea of descending from the rôle of kings. "He felt so confident of his right," says Lamartine, "that he threw back upon adversity all the wrongs of his situation, he reigned in all places to which he bore his name and his blood, and nothing was altered in his habits except the palace." He did not want for money: the baron Louis had secured several millions of his civil-list, which served to maintain both his civil and military establishment for some months. Avoiding the appearance of either luxury or indulgence, he followed his usual pursuits; dividing his time between his exercises of devotion, his councils, his family, and in reading and conversation with literary men. The count d'Artois was much less reconciled to his fate; and it was rumoured amongst the friends of the Bourbons who remained in Paris that, principally under his auspices, some changes were organising, to adapt things more to the ancient régime when the Bourbons got back to the Tuileries. This induced the friends of Louis at Paris to send M. Guizot to Ghent, for the purpose of laying before the king, without reserve, their opinion of the state of affairs, and of the line of conduct it behoved him to adopt. The envoy, who left Paris on the 23rd of May, was courteously received both by Louis and M. de Blacas, though the latter wanted to know what brought him there? In his interview with the king, M. Guizot

cautioned his majesty against a reactionary policy, and mentioned the objections entertained by the constitutionalists of Paris to many of the persons by whom he was surrounded. The king's reply was, "I will fulfil all that I have promised in the charter (names are not concerned with that);

France has nothing to do with the friends I entertain in my palace, provided no act emanates from them injurious to the country."

The battle of Waterloo took place, and found M. Guizot still at Ghent; where he had made no further progress in the object of his mission.

CHAPTER III.

TREATIES BETWEEN, AND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS OF, THE ALLIES; MILITARY PREPARATIONS IN FRANCE; PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT; NAPOLEON LEAVES PARIS; PROCLAMATION TO HIS ARMY; HE ENTERS BELGIUM; THE ALLIED FORCES; BRUSSELS ON THE 15TH OF JUNE; BATTLE OF QUATRE BRAS; BATTLE OF LIGNY; BATTLE OF WATERLOO; BONAPARTE RETURNS TO PARIS; PROCLAMATIONS OF LOUIS XVIII.; THE ALLIES ADVANCE ON PARIS; PROCEEDINGS IN THE FRENCH CHAMBER; SECOND ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON; SURRENDER OF PARIS; SECOND RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS; BONAPARTE SURRENDERS TO THE BRITISH, AND IS SENT TO ST. HELENA; HIS CHARACTER.

THE allies followed up their declaration of the 13th of March* by a treaty, which was signed on the 25th, by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia. By this treaty, the four powers engaged to unite their forces against Bonaparte and his faction, in order to prevent him from again disturbing the peace of Europe. Each agreed to furnish 180,000 men for the prosecution of the war: one-tenth to be cavalry; and, if necessary, to embody all their military forces of every description. A second treaty, which was kept secret, bound the powers to prosecute the war, till the complete subjugation of Napoleon was effected. The ratifications of both these documents were interchanged on the 25th of April; the English government declaring, that the allies were bound by these agreements to make an united effort to displace Napoleon Bonaparte; but they must not be understood as obliging his Britannic majesty to continue the war, for the purpose of forcing the people of France to accept any particular government. The lesser powers of Europe assented to the first treaty, as soon as it was published, and agreed to furnish their contingents—that of Bavaria being fixed at 60,000; that of Hanover at 26,000; and that of Piedmont at 30,000 men. The great powers applied themselves, without loss of time, to the reorganisation of their armies; and England, having concluded a peace with the United States, was enabled at once to send a considerable force into Belgium. Sweden and Denmark, Spain and Portugal, also joined the general league; so did Switzerland; and all Europe was, before the end of May, in arms against the emperor.

The allied sovereigns also decided those questions connected with Poland and Saxony, which threatened the disruption of their alliance. By

* See *ante*, p. 268.

treaties signed on the 3rd of May, between Russia and Saxony, Prussia and Russia, and Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the king of Saxony gave up the grand-duchy of Warsaw, with which Napoleon had invested him; the fortress of Thorn, and its dependent territory were ceded to Prussia; the remainder of the duchy was erected into a separate kingdom, and annexed to Russia; Cracow, with a small surrounding territory, and a population of about 60,000, was declared to be a free and independent republic. By another treaty between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the former undertook to pay to the three latter a subsidy of £5,000,000 to be paid monthly, in equal proportions to each—Russia being to receive a sum equal to four months' subsidy, and Austria and Prussia one, equal to two months' subsidy, should the war be at an end within a year after the treaty was signed, to enable them to provide for the return of their troops to their own countries. The following subsidies were also agreed to be paid by Great Britain:—to Hanover, £206,590; Italy and Netherlands, £78,152; Portugal, £110,000; Spain, 147,333; Sweden, £521,061; and the minor powers, £1,724,000.

Napoleon, whilst engaged with the political and other matters to which we have alluded, had not neglected his army: he had attempted to enter into a negotiation with the allies, and had written a letter to each of the sovereigns of Europe, in which he said, that the dynasty imposed upon France by force, was not suited to it; he had been recalled as a liberator, as the inducement which led him to the greatest of sacrifices, no longer existed; he returned, and the love of his people had borne him to the capital. He wished now for an honourable tranquillity, and to render the restoration of the imperial throne a guarantee for the peace of

Europe. All nations had had enough of glory; a nobler arena was now opened to sovereigns; and he would be the first to descend into it. After having exhibited to the world the spectacle of great battles, now was the time to exhibit no other rivalry than that of diffusing the advantages of peace, and contributing to the felicity of nations. His secretary for foreign affairs sent a circular despatch, expressing the same sentiments to the ministers of the allies; but the couriers, bearing the letter and despatch, were stopped, and their despatches seized and forwarded to Vienna. About the same time, Napoleon discovered that Metternich and Fouché were intriguing; and he intercepted a letter to the latter—wishing him, if he were disposed to agree to the expulsion of Napoleon from France, and his entire exclusion from power, to send an agent to Bâle, where M. Werner, an agent of the allies, would meet him. The emperor resolved to send M. Fleury de Chabillon to Bâle to assume the character of Fouché's agent; and from this source he learnt the firm determination of the allies to enter into no terms with him, short of his final abdication. That result was held to be indispensable, as his position, at the head of the French empire, was considered incompatible with the repose and security of Europe; and the restoration of Louis XVIII. was quite secondary to this grand object.

Napoleon, thus threatened, resolved to exert all his energies, and to call forth the entire strength of France, to enable him to maintain his position. So reduced was his army by the Peninsular, Russian, and German campaigns, that, when he re-entered Paris, it scarcely amounted to 100,000 effective troops. He commenced his military preparations by restoring to the regiments their eagles, and their numbers, of which they had been deprived by Dupont; he appealed to the vanity of the French, and to their military pride, calling, by *ordonnances*, on the young to enrol themselves, and on the retired veterans to join again their respective corps. From these resources he proposed to organise three new battalions for each regiment of infantry; two squadrons for each regiment of cavalry; forty battalions, in twenty regiments, were to be added to the young guard; the sailors of Brest, Cherbourg, and Toulon, were drawn upon to form thirty-four battalions of artillery; and 200 battalions of the national guard were to be organised, to do duty in the garrison towns; and thus enable all the regular troops to take the field. Under these measures, energetically carried out by his officers, 300,000 men were incorporated by the end of May; the arming of whom was more difficult than the raising of them, as the arsenals and finances were exhausted. Unfortunately for Louis, though his finance minister had secured part of his civil-list, he had been obliged to

quit Paris without the money in the treasury, which, with the balances due from the receiver-general, amounted to about 40,000,000 francs (£1,600,000). Shortly after, the sale of the national woods, ordered by baron Louis, brought in a sum nearly as large. These sums prevented Napoleon from feeling the money pressure for a short time after his arrival; but the numerous demands for civil, military, and private purposes, soon exhausted the treasury. Then Ouvrard, the contractor, made a loan to the emperor of 2,000,000 francs; 31,000,000 francs were raised from the bankers, on the security of the sinking fund; 12 per cent. being paid for the money thus borrowed; bills of the receivers'-general were also discounted at 17 and 18 per cent. By these means 80,000,000 francs (£3,200,000), were realised before June 4, which enabled the emperor to pay his army, and to set all the manufactories of arms, and other munitions of war, at work, with a greatly-increased number of hands. He thus succeeded in completely arming and equipping his men: by the end of May they were quite ready for the field;—Soult, appointed major-general, having visited the different camps and cantonments, and seen that they were in a proper state of organisation and discipline.

On the 2nd of June that general issued an order of the day to the army, very different in tone and sentiment from that he addressed to the troops at Quiberon, only three short months before. It was admirably adapted to its purpose to rouse the national fervour of the men; to inspire them with loyalty and devotion to Napoleon; and to induce them to believe "that all the efforts of an impious league would never be able to separate the interests of a great people from their leader, him who had been made, by the most brilliant triumphs, the hero of the world." The soldiers responded most heartily to the appeal made to them; and, satisfied with the feeling displayed, as well as convinced that war was inevitable, Napoleon resolved not to wait for an attack, but to take the offensive, not sorry to get away from the chambers, which he could not manage. On the 11th of June he nominated a provisional government of fourteen persons, to conduct affairs during his absence. The following were the members:—his brothers Joseph and Lucien (the former being president); Cambacérès, Davoust, Caulaincourt, Fouché, Carnot, Guadin, Mollière, and Decrès, the ministers with portfolios; Regnaud, St. Jean d'Angely, Boulay de la Meurthe, Desermont, and Merlin, ministers of state. It may excite surprise that Fouché was continued in office, after the discovery of his correspondence with Metternich: it was not with the approbation but against the will of Napoleon. When he was made acquainted with the treachery of his minister of police, he declared he would have him shot. Carnot,

however, told him—and all the council were of the same opinion—that “the men of the Revolution only allowed him to reign, because they believed that he would respect their liberties. If he destroyed Fouché, whom they regarded as one of their most powerful guarantees, the next day he would not have a shadow of power.” He was obliged, therefore, to put up with the presence of Fouché in the ministry, and to dissemble his real feelings. But when, after nominating his government, he was about to leave Paris to join his army, concentrated on the northern frontier, he said to his minister:—“Like all persons who are ready to die, we have nothing to conceal from each other; if I fall, the patriots fall with me; you will play your game ill if you betray me. With me you are safe, but all you revolutionists will perish under the Bourbons. I am your last dictator; reflect on that!” Having made these remarks, he left the palace, accompanied by Jerome; and, passing through Soissons and Laon, reached Avesnes on the 13th. On the 14th his head-quarters were at Beaumont, where he found an army collected of 122,484 men. It was divided into five corps, under counts d’Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Lobau; the imperial guard under Napoleon; and the cavalry reserve under marshal Grouchy. The number of the different arms were 85,820 infantry, 20,460 cavalry, and 7,020 artillerymen. The number of engineers, pontooniers, sappers, drivers, &c., was 9,184; of guns, 350.

The soldiers, who were already in high spirits at their number, and the completeness of their organisation and equipment, were rendered still more animated by the arrival of the emperor, who, on joining, issued, with his usual tact, a proclamation, well calculated to rouse all their energies, and fill them with a patriotic ardour. “Soldiers!” he said, “this is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous; we gave credit to the oaths and protestations of princes, whom we allowed to remain on their thrones. Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they aim at subverting the independence and the most sacred rights of France. Are we not, then, the same men?” * * * “Fools that they are! a moment of prosperity blinds them. If they enter France they will find in it their tomb! Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, perils to encounter; but, with constancy, the victory will be ours; the rights, the honours of the country will be reconquered. For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has arrived to conquer or die.”

Thus hostilities were on the eve of being commenced in Belgium—a country which, as colonel Maxwell observes, “had, for centuries, been the seat of war; every plain, every fortress, having its tale of martial achievement to relate. Within its iron frontier there were few places which had

not witnessed some affair of arms; the whole country was rife with military reminiscences; and it was destined to prove the scene where the greatest event in modern warfare should be transacted. As a country, Belgium was admirably adapted for military operations; the plains, in many places extensive, terminate in undulating ridges or bolder heights; while the surface generally admitted the movements of masses of infantry. Canals, rivers, morasses, and villages, presented favourable positions to abide a battle, and difficult ones for an advancing army to force; while the fortresses everywhere offered facilities for retiring upon, and presented serious obstacles to those who must mask or carry them when advancing.”

The allies had greatly the superiority in the number of troops, but the difficulty had been to concentrate them. The Russian army was employed in Poland, and the Austrian in Italy, where Murat was contending with them for empire. He had commenced hostilities, on the 31st of March, by issuing a proclamation to his army, pointing out the independence of Italy as their object; and, by crossing the Po, at the head of 30,000 men, leaving 20,000, as a reserve at Naples. The campaign was short, but decisive. Driving back the Austrians at first, he was subsequently defeated in every encounter; and at last was obliged to leave Naples, and take refuge at Toulon. His queen was taken on board an English merchant vessel, and conveyed to Austria; and Ferdinand of Naples re-entered his capital (which had surrendered to the English), the day before the battle of Waterloo.—Whilst the Austrians and Russians were thus occupied, and could not be immediately available at the seat of war, Prussia had a large number of men in her Rhenish provinces, chiefly in garrison; and Belgium was occupied by a mixed force—a Prussian army; and one in which British, Belgians, Dutch, Brunswickers, and Hanoverians were blended together, sometimes not in very harmonious union. It was, however, on them and the Prussians that reliance could alone be placed to meet the first shock of a hostile French force; and, by the cordial and unanimous vote of all the sovereigns interested, it was resolved that the command should be given to the duke of Wellington. That general had accordingly proceeded to Belgium, where he arrived on the 5th of April, and immediately began to organise the forces which were placed under his command; prince Blucher being at the head of the Prussians. That army occupied the line from the Meuse and Sambre to beyond Charleroi, the head-quarters being at Namur; and the supplies drawn from Cologne and the Rhine. The army, under Wellington in person, extended from the Prussian right to beyond the Scheldt, their supplies coming from Ostend and Antwerp. Thus the two armies were pivoted on diverging lines;

and they had not only to keep open their own communications, but to cover Brussels. Wellington's army was composed of the British, and the king's German legion, 43,236; Hanoverians, 10,447; Brunswickers, 8,000; Belgian and Nassau troops, 28,387: total, 90,070. There were also under his orders, 4,000 Hanse troops, and 12,000 Danes; but they had not arrived when the campaign opened:—the number of cannon was about 200. This army was thus disposed of on the line it occupied:—the right wing, under lord Hill, at Ath; the left, under the prince of Orange, at Braine-le-Comte and Nivelles; the cavalry, under lord Uxbridge (afterwards marquis of Anglesea), round Grammont; the reserve and the head-quarters at Brussels.—The Prussian army, in four divisions, under generals Ziethen, Kleist, Kielman, and Bulow, comprised 141,600 men, and 384 guns.

There are three main roads that lead from France across the Belgian frontier to Brussels: those of Charleroi, Mons, and Tournay. The first was guarded only by troops; on the others, the fortresses of Mons and Tournay, though not so strong as they were before the revolutionary wars, were yet capable of offering some opposition to an advancing force; and the duke placed garrisons in them, and mounted several pieces of large cannon on the walls. His grace paid the more attention to those roads, because he was fully persuaded that, by them, Napoleon ought to advance, and had no doubt that they were those he would take. Not only was that the most eligible route, but the duke had reason to believe, from information received from the arch-traitor Fouché, who appears to have been deceiving all parties, that it was the one selected by the emperor. He expected from Fouché a plan of the campaign; and, instead, he was misled by false reports. "The success of Napoleon," says Fouché, in his *Memoirs*, "depended on a surprise; and I arranged my plans in conformity. On the very day of the departure of Napoleon, I dispatched madame D——, furnished with notes, written in cipher, containing the whole plan of the campaign. But, at the same time, I privately dispatched orders for such obstacles at the frontier, where she was to pass, that she could not arrive at the head-quarters of Wellington, till after the event. This was the real explanation of the inconceivable security of the generalissimo, which, at the time, excited such universal astonishment." The advance on Charleroi, to the duke's left, took the French on a route comparatively undefended; and Napoleon was very near, in Belgium, attaining success by the same strategy which had often been a great element in his victories—dividing his enemy's forces, and attacking them in detail.

On the 14th, Blucher had his first corps at Charleroi, the second at Namur, the third at Dinant, and the 4th at Liége. On the evening

of that day, Bonaparte gave his orders for the French army to be in motion at daybreak the next morning, and to march on Charleroi; general de Bourmont immediately departed, and conveyed information of the emperor's plans to Blucher, who, though he acted upon his intelligence, despised the traitor, and treated him with the contempt he deserved. He immediately gave orders for the concentration of his troops, but it could not be effected time enough to prevent the French crossing the frontier and attacking general Ziethen at Charleroi, who was compelled to retire; whilst the invaders pressed forward, crossing the Sambre at Marchiennes, Charleroi, and Chatelet. Ney was then dispatched with D'Erlon's and Reilly's corps, consisting of 41,000 infantry, 3,000 horse, and 116 guns, to Quatre Bras, a village ten miles from Waterloo, which derives its name from its position at the intersection of the roads from Brussels to Charleroi, and from Namur to Nivelles. Napoleon himself, at the head of 72,000 men, marched to Fleurus, which lies about seven miles north-east of Charleroi, in order to meet the Prussians, who were concentrating upon the village of Ligny, fourteen miles to the west of Namur. Driving Ziethen before him, Napoleon bivouacked at Fleurus that night; and Ney, who had promised in a few hours to occupy Quatre Bras, which the emperor described to him as "the key of everything," halted at Frasnes, with Reilly's corps, to allow D'Erlon's, which was in the rear, to join them; they remained inactive till the next day.

And where was Wellington? Misled by false reports, according to Fouché, which caused him to expect that the campaign could not commence before the 1st of July, and that the right, not the left, of the British would be attacked, his grace was at Brussels, which was the scene of much gaiety and festivity, owing to its being the head-quarters of the British army. In the evening of the 15th the duchess of Richmond gave a ball to the officers; the duke of Wellington had promised to attend, and just as his dinner-party that day was breaking up, the officers being about to dress to join the gay assembly, the duke received a despatch from Blucher, informing him that the French had crossed the frontier, that his advanced corps had been suddenly attacked, and that he might require support. Wellington immediately sent orders to the troops at Brussels to be ready to march at a moment's notice, and ordered the outlying corps to concentrate at Quatre Bras; he then went to the hotel where the duchess of Richmond had collected all the beauty and fashion and chivalry of the city:—

"The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes look'd love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell."

The festivity was interrupted by the sound of drums beating the *réveillé*, and of soldiers moving in the streets. Soon it was known that the enemy was near, and that the troops were collecting that they might be ready to march to meet him.

“ Ah ! then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears and tremblings of distress,
And cheeks all pale, which, but an hour ago,
Blush'd at the praise of their own loveliness ;
And there were sudden partings, such as press
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs
Which ne'er might be repeated ; who could guess
If ever more should meet those mutual eyes,
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn would rise.

“ And there was mounting, in hot haste, the steed,
The mustering squadron and the clattering car,
Went pouring forth with an impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war ;
And the deep thunder, peal on peal, afar ;
And, near, the beat of the alarming drum
Rous'd up the soldier ere the morning star ;
While throng'd the citizens with terror dumb,
Or whispering, with white lips, ‘ The foe ! they come !
they come ! ’ ”

The historian cannot describe the scene more faithfully, while he must fall far short of the beauty and elegance of the poet.

The troops put in motion by order of the duke of Wellington, were ordered to concentrate at Nivelles ; he being still under the impression that the main attack would be made on his right : the Dutch and Belgians, under the prince of Orange, and some British troops were, however, at Quatre Bras ; and when Ney arrived there on the 16th, he found the post he had been ordered to occupy already taken possession of. When the hostile forces came in contact, Wellington had barely 16,000 infantry and, 2,000 Belgian cavalry, with twenty-eight guns. Ney had advanced with Reilly's corps only, of 15,750 infantry, 1,865 cavalry, and thirty-eight guns ; he having left D'Erlon at Gosselies, that he might support Napoleon in the expected encounter with the Prussians. The duke visited Quatre Bras early in the morning, and as at that hour the French were not in motion, and he saw no signs of an enemy on the Charleroi road, he rode towards Ligny, to have an interview with Blucher. He found the Prussian general in a windmill which stood between the villages of Ligny and Brie ; and, having made such arrangements with him as circumstances appeared then to render necessary, he returned to Quatre Bras, where Ney had just commenced his attack. A long and severe conflict followed, in which the Belgians behaved very ill : the British and Brunswickers, as well as the French, splendidly. Ney was reinforced by 3,000 cavalry, under Kellermann, whilst the action was going on, and before its close he sent to D'Erlon to join him instantly. As the object was to get possession of the village, the affair consisted of a series of daring charges, most gallantly resisted and repulsed. The battle

took place partly in the Bois de Bossu, from which the prince of Orange was driven by the French, and partly amidst fields of tall rye, which masked the advance of the attacking corps and favoured their movements. Formed into squares, the British drove off the lancers and cuirassiers with great slaughter. The chief brunt of the engagement fell on the 44th and on the 42nd Highlanders ; one charge, made while the latter were in the act of forming a square, was temporarily successful ; the French lancers rushed upon them, rode over and cut down two companies, killed the colonel, and put near half the regiment *hors-de-combat*. A part of the survivors succeeded in forming the square ; those who were shut out formed back to back, and thus they kept up such a steady and destructive fire, that the attacking party were again broken and compelled to retreat. In the Bois de Bossu the French resisted all the attempts of the allies to expel them. But two brigades of guards, under generals Maitland and Byng, arrived at Nivelles from Enghien, during the action ; they had marched twenty-seven miles, and were preparing to cook their dinners, when a staff-officer arrived with orders for them to go forward ; they did not hesitate a moment, but, instantly packing up their cooking apparatus, they abandoned their rations and resumed their march. They arrived at the Bois de Bossu as the French were preparing to deploy on the roads it commanded, for the purpose of intercepting the communication between the British and the Prussians ; the French were instantly attacked by the guards, who, although they had been marching fifteen hours, gallantly cleared the wood, and it was taken possession of by British troops. A few more faint efforts were made by the French, but night approached, the assailants retired, and the victors bivouacked on the ground they had so heroically defended. The loss of the British in this battle was 350 killed, and 2,380 wounded ; 172 were made prisoners. The loss of the Belgians and Brunswickers was, including the brave duke of Brunswick, 1,300. The French had 4,140 killed and wounded.

Whilst this murderous strife was going on at Quatre Bras, the Prussians and French were engaged at Ligny. The French were inferior in numbers, but they made the attack about half-past three in the afternoon, the village of Ligny, the centre of the Prussian position, being the real point of attack, whilst feints were made upon St. Amand, on the right ; and Grouchy held in check the Prussian left, which extended to the environs of Sombreffe and Tongrue. St. Amand was taken by Vandamme's corps, who were driven out by the Prussians, but again succeeded in wresting it from their opponents ; Ligny was taken and retaken three times, and the battle continued for several hours in these villages ; a most desperate house and street fight being kept up. It was a personal struggle, where the rival forces

fought man to man, and group against group, without order or discipline. Whilst it continued, the emperor wrote to Ney, ordering him "instantly to envelop the right of the enemy, and fall on his rear;" adding, that Blucher's "army was lost if he acted vigorously," and that "the fate of France was in his hands." Ney was too busily engaged with the British, and could not obey these orders; but the appearance of D'Erlon—who had been recalled by Napoleon from his advance to Quatre Bras, after he had received Ney's orders to join him there—inspired the French with confidence; the Prussians with dismay. The former resumed their attacks with renewed fierceness; Milhaud's cuirassiers spreading great destruction around them; and at length the Prussians began to retreat. Blucher headed a body of cavalry, and attempted to impede the pursuit of the French. His horse was shot and fell, the marshal falling beneath it, and both French and Prussians rode over the gallant soldier and his steed as they lay on the ground—the one dead, the other anticipating death. Blucher was at last extricated by his aide-de-camp, Nostitz, at the moment defeat made him wish for death. "Why have you saved my life," said he to Nostitz, "to bring me into this strait?" His troops were then retreating in great confusion upon Wavre, fifteen miles south-east of Brussels, and he found any attempt to rally them would be useless; he could only follow, and see what steps could be taken to retrieve the disaster.—In this desperate encounter, the Prussian official account states their loss to have been 66 officers and 3,441 men killed; 372 officers and 8,265 men wounded—total, 12,144: they also lost sixteen guns and four standards. The levies from the Rhine, 10,000 in number, dispersed after the action; the total loss to the allies was, therefore, 22,000 men. The French killed and wounded amounted to 6,900.—Of the occurrences of this memorable day, one of the most remarkable was, the marching and re-marching of D'Erlon's corps, when he was summoned by Napoleon or Ney, without joining either: that corps did not fire a shot during the day. Had it been actively engaged, either with the emperor or the marshal, the results must have been much more disastrous to the allies, if not decisive against them.

The retreat of the Prussians was continued on the 17th. In the course of the day a junction was formed with Bulow; and in the evening the Prussian army was concentrated at Wavre. This retreat rendered the English position at Quatre Bras untenable, and Wellington resolved to retire on Waterloo, a village nine miles south-south-east of Brussels, where, something more than a century before (on the 17th of August, 1709), Marlborough had cut off a large division of the French forces opposed to him. In that position the British and Prussian armies would be near each

other; and in the evening Blucher sent a despatch to the generalissimo, announcing his "readiness to co-operate in a general engagement on the following day in front of Waterloo, not with two corps only, but with his whole army, provided that, if the French did not make the attack on the 18th, the allies should attack them on the 19th." "We have lost one battle, we must gain another," was the inspiring remark of Gnesenau to his men; and, in a proclamation to his troops, Blucher said, "I shall immediately lead you anew against the enemy; we shall beat him, for it is our duty to do so."—Napoleon had sent Grouchy, with 32,000 men, after the Prussians, with instructions "to follow them up and complete their defeat;" but he does not appear to have come near them. He also dispatched several regiments of hussars and cuirassiers in pursuit of the English, which came up with their rear-guard at Genappe, where the 7th hussars were left to check their advance. They cleared the town of these light troops, after a short and gallant contest, in which major Hodge, who commanded the guards, was killed. But the French were, in their turn, met by the 1st life-guards, led by lord Uxbridge, who charged them with such vigour, that they were totally defeated and driven out of Genappe. The English then pursued their route unmolested, and took up a position in front of Waterloo, on either side of the high road from Charleroi to Brussels. Napoleon followed, and arranged his forces across the same road, in a parallel line with the English, his head-quarters being at La Belle Alliance. In these positions both parties bivouacked on the night of the 17th, and prepared for the battle of Waterloo.

The French army—composed of the corps of D'Erlon, Reille, Dumont, and Lobau, Kellermann's and Milhaud's cuirassiers, Pajot's lancers, and the artillery—amounted to about 80,000 men, (15,800 being splendid horse), with 248 guns. Wellington had 36,273 of the British and king's German legion, 7,447 Hanoverians, 5,962 Brunswickers, 17,724 Belgians, and 2,280 Nassau troops—total, 69,686; of which number 12,500 were cavalry: his grace had only 156 pieces of cannon. Blucher, at Wavre, had Ziethen's, Kleist's, and Bulow's corps, amounting to 86,000 men, and 273 pieces of cannon. There was a considerable difference in the calibre of the troops under the command of Wellington and those under Napoleon. Many of the British were young, inexperienced men, now engaged in their first campaign, and, those who had not been at Quatre Bras, in their first battle; whilst round the emperor's standards were many of his old veterans, who, having been prisoners to one or other of the allies, had been liberated at the peace, and had obeyed Napoleon's call to enrol themselves again. Both armies passed a melancholy night, for the rain had fallen in torrents

on the evening of the 17th, and it was impossible for them to find firm and dry ground to repose upon. During the night the wind rose, and torrents of rain, with peals of thunder and frequent flashes of lightning, disturbed the stillness of the silent hours usually devoted to repose; and, though every means was taken to shelter the troops which the limited time allowed, and fires were lighted along the lines, their situation was the reverse of agreeable. The duke of Wellington, the general officers, and their respective staffs, occupied the village of Waterloo. Napoleon passed the night in a farmhouse, on the Brussels and Charleroi road, about half a league from the château of Hougomont, and La Haye Sainte, and a quarter of a league from La Belle Alliance and Planchenoit. It had been abandoned by the owner, M. Bouqueau, on the advance of the troops; but the furniture, &c., had not been removed, and supper was served up to the emperor and his staff upon the old man's (he was eighty years of age) table, and in his plates and dishes. "Bonaparte" (we copy from the French) "slept in the best chamber, where a bed, with blue silk hangings and gold fringe, was put up for him. His brother Jerome, the duke of Bassano, and several generals, lodged in the other chambers. All the adjacent buildings, gardens, meadows, and enclosures, were crowded with military and horses."

The battle-field of the 18th of June was selected by the duke of Wellington; who, when at Brussels in the previous September, had examined the spot, and made a memorandum that "the entrance to the forest of Soignies, by the high road which leads to Brussels from Binch, Charleroi, and Namur," was an advantageous position for an army. Blucher wished to have passed beyond Brussels before fighting, but the duke's plan, to halt on the south side of that city, and arrest the march of the enemy, was, undoubtedly, the most judicious. The site, now known as "the field of Waterloo," extends about two miles from the old château of Hougomont, to the extremity of the hamlet of La Haye: the Brussels and Charleroi road runs through its centre. The British army was posted on the crest of a range of gentle eminences or undulations, which intersected the road at right angles. There was one great advantage in this position, that, whilst the infantry would be partly screened from the enemy's fire, the artillery completely commanded the slope in front, by which the enemy must advance. There Wellington disposed of his men in the following order:—The farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, about 200 yards in front of the left centre, was defended by Best's Hanoverian battalion; Byng's brigade of guards, with some Nassau riflemen, held the chateau of Hougomont on the right. The duke of Wellington considered this as the strongest point in the whole position, and had it consider-

ably strengthened, barricades being thrown up, and the walls perforated with loopholes, to permit the defenders to have the free use of their fire-arms. Ompteda and Kilmansegge's German and Hanoverian brigades were in the centre; Picton's and Perponcher's divisions, with Vivian's and Vandeleur's horse, were on the left; Alten's, Cooke's, and Clinton's divisions, with Chasse's Belgians, were on the right; the cavalry, except Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades, formed the second line, Ponsonby being on the left, and Somerset, Dornberg, Arentschildt, and Grant on the right. Collaert's Dutch-Belgian cavalry division, Olfermann's Brunswick corps, and Lambert's British brigade, formed the reserve. A part of general Hill's corps, 7,000 strong, was stationed at Halle, six miles to the right, in order to cover the great road between Brussels and Mons.

Napoleon's army was posted on a line of ridges, opposite to, and nearly parallel with, that occupied by the British; the right resting on Planchenoit, a village of some extent, and nearly surrounded with three enclosures, which afforded most eligible means of defence. D'Erlon, with the first corps, occupied the right; Reille, with the second, was on the left; Jerome's division was in front of Hougomont. Lobau, with the 6th corps, was in the second line; the cavalry was all ranged in the rear of the infantry; and the guards still further in the rear, beside the great road. Napoleon himself took his position on a height, beside the farmhouse of La Belle Alliance. There a chair and table were placed for him upon straw, spread out like a carpet: his charts, telescopes, and writing materials being scattered around. He took great pains to marshal his troops to military music; and "never had men been animated with such spirits, or taken up their ground with such precision. The earth seemed proud of being trodden by such combatants"—so he afterwards said, at St. Helena. As the French had the greatest number of cannon, the commanding position of the heights, which enabled them to play on the British guns, countervailed the advantage which the latter had, in sweeping the plain and slopes, as the French advanced to the attack. The space between the two armies was open and unenclosed; the French had an open country at their back, favourable for retreat; whilst, if the British were worsted, they would have had to retire by the forest of Soignies, very unfavourable to artillery.

The British were quite prepared to receive the attack, which Wellington felt convinced would be made early in the morning; but it was eleven o'clock before the signal was given to commence the action, by firing a gun from the centre of the French position. Jerome immediately advanced, at the head of 6,000 men, on Hougomont; and the battle, that decided the

fate of the emperor, commenced. The British cannon opened on the advancing column, and the fighting soon became general. Hougomont was composed of an old tower, a chapel, and a number of offices; a garden, inclosed by a high strong brick wall, and round the garden a wood of beech, an orchard, and a hedge that concealed the wall: in another part there was a pond, which served as a moat. It was the key of the duke's position, and was the object of repeated attacks, all of which were beaten off. As the assailants advanced, they were covered by the fire of nearly 100 pieces of cannon, which was returned by the British guns on the heights above, and fearful execution they made in the French ranks. The advance of Jerome was connected with a general attack upon the British line, on which the French batteries opened a tremendous cannonade; and charges of cavalry and infantry, sometimes singly, sometimes united, were made, and constantly repulsed. The British infantry were formed in squares; and a military historian of Waterloo says, "The fight of Waterloo may be easily comprehended, by stating, that, for ten hours, it was a continued succession of attacks of the French columns on the squares; the British artillery playing upon them as they advanced, and the cavalry charging when they receded."

After the fighting had commenced, Napoleon ordered a decided effort to be made to penetrate the centre of the British left, coupled with an attack on the centre itself, and on the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte. Ney led D'Erlon's corps of 18,000 men, supported by the fire of 80 pieces of cannon, to execute this order; and, if he had succeeded, the victory would no doubt have remained with the French. Picton's division had to sustain the shock of the assault: that division stretched from La Haye Sainte to Ter la Haye. It had an irregular hedge in front, which afforded, however, very imperfect protection, as it was broken, and could offer no impediment to the advance of cavalry. Perponcher's Belgian division was extended in front of the left; it gave way as soon as the French got within half musket shot, and retired, to the great indignation of the British, who could scarcely be prevented from firing upon the men, as they broke, and passed to the rear. The French divisions of Alix and Marcognet then pressed forward, and so thinned the nearest division of British infantry, by their murderous fire, that it began to waver. But Picton ordered up the 42nd, 44th, 92nd, and the royal Scots, who advanced with a tremendous shout; and, under their fire, the French columns were thrown into great disorder. At that moment Ponsonby's division of cavalry, consisting of the 1st royals, the Inniskillens, and the Scots' greys, came galloping up, the infantry opening to let them

pass. Their terrific charge completed the destruction of this division of the French force. The cavalry rode through and over their ranks, sabring and making prisoners of the men: in a very few minutes, 2,000 prisoners and two eagles were taken. Ponsonby's heavy horse were shortly followed and joined by Vandeleur's light brigade, the 11th, 12th, and 16th dragoons; and the united force charged a fresh column of D'Erlon's corps, completely shattered it, and made 1,000 more prisoners. The Scots' greys, animated by a desire to arrest the fire of the cannon, under which Ney's advance had taken place, made a dash at the batteries, sabred the gunners, cut the traces of the guns, and killed or hamstrung the horses; thus rendering 40 cannon useless: these heroic fellows suffered in their turn. Napoleon saw the charge, and could not withhold his admiration of "those terrible greys." But he resolved they should not escape unpunished. As they were returning to their own position, somewhat confused from the effects of their recent charge, he ordered Jaquenot's light brigade of chasseurs and lancers to fall upon them, and they suffered greatly in the *mêlée*. General Ponsonby was killed, and many of his men. But Vandeleur's brigade charged the lancers, and drove them back with great slaughter, enabling the remains of the heavy horse to reach their own lines.

The charge of horse and foot against the centre itself met with a similar result. The left column of D'Erlon's corps, formed of infantry and cavalry, advanced up the slope behind La Haye Sainte, from the top of which the duke observed the movements in the field; his principal post being under a tree, from that circumstance called "Wellington's tree." The French were met by the 79th highlanders, the 28th, and the 32nd, who, cheering loudly, advancing rapidly, and pouring in a heavy fire, compelled the French to fall back. These regiments formed part of Picton's division; and the hero was leading them on, waving his sword, and had just uttered the words, "Charge! charge! hurrah!" when a musket-ball entered his head, and he fell mortally wounded. His second in command, brigadier-general Kempt, then directed the movements of the men, who, supported by a German battalion, and one of Kilmansegge's Hanoverian brigade, forced the enemy before them, down the slope. For a brief space, a diversion was made by Milhaud's cuirassiers, who fell upon the Hanoverians before they could form into square, and nearly destroyed them. Lord Edward Somerset's brigade—the life-guards, royal horse-guards, and 1st dragoon guards—charged the cuirassiers as they were dashing forward, shouting "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Their progress was arrested, but they were not driven back without a determined struggle for the victory. At length the British prevailed.

The cuirassiers were compelled to retrace their steps, and many of them, forced to the edge of the precipice, were driven into a gravel-pit, and men and horses perished! There was great slaughter on both sides, but the British drove their enemies completely from the field.

There were many other heroic encounters, resembling those of the days of chivalry; in one of which lord Uxbridge, at the head of the 3rd hussars (king's German legion), again beat back a heavy body of cuirassiers, who had attacked the British right centre; Tripp's Belgian carabineers, whom his lordship first attempted to bring into the encounter, having broken and fled. In returning, the 3rd were attacked by fresh regiments of the enemy's horse, and so outnumbered, that they retired behind the squares. Wellington, who calmly observed all the movements from his tree, now ordered up Chasse's Dutch brigade, and all his reserve, just as a regiment of Hanoverian cavalry, who had been ordered to check another advance of French horse, broke and fled, never halting till they reached Brussels, where their appearance as fugitives spread the greatest alarm. Adams's light brigade, a brigade of the king's German legion, and Chasse's Dutchmen, however, met the foe, and drove them from the field.

While these brilliant episodes of the battle took place, the French obtained their only success of the day. They attacked the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, which was assailed, at once, both by the fire of infantry and artillery. The Germans and Nassau riflemen defended it with the most determined courage, and three times repulsed an attempt to carry it by storm. The barn, however, caught fire; and the defenders, having nearly expended their ammunition, were obliged to cease firing, except as a favourable opportunity presented itself for taking off an enemy. The French then made a fourth attempt to carry the post; they burst in the doors, but the Germans defended them with their bayonets. They then ascended the walls and roof, and poured down a fire upon the defenders, who were gradually reduced in number. At last the French made good their entrance, and then they gave no quarter, but bayoneted all the survivors. Having gained this success, Bonaparte held the spot till the last; but it was unavailable for any operations, from the constant discharge of grape and shrapnells from the British guns.

During the day repeated attacks were made on Hougomont; and once Foy's division passed through the wood on the right, and gained the heights in the rear; but it was soon driven back, with great loss, by the Coldstreams and 3rd guards. Irritated by their repeated repulses, and by the terrible slaughter of their men, by the fire from the château, and from the cannon on the heights, the French artillery commenced

throwing shells upon the house. The old tower caught fire; the flames reached to the chapel, where many of the wounded had been placed, and they all perished! Still the guards held their ground, and maintained the post. The slaughter was immense: 1,400 of the defenders fell; and the loss of the French, in killed and wounded, is estimated at 8,000 men!

And thus passed the day. The attack on the centre, the left centre, and those on La Haye and Hougomont, varied the onslaught upon the squares, which continued, as we have stated, for ten hours. The resistance offered by that splendid infantry forms one of the most memorable events in military history. At one period of the battle, *seventy-seven* squadrons of cavalry, filling up the whole open space between La Haye Sainte and Hougomont, were engaged in the assault; and, to protect his men, Wellington withdrew them, as much as possible, behind the ridge. In the interval of the charges, they laid down, to avoid the driving shot, the artillery in front playing upon the enemy. But, as soon as the French horse came near, the artillerymen took one wheel off every gun-carriage, and retired behind the squares; and the infantry, jumping up, poured in a deadly volley, which almost invariably caused the assailants to recoil. If they did press forward, and come in contact with the squares, they were received by the bayonets of the front ranks, and another volley sent them back. The gallantry on both sides was great; but the firmness of the British astonished all the French officers: "they seemed," said general Foy, "as if they were rooted into the ground."

The day was indeed an anxious one for Wellington, who watched with his eagle eye all these movements, whilst he was eagerly listening to catch some sounds, which would assure him that the Prussians were approaching. As we have seen they had reached Wavre, followed by Grouchy, who had been ordered by Napoleon never to lose sight of them. Blucher, on the 18th, marched to support Wellington, leaving Thielman at Wavre, who, with only 15,200 men, sustained, all day, the attacks of 30,000. The defence of Wavre was also a street and house fight; and the bridges over the Dyle were hotly contended for; but they remained, at night, in the hands of the Prussians. Whilst one part of his army was thus gallantly defending Wavre, Blucher, with Bulow's and Ziethen's divisions, was advancing to Waterloo. The troops had to clear the defile, through the forests behind Frischermont, a task, which from the bad state of the roads, called forth all the energies of the men. After several hours' toil, wearied and exhausted, the cry ran through the ranks, that they "could not get on!" But, exclaimed Blucher, "you must get on. I have pledged my word to Wellington, and you would not have me break it. Courage, my children!

yet another effort, and you will gain a glorious victory!" The effort was made, and was successful. Shortly after five o'clock the advanced corps, 16,000 strong, commanded by Bulow, cleared the passes of St. Lambert, gained the rear of the French right, and, marching *en echelon*, attacked them on their flank. Pushing forward, and pouring in a rapid fire, they drove back the cavalry commanded by general Dumont, and captured Planchenoit, considered the bulwark of the French right flank. Morand, and four battalions of the old guard, recovered the post, and drove the Prussians back into the wood. But the second Prussian corps, under Ziethen, was, by this time, rapidly advancing by Ohain; and, as Bulow's men soon left the wood, and renewed their attack, Napoleon resolved to make one more effort to drive the British from the field. For this purpose, he called the old imperial guard into action: they were formed in the centre, along with eight battalions of the middle guard, with Reille's division on the left, and the remnant of D'Erlon's on the right. Napoleon entrusted to Ney the task of striking the last blow, and winning the victory. The artillery of the guard did not this time accompany the advancing columns; but, dividing, and taking up a position on each side of the heights from which the troops had to descend, they opened a destructive fire on the British batteries. Under its cover the guards began the descent, the emperor addressing a few words to them as they were gaining the plain which ran between the two ranges of hills; to which they replied with loud shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" It was about half-past seven o'clock when these gallant fellows emerged from a field of rye, and commenced the ascent of the British heights; the cannon, from those heights, loaded with canister-shot, discharging round after round into their ranks with the most fearful rapidity.

Wellington had not been unmindful of this movement, and, to meet it, he had the British guards formed on the crest of the hill, with Halket's brigade (the 73rd, 30th, 33rd, and 69th) on the left; and Adams's (the 52nd, 71st, and part of the 95th) on the right. The cavalry were in the rear, ready to support the infantry; and, till the moment for decisive action arrived, the British soldiers were ordered to lie down in a ditch that flanked the road which ran on the summit of the ridge they occupied. Wellington was on the spot, and he watched the French as they made their advance, undaunted by the terrific fire from the artillery, which was at length somewhat checked by the well-directed fire of the French tirailleurs, who picked off many of the gunners. On they marched, Ney's horse being shot under him, and he leading them on foot, and they had got within forty paces of the British, when the duke gave the order for attack-

ing them. The words were scarcely uttered when the men were on their feet, and had poured a volley upon the French, which brought nearly the whole of the first and second ranks to the ground. The word "Charge!" was next given, and the guards rushed on at double-quick time. "At that moment the setting sun, as if a partner in their triumph, for the first time on that eventful day, burst through the surrounding clouds, and gleamed with happy omen on the British bayonets as they rushed forwards. Nor horse nor foot could stand before that triumphant onset. Wellington himself rode among the foremost, directing every movement, and so regardless of his own safety as to call forth the remonstrances of those around him. So much had his exertions during the day exposed him to the enemy's fire, that the greater part of his staff was killed or wounded; but Providence watched over him, and he was still unhurt. The commander of the cavalry had worse fortune. As lord Uxbridge was quitting the duke, with the intention of leading Vivian's brigade himself, in this its last charge, he was struck on the thigh by a grape-shot, and was forced to relinquish that honour to others. But Vivian showed as much judgment as valour. Vandaleur, who, on lord Uxbridge's fall, succeeded to the command of the cavalry, brought up another brigade to Vivian's support, and the two commanders proceeded triumphantly, scattering the yet unbroken cavalry, preventing any rally on the part of the disordered infantry, and storming and capturing the still active batteries. Even the presence and ex- of Napoleon himself were insufficient to arrest the disorder. It had become a rout. He had struggled to the last; and as our guards and light division advanced, had thrown himself into one of the squares of his guard, in the vain hope that they might yet stem the torrent that was overwhelming their comrades. Presently they too were driven back; and, exclaiming 'that all was lost for the present,' he rode slowly from the field. Wellington pushed forward without halting till he reached Genappe, and there, late at night, he was overtaken by Blucher.* Finding that there was no longer the slightest attempt at resistance on the part of the French, and that the Prussians were in sufficient force to undertake the pursuit of the beaten enemy, in which the British were far too fatigued and exhausted to share, he returned to the field of battle; and, having ordered his army to bivouac on the ground which had been occupied in the morning by the enemy, he returned for the night to his old quarters at Waterloo."†

The retreat of the French was one of continued disaster; the horse artillery and cavalry of the Prussians pressed hard upon them. Napoleon

* The two heroes met near a hamlet called the Maison du Roi, beyond La Belle Alliance, and near Genappe.

† Yonge's *Life of Wellington*.

put himself and staff under the guidance of a Belgian peasant, who, either by accident or design, conducted them and the army into a narrow defile, which led to a bridge crossing the Dyle, when there were several other roads leading to practicable fords. The Prussians came up with them, opened a heavy fire, and captured sixty pieces of cannon, with which the fugitives attempted to defend themselves. The emperor and his staff with difficulty crossed the bridge; but his camp-equipage and carriage were taken. "Many officers and soldiers, preferring death to captivity, shot each other to escape, by a voluntary destruction, the shame of such a defeat. Nine times during this night the remains of the army attempted to resist, and to establish their bivouacs at points easily defended; but as often did the Prussians, animated by Blucher, storm their entrenchments and disperse these masses; without chiefs, and almost without arms."* The next day they reached the Sambre: four days before, a triumphant army of 120,000 men, they had crossed that river; only about 40,000 recrossed it on the 19th of June; and they had with them only twenty-seven guns.

The slaughter at Waterloo was immense. The British had 1,417 killed; 4,923 wounded; and 582 missing—total, 6,922. The king's German legion, Hanoverian, Brunswick, Nassau, and Belgian loss was, killed, 1,530; wounded, 5,006; missing, 2,105—total, 8,641: the number of Prussians killed was 1,255; wounded, 4,387; missing, 1,386—total, 7,028:—grand total, 22,591. The loss of the French was much greater. The British officers estimated that at least 25,000 were killed and wounded on the field; and of those sabred in the pursuit no account could be given. The fine army which was collected the first week in the month was totally broken up and destroyed; nearly all its guns, and a number of its eagles, remaining as trophies in the hands of the enemy. The field of battle long presented a sight most harrowing to every humane feeling. After the wounded were removed, the dead bodies lay for days intermingled with all the *débris* of the fight—"helmets and cuirasses, shattered fire-arms and broken swords, and every variety of military ornament." And there were far more painful sights than these—mothers, sisters, wives, sweethearts, searching amongst the bodies for the objects of their affections, and "weeping because they were not." In the mass of dead, men of all ranks and nations lay without distinction. The general, the colonel, and the captain lay side by side with the sergeant, the corporal, and the private; "chasseur and hussar were intermingled; and the heavy Norman horse of the imperial guard were interspersed with the grey chargers which had carried Albyn's cavalry." But all except the voice of lamentation was still, and the picture of sorrow and of grief, of death and

destruction, which the field of Waterloo presented—all exhibited in fearful colours the horrors and calamity of war, and spoke of the awful responsibility of those who wantonly and unnecessarily plunge nations into hostilities.

But the actors in these scenes could not spare the time to dwell upon them, or reflect upon the consequences—for them action was necessary. Napoleon was beyond the Sambre on the 19th of June. There were two courses for him to pursue: to remain with his army; recall Grouchy; concentrate all his scattered troops; and fall back upon Paris, slowly and orderly, fighting every inch of the way. This was the course recommended by his officers; and, if the country had been with him, it might have yet secured the throne, which had been the great object of his desire. The other course was to leave his army, return to Paris, and be the bearer of the news of his defeat; to surprise and overawe the representatives; seize the dictatorship; and contend in the capital for empire and for life. This was the plan Napoleon resolved to pursue; and, dispatching a messenger to Grouchy—who that morning had repulsed an attack made upon him by Kielman—ordering him to retreat by Namur, he himself set out for Paris, leaving the remnant of his army to follow, under the command of Jerome.

Louis XVIII., by the advice of the duke of Wellington, also crossed the frontier, and made once more for his capital, having, under the influence of the same judicious advice, been induced to dismiss M. Blacas, considered as his most reactionary minister. On the 25th of June, he was at Château-Cambresis, and there he issued a proclamation to the people of France; in which, after taking credit for having prevented the Bourbon princes from joining the foreign armies, who had been again the instruments of divine vengeance upon the usurper of his rights, he announced his return to his country, "to re-establish the constitution; to apply remedies to the evils that revolt and war had brought upon the kingdom; to reward the good—punish the ill-disposed; and rally round his throne that people whose courage, fidelity, and devotion had been the consolation of his exile." He issued a second proclamation when he arrived at Cambray, in which, asserting that the principle of legitimacy in sovereign power was the most essential fundamental basis of social order; he added, that "he had previously consecrated that principle in his charter, and it was his intention to add to that charter all the guarantees that would be required."

The allied generals lost no time in advancing on Paris. Before crossing the frontier, Wellington issued an order of the day to his army, desiring the troops to remember that France was a friendly country, and that they were to take nothing for which payment was not made. He also addressed a proclamation to the French

* Lamartine.

people, stating that he entered the country as a friend, not as an enemy. The allies were only enemies to the usurper, with whom there would be neither truce nor peace; and their object was, to enable the nation to throw off the yoke which oppressed them. The English general advanced upon Paris by the left bank, and Blucher by the right bank, of the Seine. On the 30th of June, Wellington's light cavalry were under the walls of the capital; Colville's division of British and Hanoverians having carried Cambray by assault; and the guards stormed Peronne la Pucelle on the way: the former achievement taking place on the 24th, the latter on the 25th. Blucher, on his route, masked the fortresses of Maubeuge, Landrecy, and Philippeville; took St. Quentin; defeated the rear-guard of Grouchy at Villers-Cotterets, with the loss of six guns and 1,000 men; and halted on the 29th in front of the French position, between St. Denis and Vincennes. The French troops, in the meantime, had reached the city, and taken up their position, the main army being joined by Grouchy, with his division, at Soissons on the 30th of June.

Napoleon had halted at Philippeville on the 20th, before the Prussians reached that town. There he was joined by Maret, his secretary of state, and by the secretaries of his cabinet, who escaped from the field with difficulty on the 18th, and had not been able to reach him before. There he drew up his bulletin of the battle of Mont St. Jean (the name he gave to his last engagement), for his ministers. It "was full of reservations and half confessions, of intentional confusion in the facts and the results of the battle—admitting a reverse, but yet without acknowledging despair."* There, also, he addressed a confidential letter to his brother Joseph, in which there was no concealment. He acknowledged the disaster which had befallen him to its full extent; appealed to the affection of his relatives, whom gratitude ought to bind to him as well as interest; and added—"Perhaps all is not yet lost. I suppose that, on rallying my forces, I shall have 150,000 men left. The *fédérés* will furnish me with 100,000 more, and my dépôts with 50,000. I shall thus have 300,000 to oppose immediately to the enemy. I shall draw my artillery with private carriage horses; I shall raise 100,000 conscripts, and arm them with the muskets of royalists and cowards. I shall raise *en masse* Dauphiné, the Lyonné, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Champagne; but I must be assisted, and not worried. I am going to Laon, and shall doubtless find some forces there. I have heard nothing of Grouchy. If he does not surrender, I may have in three days 50,000 combatants in hand, with which I shall occupy the enemy, and give Paris and France time to do their duty. All may yet be retrieved. Write me word what impression this horrible

* Lamartine.

disaster has produced on the chambers. I suppose the deputies will be duly impressed with their duty in these grave circumstances, and that they will unite with me in saving France. Prepare them to second me in a becoming manner." Thus far the letter was penned by his secretary from his dictation. At the bottom was added, in his own handwriting, "Courage and firmness!—Napoleon."

Having sent off his despatches, for the first time since the 17th, Napoleon laid down on a bed. Soon after Soult arrived with a carriage that had been saved from the general pillage; and the emperor, being awakened, got into it with Bertrand (Soult having proceeded on to Paris), and continued his retreat—Maret, Drouet, Dejean, Corbineau, Flahaut, and Labédoyère, De Canisy, his equerry, and De Bissi, his aide-de-camp, following in two post-chaises; 200 infantry and cavalry, which had come into the town by twos and threes, forming their escort. He travelled by Rocroy and Laon, drawing up at the latter place the public official bulletin of the battle, which did not attempt to conceal the great calamity. That dispatched, he continued his route with all speed, and arrived at the Elysée—which his brothers, Lucien and Joseph, had had prepared for his reception—at 4 P.M. on the 21st of June. There he sent for Caulaincourt, and found that that morning it had been known at Paris that the battle was lost on the 18th, and that France had no longer a grand army. That army, he told Caulaincourt, "performed prodigies, but a sudden panic seized it, and all was lost. Ney," he continued, "conducted himself like a madman. He caused my cavalry to be massacred. I can do no more. I must have two hours' repose, and a warm bath, before I can attend to business." At the expiration of that time, he again consulted with Caulaincourt, expressing his opinion, that nothing but a dictatorship would save the country, and that the majority of the chamber were well inclined—Lafayette, Lanjuinais, and a few others only being against him.

He was mistaken: the chamber was greatly divided in opinion; but his friends were insignificant in numbers, and without influence. His brother Lucien, and Carnot, were in favour of a dictatorship; but Lafayette, Dupin, and other leaders of the popular party, wanted to make the chamber of deputies absolute, as the national assembly had been a quarter of a century before; whilst Fouché was secretly intriguing for the return of the Bourbons. The chamber met the same day that Napoleon arrived at the Elysée; and, after some discussion of the news of the morning, the abdication of Bonaparte was suggested, much to the annoyance of Lucien. A secret committee was appointed, and met at six o'clock in the evening, to consider the suggestion, when Lucien, warmly supporting the cause

of his brother, reproached France for not having evinced more ardour, devotion, and constancy to the emperor. He was ably replied to by M. de Lafayette. "By what right," he asked, "is the nation accused of a want of energy and devotion towards the emperor Napoleon? It has followed him to the burning sands of Egypt, and the icy deserts of Moscow; in fifty battle-fields—in disaster as well as in triumph. In the course of ten years, three millions of Frenchmen have perished in his service. We have done enough for him. Now it is our duty to save our country." At eight o'clock the public sitting was resumed. Both peers and deputies met, and a joint committee was appointed, to determine upon the measures required to secure the public safety. The feeling in favour of abdication was so strong, that the warmest friends of Napoleon found it was impossible to resist it. On the 22nd the chambers met early, and it was resolved to demand that the immediate abdication of Napoleon should be given in. At the urgent request of Lucien, one hour was allowed him; at the expiration of which, Lafayette declared that, if an answer were not returned, he would move his dethronement. The ministers repaired to the Elysée with this resolution: Fouché was one of them. When Napoleon heard their message—Regnault St. Jean d'Angely at the same time telling him, that at the expiration of an hour his dethronement would be irrevocably pronounced—he turned to Fouché and said, "Write to these gentlemen to keep themselves quiet; they shall be satisfied." He then retired with Lucien into a private cabinet, where he dictated his abdication—"offering himself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France." He declared his "political life terminated;" proclaimed his "son, under the title of Napoleon II., emperor of the French;" instituted the ministers as a "provisional council of government;" and recommended "that the chambers should immediately enact a law for the organisation of the regency." His abdication was dated from "the palace of the Elysée, June 22nd, 1815:" and thus, four days after his defeat at Waterloo, Napoleon was again excluded from the throne. In the evening, deputations from the two chambers waited on Napoleon, to thank him for his compliance with their wishes. He received them very coolly, and told them with emphasis, that he resigned the crown only in favour of his son, and that, if the chambers did not proclaim him, his own abdication would be void.

The chambers had no intention, however, of proclaiming the young Napoleon, though at that time the majority of the members were against the return of the Bourbons. But, like most public bodies, they were led by the clever and the artful intriguer. When the deputies met next day, with power in their hands, they appeared at a loss what course to pursue. Ville-

main contended, that abdication was civil death, and that a monarch who abdicated had no right to name his successor. Labédoyère, and a few others, argued, that the abdication ought to be strictly carried out; and, in the peers, Davoust read a report, which took a favourable view of the military resources of France. Carnot began speaking in support of the statements of Davoust, when Ney, who had only just reached Paris, declared they were false, and that it was utterly impossible to resist the allies, who, in six or seven days, would be at their gates. He appealed to his position for the truth of his statements; "for what have I to gain," he asked, "by the return of the Bourbons, but to be shot for desertion? but I owe the truth to my country." In the deputies, Dupin, Boissy D'Anglais, and all the popular leaders, opposed the recognition of Napoleon II. But what were they to do? Were they to have a regency? "No;" said Fouché, "let us have a commission of five members, taken from each chamber, to carry on the government." This proposal was adopted; and it was supposed this commission must be hostile to the Bourbons; as of the five members who composed it, Fouché, Quinette, and Carnot had been regicides; Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, was implicated in the affair of the duke d'Enghien; and Grenier, who is characterised as "a good man," was looked upon as a patriot. Fouché had the influence or address to get himself named president of the commission, whose proceedings he directed into the course he wished them to take. As soon as Napoleon heard of what had been done, he saw that he must yield; and he exclaimed—"That infamous Fouché has deceived all." He, however, made one more attempt to retain some of his former power, and not to be entirely laid aside. On the 27th, he wrote to the chambers, offering his services as general, wishing only to be considered "the first soldier of his country." His offer was at once refused.

The armed force that was approaching Paris, and not the chambers, held the fate of France in their hands; and it was well for the nation that it did do so, or the country would have been again distracted by internal commotions. There were Bonaparte, Bourbon, Orleanist, and republican parties, and all were struggling for the ascendancy. The Austrian government was naturally inclined to favour the pretensions of the emperor's grandson; but Wellington had come to the decision, that the best interests of France and of Europe required the restoration of the Bourbons; Austria gave way; Russia and Prussia took the same view; and that was the step which they resolved to call upon the French chambers to take. As the allies were marching on Paris, the commission dispatched envoys to them, to solicit the commander to arrest their march and conclude an armistice. Fouché publicly recommended this step; while he

was secretly intriguing with Oudinot and Davoust, who, finding the cause of the young Napoleon hopeless, had coalesced with Macdonald and the royalists—all admitting, that as defence was, as Ney had declared, impossible, they had no alternative but to recall Louis XVIII. They were desirous of preventing the humiliation of a second occupation of France by a hostile force; and Macdonald and Hyde de Neuville were sent to Louis XVIII. to get him to use his influence with the allies to effect this object. These missions had no results. Wellington was resolved to insist on the recall of the Bourbons, as an indispensable condition of peace; and, that condition conceded, he would have agreed to stop short of Paris: Blucher would not. The two armies, therefore, continued their onward march. On the 29th of June Blucher established his head-quarters at the château of St. Cloud; and Wellington, on the 30th, took possession of the château of Neuilly.

The allies took up their positions without any opposition; the French troops, scattered in various directions, retiring upon Paris. Blucher's advanced guard, under general Ziethen, was placed on the heights of Meudon, and in the village of Issy. There, on the 1st of July, they were attacked by the French, who were beaten, and compelled to retire with the loss of 1,000 men: this was the last fighting. Davoust had 80,000 troops in and about the capital; but, under the influence of Fouché, it is supposed, he resolved to capitulate, though the united English and Prussian forces, before the city, were not greatly superior in numbers. Commissioners had been sent to both armies: general Macirone to Wellington, and general Tromelin to Blucher; and Davoust, after the action of the 2nd, wrote to Ziethen, proposing an armistice. The reply was, that a suspension of arms could only be obtained by the surrender of Paris. On the 3rd, Bignon, general Guilleminot, and the préfet Bondy, were sent to St. Cloud, with full power from Davoust, to conclude an agreement for the evacuation of the city by the French troops. By this agreement—at first termed a "capitulation," but which term the influence of Fouché was the means of changing into "convention"—it was stipulated, that the French army should retire behind the Loire, with its field artillery, and all its war *matériel*; whilst, by the 11th and 12th articles, it was especially provided, that "all public property, with the exception of that connected with warlike defence, whether belonging to government or the municipality, should be respected; and the allies would not interfere with it in any way: individual persons and private property were also to be respected. The inhabitants, and in general all persons who were then in the capital, should continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being liable to be disturbed, or subject

to any inquiry relative to the positions they occupied, or might have occupied, or to their conduct or political opinions." By other articles, it was provided that the army was to commence retiring on the following day; and, in one week, Paris was to be entirely evacuated.

On the 4th of July, accordingly, the troops began to leave Paris; and, on the 6th, the advanced guard of the allies entered. The main body took possession of the city on the 7th, when Wellington and Blucher, with the British and Prussian forces, passed the barrier of Neuilly, and occupied all the military points of the capital. The entry was a very different spectacle from the first entrance of the allies in March, in the previous year. *Then* all was pleasurable excitement: "joy beamed in every eye; hope was buoyant in every heart; all felt as if rescued from death." *Now*, though the allies defiled through the capital, "with a proud step, and beating hearts," the French "regarded them with melancholy and anxious looks. Few persons were to be seen in the streets; hardly any sound but the clang of the horses' hoofs;" and the quick, sharp, regular tread of the infantry, "was heard as they marched through the city."* The Prussians were looked upon with fear and distrust; the English, with more hope and confidence; and whilst the latter—the posts being properly garrisoned—encamped in the Bois de Boulogne; the former established themselves in the churches, on the quays, and in the principal streets.

The allies had wished the chambers to take the initiative in recalling Louis XVIII.; but they seemed by no means inclined to adopt that proceeding. They met on the 4th of July, and the convention was communicated to them; and Garat—after stating, in the chamber of deputies, that the best had been done under the circumstances in which they were placed—proposed a "declaration of principles," which the chamber adopted. The first article shows its tendency: "All power emanates from the people: the sovereignty of the people is composed of a combination of the rights of all the citizens." The chamber published another declaration, in which the members professed to define their position as representatives of the people; to set forth their duties, declare their opinions, and express their wishes. They also voted thanks to the army, to the national guard, and to all that had taken up arms; placing under their protection, and that of all the citizens, the national colours. They carried on their assumption of power, when they must have known, as they would not recall Louis, that they would soon be deprived of it, by framing and voting, on the 6th, fifty-one articles of the draft of a new constitution.

In the meantime, Fouché was taking his own measures, and maturing his own plans. In the

* Alison.

evening of the 5th he had an interview with the duke of Wellington, at Neuilly; and when he returned, he told those who were in his confidence, that Louis would re-enter Paris shortly, without any conditions. The king was then on his way to the capital, in the rear of the allies; and, on the 7th, Fouché left Paris, and had an interview with the monarch, at the château of Armonville, near Gonesse. Talleyrand accompanied him; and Louis, for the first time, met the celebrated duke of Otranto. As he had voted for the death of Louis XVI., it was a moment of embarrassment for both, from which they were relieved by Talleyrand, who remarked to the king, that "he had brought to his majesty's feet one who had just rendered the most valuable services, and who had it in his power to render still greater, by saving him from the intrigues and machinations of his enemies." After a short pause, Louis told Fouché, that, in consequence of his past services, and those which he still expected from him, he would retain him as minister of police: a long consultation followed, as to the best course to be pursued. On this occasion there is no doubt that Fouché gave the king good advice. He presented to him a memoir, fraught with moderate counsels, and strongly recommending concession and conciliation. He also urged, that the tricolour should be retained as the national colour, which Louis positively refused to sanction. Before the interview ended, the ministry was arranged. Talleyrand was appointed minister of foreign affairs, and president of the council; baron Louis, minister of finance; De Jaucourt, of marine; Pasquier, of justice; Molé, of bridges and roads; St. Cyr, of war; Fouché, of police; and the duke de Richelieu was to succeed M. de Blacas as minister of the household of the king.

On his return to Paris, Fouché met his colleagues, and informed them that the king and the allied sovereigns would enter the city on the 8th. He added, that his majesty had the best intentions; as a proof, he had appointed him minister of police. M. Carnot charged his colleague with treachery, accusing him of conspiracy with M. de Vitrolles, a known royalist, and with coming to a treacherous understanding with Davoust, to bring back Louis XVIII. "Ah!" replied Fouché, "you have discovered that Vitrolles is a royalist; I thought every one knew that; and the prince of Eckmühl is denounced as well as myself. Carnot had better go and arrest him in the middle of his camp; he may accuse me, too, from the tribune of the chamber: be it so, I await his attack." Carnot urged, that the provisional government should maintain their authority, and retire behind the Loire with the army. The proposition was negatived; and, to prevent any further manifestations, Fouché sent to the duke of Wellington,

and advised his grace to take military possession of the palace of the Tuileries and the two chambers.

The Tuileries was occupied the same evening: the Prussian soldiers arrived whilst the provisional government were sitting. Fouché, although the step was taken by his advice, professed great indignation, and drew up the following message to the chambers, which was immediately dispatched:—"Monsieur le Président,—Hitherto we were led to believe that the allied sovereigns were not unanimous in their choice of a prince who should rule over France: our plenipotentiaries assured us so on their return. Nevertheless, the ministers and generals of the allied powers declared yesterday, in the conference they had with me, that their sovereigns had taken the engagement to replace Louis XVIII. on the throne; and that, to-day or to-morrow, he was to make his public entry into the capital. Foreign troops have just now come to occupy the seat of government in the Tuileries. In this state of affairs, we can only offer up our prayers for our country; and, our deliberations being no longer free, we think it our duty to separate." Both peers and deputies were sitting when this message was communicated: the former separated in silence. The deputies were discussing the constitution, and the question of the hereditary peerage connected with it, when the message arrived. On its being read, M. Manuel said—"We will not separate; we must do our duty, and continue our deliberations;" adding, in the far-famed words of Mirabeau—"We are here by the will of the people, and we will not quit but by the force of bayonets." His speech was loudly applauded; the discussion of the constitution was resumed, and continued till six o'clock; then M. Lanjuinais, the president, adjourned the sitting to the next day. This occasioned a loud outcry; and a deputy exclaimed—"You adjourn until to-morrow, because you think that to-morrow an armed force will have possession of this room, and prevent us from assembling." "I do not think so," said M. Lanjuinais. They returned at eight o'clock the following morning, and found that British soldiers had taken possession of the chambers; and the officer in command told them, he had orders to prevent their entering.

During those two days, the 6th and 7th of July, the duke of Wellington found it a difficult matter to restrain the Prussians from destroying all the monuments of Paris, intended to perpetuate the memory of the French victories in the previous war. The bridge of Jena and the pillar of Austerlitz were particularly obnoxious to them. Under the orders of Blücher, preparations were made for blowing up the former; and the Prussian soldiers were only prevented from destroying the bridge by the strenuous interference of the commander-in-chief.

On the 8th of July, Louis XVIII. once more entered Paris, and proceeded to the Tuileries. He was surrounded by a foreign soldiery, by whom all the posts, streets, bridges, and gardens were occupied; and there was a general manifestation of the most melancholy feeling, on the part of the people, at thus having their monarch forced upon them by hostile hands; not unmingled with the expression of indignant ones towards those who had rendered such a consummation unavoidable. The same day, the minister of police declared that the provisional government was dissolved; the next, the names of the new ministry were published, and the second restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of his ancestors was complete. It differed widely in character from the first. That "was accomplished in the presence of the foreigner, but without his taking a direct part in it. This was effected under the influence of the duke of Wellington; but, truth requires it to be said, that the influence of the foreigner was at that time far from being anti-liberal. Alexander contributed in a great degree towards the concession of the charter; and the duke of Wellington determined the first constitutional measures of Louis XVIII. at St. Denis. Some days afterwards the royalist party exerted its influence on the sovereigns, and their opinions became violent against the revolution."*

Before we trace the future history of the restored Bourbons, let us glance at the last days of Napoleon in Europe.—After his abdication, he took up his residence at Malmaison, where none but melancholy recollections pressed upon him. Everything there reminded him of one who had been faithful to him till death, though he had discarded her for the sake of a royal alliance, which did not increase his happiness; and the bitter reflection was added, that she for whom he had forsaken Josephine, now appeared willing to abandon him in the days of his defeat and disgrace. He remained at Malmaison six days, his own wish being to embark for America; and the provisional government offered every facility in their power to enable him to do so. They sent general Becker to escort him to Rochefort, from which port it was thought he might embark for the west. He left Malmaison on the 29th of June, and arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd of July; and soon found that the British cruisers kept such strict watch on the port, that he had no chance of getting away. It is doubtful, when Napoleon first arrived at Rochefort, whether he did not contemplate once more resuming his imperial functions. He had travelled from Malmaison with all the pomp of an emperor, an immense number of carriages following him, in which he had collected the spoils of the palace he had just left, and of others that were within reach; and, on his route, he received proofs of attachment

* Capefigue's *Histoire de la Restauration*.

from both troops and people. He remained, balancing various schemes in his mind, from the 3rd to the 12th of July: on that day he received intelligence of the dissolution of the provisional government and the chambers, and of the entrance of Louis XVIII. into Paris. He then appeared to have made up his mind, if he could not cross the Atlantic, to "throw himself," as he expressed it, "on the generosity of the English." The *Bellerophon*, captain Maitland, was cruising off Rochefort; and Napoleon sent Las Casas and Savary to the captain, to solicit leave to proceed to America, either in a French or a neutral vessel. Captain Maitland replied, that "his instructions forbade him to comply with this request; but, if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there on board the *Bellerophon*, without, however, entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with, he being totally ignorant of what the intentions of the British government were as to his future destination." Napoleon then wrote the following letter to the prince-regent:—

"Your royal highness,—Struck at by the factions which divide my country, and by the hostility of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I have, like Themistocles, to place myself beside the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, and claim that protection from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.—NAPOLEON."

This letter was sent to captain Maitland, who offered to forward general Gorgaud, as the bearer, at once to London; adding, that if "Napoleon went to England, he could not make any stipulation as to his reception. When he arrived there, he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of the prince-regent." Napoleon resolved, notwithstanding, to proceed to England, and to forward his letter to the regent upon his arrival. On the 15th of July he embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, saying to captain Maitland, as he stepped on deck—"I come to place myself under the protection of your prince and your laws." He was received with the honours due to the military rank of a general, which he was considered to hold, and he appeared pleased with the attentions paid to him on board. On the 24th of July the vessel arrived off Torbay, and the letter was immediately forwarded to London. It is very probable, that if England had stood alone in the transaction, his appeal would have been successful; but she was bound to act with her allies; and, after his breach of the solemn engagement he entered into a little more than twelvemonths previously, it could scarcely be expected that any terms short of those which would absolutely preclude such another violation of faith, would be conceded. On the 31st of July, admiral lord Keith and Sir

Henry Bunbury (under-secretary of state for foreign affairs) arrived at Torbay, and went on board the *Bellerophon*, for the purpose of informing Napoleon that it was the irrevocable determination of the allies that he should not remain in Europe; and that St. Helena would be his future place of residence, under such surveillance as would preclude the possibility of evasion. At first he remonstrated vehemently against any such treatment, and said it was a breach of the agreement under which he delivered himself to captain Maitland; exclaiming, when he learnt the place of his future residence—"It is worse than the cage of Bajazet." He remained on board the *Bellerophon* till the 6th of August, when he was transferred to the *Northumberland*, the flag-ship of Sir George Cockburn. Before leaving the former vessel, he told captain Maitland, that "he had certainly made no conditions on coming on board the *Bellerophon*; that he had only claimed hospitality; and that he had no reason to complain of the captain's conduct." On the 7th the *Northumberland* sailed; and, on the 10th of October, the illustrious prisoner was landed on the little rock of the Atlantic, where he was destined to spend the remainder of his life. By a convention, signed at Paris on the 20th of August, between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the British government was entrusted with the custody of the exile's person, and proper precautions were taken to prevent his escaping from St. Helena as he had from Elba. Las Casas, general Bertrand, and his wife, and several other adherents, accompanied him; and, if he could have forgotten what he had been, and have stifled the voice of ambition, he might still have been happy. He lived, however, in a constant sea of agitation and strife; resisting regulations which he could not break, and causing a stricter surveillance to be kept over him than would have been the case had he shown himself more resigned to his fate. Sir Hudson Lowe, who was appointed governor of St. Helena in July, 1816, was greatly censured by him for his "tyranny" and overbearing oppression; but, on a fair investigation of all that Napoleon and his friends have written, it really appears that it was his own conduct that caused those exercises of authority of which he so much complained: that Sir Hudson Lowe only obeyed the orders of his superiors, and that not so strictly as Napoleon would have insisted that an officer of his own should have done under similar circumstances. Those orders were, that he should be treated with "all the respect due to his rank as a general," and receive "every indulgence consistent with security against his escape;" and he had every comfort and luxury the isle could afford. Perhaps if Sir Hudson had been somewhat more accommodating, there would have been less resistance. But his was a most difficult position to fill; and the evasion from Elba,

and its consequences, were ever present to his mind.

Many writers have expressed their views of Napoleon's character as an emperor—some favourable and others adverse. Perhaps Guizot's is as fair and as true a portraiture as we have met with. "He was endowed," writes the ex-minister of Louis Philippe, "with a genius incomparably active and powerful; much to be admired for his antipathy to disorder; for his profound instinct in ruling, and for his energetic rapidity in reconstructing the social framework. But his genius had no check, acknowledged no limits to its desires or will (either emanating from heaven or man), and thus remained revolutionary while combating revolution: thoroughly acquainted with the general conditions of society, but imperfectly, or rather coarsely, understanding the moral necessities of human nature; sometimes satisfying them with the soundest judgment, and at others depreciating and insulting them with impious pride. Who could have believed that the same man who had established the *concordat*, and reopened the churches in France, would have carried off the pope from Rome, and kept him prisoner at Fontainebleau? It is going too far to apply the same ill-treatment to philosophers and Christians—to reason and faith. Amongst the great men of his class, Napoleon was by far the most necessary for the times. None but himself could so quickly and so effectually have substituted order in place of anarchy; but no one was so chimerical as to the future; for, having been master of France and Europe, he suffered Europe to drive him even from France. His name is greater and more enduring than his actions, the most brilliant of which—his conquests—disappeared, suddenly and for ever, with himself. In rendering homage to his exalted qualities, I feel no regret at not having appreciated them till after his death. For me, under the empire, there was too much of the arrogance of power, too much contempt of right, and too little liberty."*

As a military man—as a commander—only one man of his day equalled Napoleon—Wellington. The strategical abilities of the former were of the highest order: he had, like the duke, the eagle-eye, which enabled him on the instant to detect a false movement, either on his own side or that of his enemy; and, though the reverse has been affirmed, his conduct at the bridge of Lodi, and on other occasions, shows that he was not deficient in personal courage. But he committed many great and glaring errors—as when he gave battle at Asperne, under such manifest disadvantages. His favourite maxim was, that "the first movement in retreat was the commencement of ruin;" and that frequently rendered him persistent in a course which he knew was doubtful and hazardous.

* *Memoirs of my Own Time*, vol. i., p. 45.

St. Cyr says that he "did wrong, knowing better than any one in the world that he was doing so; but overruled by a fatality which he felt it to be impossible to resist." His career, till a few months before its close, was marked by a brilliant success, which brought glory to France, and rendered him the idol of his soldiers, and of the majority of the French people: but every other nation in Europe had a right to pray for and contribute to his downfall. As M. Vieusseux truly remarks, if "the French people had a right to choose Napoleon for their ruler, and to be proud of him, the Germans, the Dutch, and the Spaniards had an equal right to dislike and oppose him, for his encroachments on them. Let not our judgments be led away by subsequent occurrences. Whatever disappointments followed the overthrow of Napoleon's power, whatever abuses may have remained, or been introduced since, they cannot obliterate from our mind the fearful recollection of that galling yoke—of that universal system of military despotism—which weighed equally upon every country and every nation." His armies were a most fearful scourge wherever they appeared. One of his own officers, general Foy, thus describes the desolation they occasioned:—

"Similar to the avalanche rushing down from

the summits of the Alps upon the valley beneath, our countless armies, by their mere passage, destroyed, in a few hours, the resources of a whole country. They generally bivouacked, and where they happened to halt, our soldiers demolished houses that had stood for a century, in order to construct with their materials those long, uniform villages, which were frequently destined to last but for a day or two. Where forest timber was not at hand, fruit trees of the most valuable kind (such as the olive, mulberry, and orange-trees), were felled for fuel; had our soldiers waited for supplies till the administration of the army supplied them with rations, they might have starved. The young conscripts, transported, by a magic power, from their quiet homes to the extremities of Europe, intermingled all at once with men of all countries; and, being irritated by want and danger, contracted a moral intoxication, of which we cared not to cure them, because it prevented their sinking under unparalleled fatigues. This disorder being considered as unavoidable, it became impossible to fix its limits; and it attached itself to our wars of invasion like a consuming cancer."

This is a terrible but true picture of the horrors which the wars of Napoleon carried into every country of Europe. Who can wonder that, if France mourned, Europe exulted in his fall?

CHAPTER IV.

THE STATE OF FRANCE; ITS OCCUPATION BY THE ALLIES; ADMIRABLE CONDUCT OF THE BRITISH TROOPS; WORKS OF ART CLAIMED AND RESTORED; ELECTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES; PROSCRIPTIONS; DISSOLUTION OF THE ARMY; TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF LABEDOYERE; THE PEERAGE DECLARED HEREDITARY; POPULAR COMMOTIONS; MURDER OF BRUNE AND RAMEL; FOUCHE'S MEMOIRS; DECAZES; NEGOTIATIONS AND DEMANDS OF THE ALLIES FOR INDEMNITIES AND RESTORATION OF TERRITORY; THE HOLY ALLIANCE; THE RICHELIEU MINISTRY; THE SECOND TREATY OF PARIS; MEETING OF THE CHAMBERS; TRIAL OF LAVALETTE, AND HIS ESCAPE; TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF NEY; PROCEEDINGS IN THE CHAMBERS; MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE DE BERRI; THE AMNESTY; INSURRECTION AT GRENOBLE; VARIOUS EVENTS OF 1816; DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

LOUIS XVIII., once more established on the throne of his ancestors, found himself surrounded by difficulties. There was still an army not reconciled to his return; his ministry was composed of men not adequate to the occasion; his brother and the ardent royalists were urging him to acts of re-action and retaliation; the people were discontented; and jealousy reigned in the councils of his allies. The emperor Alexander was dissatisfied with the restoration, effected under the influence of England and the duke of Wellington, and arrived in Paris on the 10th of July—"stern," says M. Guizot, "and angrily disposed towards the king and his advisers." Under his influence, M. Pozzo di Borgo refused the ministry of the interior, which had been reserved for him; and the duke de Richelieu declined that of the royal household, assigning as his reason that private affairs required his

presence at Odessa, where he had resided several years as governor. Alexander was followed by Russian troops; and the allied forces continued, after Louis had taken possession of the government, to enter the French territory, till it was occupied by 800,000 men. Of these, the British and Prussians, 200,000 in number, were stationed in Paris and its environs, and in Normandy and Picardy—Wellington being the first, and Blucher the second, in command. The Austrians and Russians, under Schwartzenberg and Barclay de Tolly, 350,000 strong, were dispersed through the eastern provinces. Another Austrian army, joined by a Piedmontese force, and numbering 100,000 men, was posted between Geneva and Lyons. A Prussian and German corps, of 80,000 men, was in Belgium, and the Rhenish provinces; and a large Spanish *corps d'armée* made its appearance in Béarn.

The conduct of the Prussian and the English troops afforded a striking contrast, much to the advantage of the latter. But then their country had not been invaded and pillaged by the foe which now lay at their mercy. In Paris, the troops of Blucher were rude and harsh in their speech and manner—in the country, they often resorted to pillage. Wellington's, on the contrary, maintained the strictest discipline; his admirable regulations preserved order and protected property; and, so essential was the service they rendered in this respect, that the king requested the commander-in-chief to summon the principal officers to attend at the Tuileries, that they might be presented to him. After the introduction had taken place, he formed them in a circle, and, stepping into it, said—"Gentlemen, I am happy to see you around me. I have to thank you, gentlemen, not for your valour—I leave that to others—but for your humanity to my poor people. I thank you, gentlemen, as a father in the name of his children." The people of England have a right to be proud of this frank tribute to the humanity of their troops—humanity even more honourable to them than their bravery in battle.

General Muffler was appointed governor of Paris, the national guards and *gendarmérie* being placed under his orders. His own troops were placed in excellent quarters; and Blucher claimed for them not only comforts, but luxuries and indulgencies—ordering the municipality of Paris to furnish him with 100,000,000*f.* to defray the expenses of their maintenance. This sum was greatly reduced, still the exaction was considerable, and was keenly felt by the Parisians; who had to endure a humiliation even more painful, in the enforced surrender of the works of art, which had been so lavishly plundered from the other capitals of Europe, and brought to enrich the French metropolis, as trophies of victory. The allied sovereigns insisted that they should be given up; and, when Talleyrand protested, and appealed to the 11th article of the convention of the 3rd of July, by which all public property, except *matériel* of war, was protected, they replied, that the works of art and *virtu* now reclaimed, had been seized by the French armies, contrary to the law of nations, and were not the public property of France. The students of all nations, who were then at Rome, signed a memorial to the sovereigns, claiming the restoration of the beautiful pictures of Raphael, Titian, and others, which had once adorned the palaces of that city. All were ordered to be given up; and the extent of the plunder may be imagined from one fact. M. Schoell issued a catalogue of the various works of art, in which the "statues, paintings, antiquities, cameos, MSS., maps, gems, antiques, rarities, and other valuable articles," taken from Prussia alone, in the years 1806 and 1807, occupy fifty-three closely printed pages.

Talleyrand, as minister, found that these events made him unpopular with the people, while it increased the enmity of the ultra-royalist party, which rallied round the count d'Artois, and whose members regarded the spoliation, as they deemed it, of the Louvre, with much the same feelings as those which the citizens of Paris entertained towards it. As he did not find that Fouché added so much to his strength as he expected he would do, the prince resolved to dissolve the chambers of 1814, and to summon a fresh legislature, expecting thereby to acquire that support which he found necessary to maintain him in his position. The elections were preceded by a decree, issued by Fouché, forbidding the publication of newspapers, without the authorisation of the police, and re-establishing the censorship of the press. Of this decree Louis heartily approved; but Fouché's colleagues wished to have books and pamphlets exempted from the jurisdiction of the censor. The king was very reluctant to make this concession; at length he complied; and an *ordonnance* appeared, limiting the censorship to the newspapers and journals.

The elections were not at all favourable to the ministry. By a royal *ordonnance*, the king made some modifications in the charter, as to the qualifications of electors and deputies: the former were allowed to exercise their privileges on attaining the age of twenty-one; the latter, —whose number was increased from 262 to 395—were to take their seats at that of twenty-five years. The electors chose, in the first instance, "notables," who formed district and departmental electoral colleges, by whom the deputies were named. Had the government evinced a firm and well-sustained authority, it is probable that a majority of the deputies would have been returned in its favour. But the duke d'Angoulême had been sent into the south, by the king, with large power, for the organization of those departments. He there exercised the functions and the authority of the minister of the interior, as well as those of the minister of justice; and, in all his acts, he endeavoured to re-establish the supremacy of the old principles of the Bourbons. The appointments he made were conferred upon men of the most exalted royalist opinions. The ministry remonstrated with the king, and urged the necessity of the *prefets*, and other municipal officers, being men of more moderate principles. The king, who really wished to govern constitutionally, consented to the cancelling of the duke's appointments, and to the substitution of functionaries to be named by the ministers. Influenced by Talleyrand, the ministry evinced both impartiality and judgment in the selections they made; but the course adopted involved them in disputes with the duke d'Angoulême; in many instances their nominations were disregarded; and, throughout, the ministry evinced such signs

of weakness, that the electoral colleges—generally composed of men whose patriotism consisted chiefly in a desire to obtain place and patronage for themselves—thought that more was to be gained by supporting those who appeared likely to obtain, rather than those who appeared likely to lose, power. The great majority of the deputies returned, therefore, belonged to the ultra-royalist party; and Talleyrand found his position, weak as it was before, was rendered more untenable by the result.

Other measures occupied the attention both of the government and the public, simultaneously with those connected with the elections. One of these was the punishment of the most conspicuous adherents of Bonaparte during the hundred days. It would have been a humane policy, and, we believe, a wise one, to have proclaimed a general amnesty, and to have endeavoured to attach the supporters of the old to the new order of things, by acts of clemency; and by showing that, in all the attributes of good government, the monarchy was superior either to the empire or the republic. But the allied sovereigns and the royalists were alike desirous, that an example should be made of the most active agents in the brief struggle between the Napoleonists and the Bourbons; and Fouché—though he and Talleyrand were both hostile to anything that looked like vengeance for the past—was ordered to prepare a list of those on whom it was considered the sword of justice should alight. Several lists were made out before this matter was finally settled; at length, on the 24th of July, two lists were agreed to. They appeared in the *Moniteur* of the following day; one containing the names of nineteen persons, who were to be tried by court-martial; the other, those of thirty-eight military men and civilians, who were immediately to leave Paris, and reside wherever the minister of police should direct, till such time as they were brought to trial, or ordered, definitely, to quit the kingdom. The nineteen were—Asneil, Bertrand, Bruyer, Cambronne, Clausel, Debelle, Lefebvre, Desnouettes, Monton Duvernet, Drouet d'Erlon, Gilly, Grouchy, Labédoyère, Laborde, the two Lallements, Lavalette, Ney, and Rovigo. Amongst the thirty-eight were Arnault, Arrighi, Bassano, Carnot, Excelmans, Flahault, Lamarque, Lobau, Boulay de la Meurthe, Real, Regnault, Soult, Thibaudeau, and Vandamme. However defensible on grounds of strict legality this proscription might be, it was most reprehensible, emanating from the men it did. When the list reached Carnot, and he found himself put down among the proscribed, he went to Fouché, and said to him—"Traitor! where do you wish me to go?" Fouché, always cool, did not appear to feel the reproach concealed in the words; but replying—"Where you will, idiot!" turned on his heel, and left him. Davoust

warmly protested against the measure; observing, in a letter to Gouvion St. Cyr, that, as Grouchy, Clausel, and others, only acted by his orders, while he was minister of war, his name ought to have been put on the list, instead of theirs.

The next measure was the dissolution of the army of the Loire. This corps still kept together in great numbers; and although it was under the lilies, which Davoust, before he retired from its command, had substituted for the tricolour, it formed a body too powerful to be left with the means of acting in concert, at the command of any one disposed to interfere with the then order of things. The allies, therefore, demanded that it should be dissolved. The government issued a decree for its dissolution; and Macdonald, who had succeeded Davoust, on the 1st of August, undertook the task of breaking it up. The men were drafted into different provincial regiments; and in a short time this fine body of troops was dispersed into all parts of the country. One of the officers with the army of the Loire, was Labédoyère, whose name was in the first list of proscribed. He had joined that army after the capitulation of Paris; and, as soon as the lists of the proscribed appeared, he was advised to leave France. He resolved to do so, as it was, in fact, the only course left to save his life; but he could not bring himself to depart without taking leave of his wife, who was in Paris. He travelled to the capital by the diligence, in which there unfortunately happened to be an agent of police who knew him; and, immediately upon his arrival, he was arrested. A few days after, he was brought before a court-martial; and, as the facts which we have already mentioned in connection with his name, were sufficiently notorious, there could be but one result—a verdict of guilty, and a sentence of death. His mother and wife, both royalists, and the latter connected with a known royalist family, obtained an audience of the king, and throwing themselves at his majesty's feet, implored him to spare the life of the husband and son. Louis was inexorable, and refused their request; and, on the 19th of August, Labédoyère was shot.

Talleyrand very much disliked the proscription which the allies and the royalists had forced upon his government. He had, however, a little scheme of his own of a similar character, by which he hoped to strengthen his hands, and place himself, as the head of the ministry, in a firmer position. This was, to weed the chamber of peers, to a certain extent, of some of those who had been most conspicuous Bonapartists during the hundred days; and to replace them by friends and partisans of his own. He also wished to declare the peerage hereditary; and though the king was opposed to that measure, preferring to retain the privilege granted him by the charter, of conferring the peerage for life, or making it hereditary, as he pleased, Talleyrand carried his point. A number of the old peers were declared,

in consequence, incapable of sitting in the chamber again; and by an *ordonnance* of the 17th of August, ninety-two new peers were created. Talleyrand, however, only obtained the privilege of putting a few names on the list. The king, the princes, and princesses, and all the ministers, claimed and exercised the right of naming their own friends and favourites; and when the legislature met, the peers soon showed themselves to be as completely ultra-royalist as the deputies. On the 20th of August, another *ordonnance* appeared, declaring the peerage hereditary.

At this time, there were parts of France in which disturbances prevailed; and where bloodshed and rapine were the order of the day. The Bonapartists maintained themselves in Maubeuge, Condé, and the fortress of Hüningen, after the battle of Waterloo, and were not put down till many lives had been lost; but it was in the south that the greatest disorders prevailed, and they were caused by the royalists. That party had organised an insurrection in the towns of the south, previous to the 18th of June. Generals Verdier and marshal Brune commanded there—the former having his head-quarters at Marseilles. On the 25th of June, after news of the battle of Waterloo had arrived, Verdier left Marseilles with his troops, they not being sufficient in number to hold the place; and a scene at once terrible and disgraceful, ensued. The populace immediately rose, and massacred, indiscriminately, all they supposed to be tainted with Napoleonism. Their first victims were some Egyptians and Mamelukes, who had followed the French from Egypt fifteen years before, and had a refuge afforded them at Marseilles—men, women, and children, all were destroyed! Then the imperialists of their own country suffered: the night of the 25th, and the entire day of the 26th of June being spent in the commission of murder and pillage. At length, a body of men collected together, procured arms, and—assassins being always cowards—succeeded, with the loss of a few lives, in preserving the town from absolute ruin. General Verdier retired to Toulon. Marshal Brune, who was at the head of 7,000 men, resigned his command, early in July, to the marquis de la Rivière, who was sent down to supersede him by the government of Louis XVIII. He left his head-quarters for Paris; but he had, with or without reason, created many enemies amongst the royalists, and reports were circulated, that he intended to join the army of the Loire, and would return to the south at its head, to renew the war. It was also reported, that he was the man who bore the head of the princess Lamballe, on a pike, through the streets of Paris, when that lady was so cruelly murdered in 1792. This was an infamous calumny, but it had the effect of inflaming the public mind against the marshal. He passed through Aix, and proceeded to Avignon, arriving at the latter

town on the 2nd of August. The news that he was at the hôtel soon spread; and an infuriated mob at once proceeded thither. The national guard, with the mayor at their head, aware of the feeling amongst the populace, had been beforehand with them, and surrounded the building. The assailants could not force their way through the guard; and, on the other hand, it was found equally impossible to make way for the marshal's carriage through the mob. At length, a shout announced that a means of entrance to the hôtel had been found. Some ruffians passed by a row of adjoining houses to the roof, obtained an entrance in that direction, and shot the marshal in his room. His body was thrown into the Rhone, from whence no one dared extricate it; but, a few days after, it was cast by the current on a desert island at the mouth of the river, where it was found and recognised by a soldier, who had served under the gallant marshal; and he secretly committed it to the grave.

Marseilles was not the only place where murder and pillage were committed, nor was Brune the only distinguished victim. About the same time general Ramel was assassinated at Toulouse, and the brothers Faucher at La Reole. The Roman catholics at Nismes, and the south generally, also, who had been greatly annoyed by the law of the empire, which prohibited the forming of religious processions and the performing of religious ceremonies out of doors—as soon as the Bourbons were restored, and the troops which the emperor had generally found it necessary to keep in the south were withdrawn—instituted processions as a means of showing their joy at the fall of him whom they looked upon as their oppressor. They identified the protestants with the imperialists, and commenced a series of outrages, of which the former were the victims for nearly two months, as they commenced at the close of July, and were not suppressed till towards the end of September. It would appear that all the horrors of the early days of the revolution were re-enacted in this district, the perpetrators being royalists, and the victims quiet, inoffensive people, who had done nothing whatever to injure, insult, or offend their countrymen. But religious fanaticism and political zeal—though there is no proof that the victims were especial favourers of the Bonapartes—led to the greatest cruelties. Protestant females were stripped and publicly flogged: at Uzes, the protestants were brought out in couples and shot in the market-place; and, throughout the district, we are told, they “were literally hunted and slaughtered like wolves.” After the change of ministry—which we shall soon have to notice—took place, the outrages were suppressed, but none of the guilty parties were punished; and the principal leader of the mob of Nismes, named Tres-taillon, though brought to trial, was acquitted.

These outrages, coupled with the proscriptions

of Paris, and the trial and execution of Labédoyère, with other proceedings which were pending against the Bonapartists, induced Fouché—who, though he drew up the list of the proscribed, was, with Talleyrand, quite averse to shedding blood—to present a memoir upon the state of affairs, urging that an amnesty and conciliation should be substituted for persecution and the vengeance of the law, as the latter were sure, in time, to produce a fearful re-action. “The royalists,” he remarked, “might be the more numerous in some departments, whilst in others the numbers might be balanced, still those attached to the revolution, to its glories, and to those of the empire, when the whole country was taken into consideration, formed the great majority;” and the final result could not be doubtful. Whatever were the former tergiversations of the duke of Otranto, this memoir was in perfect accordance with the principles upon which he had taken office under Louis XVIII., viz., that forbearance should be manifested to the party of the revolution. The king, however, received it very coolly; it also offended Talleyrand; and, as the allied sovereigns were excessively indignant with Fouché, because he denied that France ought to be punished for the spoliations of Napoleon, as it was rather the sovereigns themselves who flattered and upheld him, than the French people, who made him what he was—he soon had not a friend left. The king was very anxious to get rid of him for another cause: M. Decazes had made a most favourable impression on his majesty, and he wished to make him minister of police. This employé—who afterwards became the king’s minister—was, in early life, private secretary to madame Bonaparte, and he then became an active and able magistrate of the court of assizes of the department of the Seine—had, during the hundred days, remained true to the Bourbons; and, after the second restoration, Fouché made him prefect of police. In that capacity, accident introduced him to the king, who was much pleased with his appearance, manners, and zeal; so much so that, in order to continue the intercourse accidentally commenced, his majesty ordered him, as prefect of police, to submit his reports directly to himself, instead of to his immediate superior, the duke of Otranto. As Louis XVIII., like most of the Bourbon family, was very fond of political and personal gossip, of which a man in Decazes’ position might always have plenty to retail, very probably the prefect availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him to improve the favourable opinion the king had conceived of him; at all events, it was on him his majesty looked as the successor of Fouché.

All this time the allied sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were residing in the French capital, and negotiations were carrying on by their ambassadors, and lord Castlereagh, on the

part of England, with the French government, for the purpose of placing France in a position, which would render her for the future unable to cause the other European powers uneasiness, by attacks on their independence. That government—Bonaparte being defeated and exiled, and Louis XVIII. restored—expected that the treaty of 1814 would be revived, and the *status quo* before the hundred days re-established. But this was by no means the intention of the allies. They deemed, that the events of 1815 completely annulled the agreement of 1814; and they were resolved to exact from France “indemnity for the past and security for the future.” The different states who had suffered from the wars of the republic and of the empire, all claimed indemnities to replace the enormous sums levied as contributions by the French armies, and for the restoration of the territories taken from them. Thus the Austrian plenipotentiaries required that Lorraine and Alsace should be given up; Spain asked for the Basque provinces; Prussia for Mayence, Luxembourg, and the other frontier provinces of France adjoining her territory; the king of the Netherlands raised his voice for the whole of the French fortresses of the Flemish barrier; the German powers required Franche-Comté and Alsace; and Sardinia demanded Savoy. Thus the hand of retribution seemed indeed to have fallen upon France, which, at the time, had no means of effectual resistance.

While their ministers were discussing with those of France the terms of the new treaty, which was to be the substitute for that concluded the previous year, the sovereigns were negotiating between themselves that famous agreement, which afterwards became known throughout Europe as “The Holy Alliance.” This treaty was signed at Paris on the 16th of September. The preamble set forth that “the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of Russia, had acquired, in the midst of the events of the three last years, the intimate conviction, that it is necessary to base the future policy of governments on the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God the Saviour.” Therefore—1st. “The three monarchies, conformable to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which ordain men to regard each other as brethren, will ever remain united in the bonds of a true and an indissoluble fraternity;” and “will, on all occasions, and in all places, lend each other assistance, aid, and succour.” 2nd. “The only principle in force, between either their governments or their subjects, shall be to render to each other reciprocal services; to testify, by unalterable benevolence, the mutual affection which ought to animate them; to consider each other as members of the one Christian nation;” and to confess that that Christian nation, “of which they and their people make part, have in reality no other sovereign than Him to whom

belongs all power, because in Him are found all the features of love and knowledge, and of absolute wisdom." 3rd. "All those powers who wish solemnly to profess these same principles shall be admitted with eagerness and affection into this holy alliance." This document was drawn up by the emperor Alexander, who, at that period, was much influenced by madame Krudener, a Russian lady who, from being one of the gayest of the gay, had become a religious devotee. She had been introduced to the emperor Alexander in 1814; followed him to Paris in 1815; and there she held prayer-meetings, which were attended by the most distinguished personages of the time, the lady herself wearing the dress of a priestess, and offering up prayer. She professed to believe that wars were to cease on the earth, and peace and good-will prevail. When the treaty became known, most of the other sovereigns of Europe adhered to it; but the prince regent of England, by the advice of his ministers—although no objection could be made to the principles upon which the document was based—declined to join them, on the ground that the treaty, being signed by the sovereigns alone, without the intervention of their ministers, he could not give his signature, as the English constitution forbade him to affix his name to any document which was not signed by a responsible minister.

The signing the "Holy Alliance" was followed, on the 19th of September, by the resignation of Fouché, who was appointed minister to the court of Saxony, and who had become so unpopular, that he was obliged to travel through France in disguise, under a feigned name. The dismissal of Talleyrand almost immediately followed the resignation of his colleague, it being intimated to the king, that better terms might be obtained for France by another minister, as the prince of Benevento had rendered himself unpopular with the allied sovereigns, especially with the emperor Alexander. The duke de Richelieu was then induced to take office, as president of the council, and minister of foreign affairs. As Talleyrand's colleagues retired with him, M. Barbé-Marbois was made keeper of the seals; M. Vaublanc minister of the interior; Clarke, duke de Feltre, minister of war; M. Dubonchage minister of marine; M. Corvetto minister of finance; and M. Decazes minister of police. Of this ministry M. Guizot (who held, under M. Barbé-Marbois, the post of secretary-general to the minister of justice,) says—"It entered upon office warmly welcomed by the king, and even by the party which had gained the ascendancy through the recent elections. It was indeed a new and thoroughly royalist ministry. Its head, recently arrived in France, honoured by all Europe, and beloved by the emperor Alexander, was to king Louis XVIII. what the king himself was to France, the pledge of a more advantageous peace. Two of his

colleagues, MM. Decazes and Dubonchage, had taken no part in public affairs previous to the restoration. The four others, MM. Barbé-Marbois, de Vaublanc, Corvetto, and the duke of Feltre, had recently given proofs of strong attachment to the regal cause. Their union inspired hope, without suspicion, in the public mind, as well as in that of the triumphant party." Talleyrand appeared to be very little annoyed by his loss of office. He had a large fortune, a winning address, and never failed in drawing round him a large circle of adherents. He made his palace, at the corner of the Rue St. Florentin, the head-quarters of the opposition; and his *salons* were the resort of the most distinguished men of the day. In their society he passed his time, frequently indulging in censure on the past, in sarcasm on the present, and in speculation for the future; the effect of all being to gather a party around him, over whom he never lost his influence, and which enabled him again to direct the policy of his country at a subsequent period.

That minister, when he quitted office, had left the negotiations with the allies far advanced. He had consented to very hard terms—the return of France to the limits of 1790; the occupation of the French territory by an army of 150,000 men for seven years; and the payment of an indemnity of 800,000,000*f.* The duke of Richelieu hesitated to accede to these conditions, and his influence with the emperor Alexander obtained some, though slight, modifications of them. A protocol, embodying the terms thus modified, was signed on the 2nd of October; but the diplomatists were very slow in bringing matters to a conclusion. The terms of the protocol were submitted to the congress, which had re-assembled at Vienna; the negotiations extended throughout October and into November; and the treaty was not signed at Paris till the 20th of the latter month. By its terms, peace and amity were declared to be re-established between the allies and France. The frontiers of the latter were restored to the state in which they were in 1790; and she thus lost nearly all the territory conceded by the allies in 1814. It was stipulated that 700,000,000*f.* (£28,000,000,) should be paid to the allies for the expenses of the war; and 735,000,000*f.* (£29,400,000) to various states, as indemnities for the contributions levied, and spoliation inflicted upon them. To secure these payments, all the frontier fortresses were placed in the hands of the allies, and garrisoned by 150,000 troops; Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia contributing 30,000 men each; and the smaller German states 30,000 collectively. The term of occupation was to be limited to three years, if the necessary arrangements could be completed in that term, and was not to exceed five years. The command of this

force was given, by the unanimous and cordial suffrages of all the sovereigns, to the duke of Wellington, whom the king of the Netherlands created prince of Waterloo, with the intent "to perpetuate by that title the recollection of his country delivered, and Europe saved." To that sovereign, England gave up all her share of the indemnity, amounting to nearly £5,000,000 sterling, that he might restore the barrier of fortresses against France, which his predecessor had destroyed.

Before the fortresses were garrisoned by the allies, the British troops, which amounted to 60,000 in number, were reviewed in the plain of St. Denis; and the Russian army, 160,000 strong, on the plains of Vertus. Both were splendid displays; "the rapidity of the British movements, the quick fire of their artillery, the terrible vehemence of their charge with the bayonet, being the subject of general surprise and admiration." The Russians were also universally allowed to be a fine set of men. After the review, the duke of Wellington said to Sir Charles Stewart (afterwards the second marquis of Londonderry), "Charles, you and I never saw such a sight before, and never shall again: the precision of the movements of these troops was more like the arrangements of a theatre, than those of such an army; but I still think my little army would move round them in any direction, while they were effecting a single charge."

On the same day on which the second treaty of Paris was signed, the plenipotentiaries of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, signed a treaty at Vienna, to which France was not a party. By it, those powers agreed to confirm and maintain "the perpetual exclusion of Bonaparte and his family from supreme power in France;" an agreement which they pledged themselves to enforce by the employment of their united armies, if necessary. The congress at Vienna, before it separated, confirmed the arrangements made previous to the return of Bonaparte from Elba; and settled the territorial division of the rest of Europe, with a view to maintain "the balance of power," and oppose a barrier to any future encroachments on the part of France. Many of the details of the treaty, which was finally adopted, were opposed by England, the only power which did not seek an enlargement of territory. Russia retained her share of Poland and Finland; to compensate Sweden for the loss of the latter, the possession of Norway was confirmed to her. The Rhenish confederation was continued, changing the title Rhenish to Germanic. Spain and Portugal were restored to their old monarchs and their old boundaries; and all the former Italian governments were re-established, except the republic of Venice, which was united to Austria; and that of Genoa, which was annexed to Sardinia.

Ferdinand was re-established on the throne of Naples, which Murat, while the negotiations were pending, made a desperate effort to regain. He had escaped to Corsica, after the overthrow of Napoleon, and there he planned an expedition against Naples. He sailed from the island with a few adherents, to land on the continent, persuaded that troops and people would rally around him. A gale dispersed his little fleet, when off the Calabrian coast, but Murat resolved to go ashore, though he was almost alone. He was seized soon after he landed, carried to Pezzo in chains, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. Before the sentence was executed, he wrote a short but affectionate letter to his wife and children; and, a few hours after, on the 13th of October, the sentence was executed. He met his fate bravely, pressing to his lips a portrait of his wife and children, which he always carried with him, as the muskets were levelled at his breast.

While the negotiations were in progress, on the 7th of October, Louis opened the ordinary session of the legislature, with a speech written by himself. He entered the assembly, accompanied by a splendid *cortège*, of which his brothers and the marshals of the empire formed part; and he read his address with great firmness. The "criminal enterprise," which had interrupted the peace restored to France, under the influence of which "all the sources of prosperity were re-opening,"—and the "convention regulating the present and future relations of France with the allies"—were its leading topics. "That convention," he said, "would be communicated to the chambers, without any reservation, when it had received the last formalities. They and all France would feel the profound grief which he felt on the occasion; but the salvation of his kingdom rendered it necessary." His majesty then detailed some pecuniary sacrifices he had made, to lighten, in some degree, the burthen imposed upon his people. "I have directed," he said, "that, this year, there should be transferred from my privy purse to the exchequer a considerable part of my revenue; my family, the moment they heard of my resolution, have done the same. I have ordered similar reductions in the salaries of my servants, without exception; and shall ever be ready to share in the sacrifices which mournful circumstances impose on my people." * * * "It is to give weight to your deliberations," he continued, "and to obtain myself the advantage of greater light, that I have created new peers, and augmented the number of the deputies;" and "it is with a sweet joy and entire confidence that I behold you assembled around me, certain that you will never lose sight of the fundamental basis of the felicity of the state, a cordial and loyal union of the chambers with the king, and respect for the constitutional charter. That

charter—on which I have meditated with care before giving it—to which reflection, every day, attaches me more—which I have sworn to maintain, and to which you all, beginning with my family, are about to swear obedience—is, without doubt, like all human institutions, susceptible of improvement; but I am sure that none of you will ever forget that, side by side with the advantage of amelioration, is the danger of innovation. To cause religion to flourish, to purify the public morals, to found liberty on a respect for the laws, to give stability to credit, re-organise the army, heal the wounds which have too much injured our country, to secure internal tranquillity, and cause France to be respected without:—these are the ends to which all our efforts should be directed.”

These were sentiments worthy a constitutional king, and it would have been well if the chambers had been disposed to carry them out; but the violent spirits amongst both the peers and deputies overpowered those who were inclined to moderate measures, and led to events, the reverse of what they anticipated, but which most thoughtful men concluded would be the result of their injudicious zeal. The first manifestation of the extreme royalist feeling was made when the peers and deputies were called upon to take the oath to the charter. The count d'Artois raised objections when it was presented to him; however, at last he complied, and took it, as did all the other princes of the blood who were present; the prince de Condé had feigned illness, and absented himself, that he might not be called upon to take the obligation. M. Jules de Polignac, and M. de Labourdonnaye positively refused to take the oath, saying it would violate their consciences to do so; they disapproved of some of the political principles involved in it; and with respect to religion, the article on the freedom of worship, they complained, did not make the pre-eminence of catholicism sufficiently prominent. The oath taken, the election of vice-president of the chamber of deputies led to a division, which showed the relative strength of the parties in that assembly. M. Lainé, the former president, whose conduct appears to have won general esteem, was re-elected, by 328 votes out of 346. A larger number of members voted on the election of vice-president. The royalist party, at the head of which was the count d'Artois, put forward the prince de la Tremouille; and the united moderate royalists and liberals, M. de la Rigaudie: the former was elected by 229 to 169 votes. The answer of the chamber of deputies to the king's speech, further developed the feelings of the majority of the members. After some general remarks upon the position of the country, this document proceeded:—“In the midst of our wishes for universal concord, and even to cement it, it is our duty to solicit your justice against

those who have imperilled alike the throne and the nation. Your clemency, sire, has been almost boundless: we do not come to ask you to retract; the promises of kings, we are well aware, should be held sacred. But we supplicate you, in the name of the people, who are nearly overwhelmed by the misfortunes of which they are the victims, so to act, that justice may advance where clemency has stopped; in order that those who, even now, encouraged by the impunity they have enjoyed, are not afraid to make a parade of their rebellion, may be delivered over to the just severity of the tribunals. The chamber will zealously concur in the passing of such measures as may effect that object. We will not speak of the necessity of intrusting the different branches of your authority to none but clean hands: in that respect, the ministers who surround you present sufficient guarantees. Their vigilance in its exercise will be the more easily applied, as the events that have occurred sufficiently revealed every sentiment, and laid bare every thought.”

The peers, although their address was more an echo of the king's speech than that of the deputies, were quite prepared to second the measures introduced by the latter, for the purpose of carrying out the above expression of feeling. The first law introduced was one to suppress seditious cries, which was brought in by M. Barbé-Marbois. It defined what were seditious cries, and proposed, that any one guilty of uttering them, should be imprisoned for a period not exceeding five years, nor less than three months. M. Decazes brought forward a second measure—a law to suspend individual liberty, and place extraordinary powers of arrest in the hands of the government. It proposed to enact, that any person arrested on a charge of being concerned in attempts against “the authority of the king, the persons of the royal family, or the safety of the state, might be detained in custody until the expiration of the law;” the termination of which was to be the end of the next session of the chambers, if it were not then renewed. All public functionaries, invested with authority in criminal matters, were to be intrusted with the execution of this law. Under its introduction a humane motive was concealed. The feeling against the protestants, in the south of France, had been productive, as we have shown, of great popular excitement, which led to outrages and massacres beyond the power of the government to prevent or to punish; it was thought that, by imprisoning those whose lives were threatened, they might be preserved from popular vengeance. A third measure, introduced by the minister of war, went to establish new courts, partaking of the character of courts-martial, for the trial of political offenders. These tribunals were termed “Prévôtal Courts.” Each court was to be composed of a provost and four assessors, presided

over by a provost-marshal; and it was to be competent to try persons accused of political crimes; such as attending seditious assemblages, uttering seditious cries, or making attempts on the life of the king, or any members of the royal family. These laws did not pass without opposition. Their injustice, and the oppression to which they might lead, were forcibly exposed by M. Lanjuinais, M. de Fontanes, and M. de Chateaubriand—ultra-royalist as the latter, at that period, undoubtedly was; but they were all adopted by large majorities, and were followed by two trials, and one execution, which were the subject of much discussion and irritation, not only in France, but throughout Europe.

After the lists of proscriptions had been published in July, the execution of the warrants of arrest was delayed, passports were furnished to the proscribed persons, and large sums of money were supplied to those who needed them, to facilitate their escape; no less than 459,000 francs (£18,360), being applied to this humane purpose. We have seen that Labédoyère, one of the *proscrits*, was arrested, tried, condemned, and executed, owing to his wish to see madame Labédoyère before he left France. The count de Lavalette, who, after he resumed his position at the post-office, had greatly facilitated Napoleon's advance on Paris, was warned to escape. Neglecting the warning, he was arrested, and brought to trial, on the 20th of November, on a charge of having "usurped the authority of director-general of the post-office, on the 20th of March; of having sent a letter to Napoleon, then at Fontainebleau, giving him information as to the state of the capital; and with having stopped the departure of all the journals, and all the ministerial despatches." He was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. On the night previous to the morning fixed for his execution, the 20th of December, madame de Lavalette, her daughter (twelve years of age), and her governess, were admitted to the prison to take a last farewell of the count. When the time for their departure arrived, madame de Lavalette, as was supposed, passed out in great affliction, leaning upon the governess and the child. When the turnkey went to the cell, however, it was found that the count had left the prison in his wife's attire, and that madame de Lavalette remained in his stead. Instant pursuit was made: but the plan—which had been arranged between madame de Lavalette, Sir Robert Wilson, and Messrs. Bruce and Hutchinson, two British officers—was so well laid, that it was unavailing. The count repaired to the lodgings of Sir Robert Wilson as soon as he quitted the prison; and, being supplied with the uniform of an English officer, Sir Robert drove him beyond the walls of Paris in his cabriolet. He succeeded in reaching Mons, and finally took up his residence at Munich, with the permission of the king of

Bavaria. The English officers, madame de Lavalette, and the governess, were arrested and tried before the *Cour Royale*; when the former were sentenced to a short imprisonment; and the latter were acquitted. The excitement, however, produced an aberration of intellect in madame de Lavalette; and when the count, in 1820 (his judgment being then superseded, and his pardon granted), returned to Paris, the pleasure of his return to his own country was grievously damped, by finding his faithful and noble-hearted wife in a state of confirmed mental alienation.

Ney was also one of those whom both Talleyrand and Fouché were very anxious to get safe out of France. He was furnished with passports, advised to go to Switzerland, and had reached the frontiers, when some trivial circumstance induced him to return. He went to the château of a relative, in the vicinity of Aurillac, in the department of Cantal; there he excited suspicion by imprudently displaying a sabre, which Napoleon had given him, and was arrested and conveyed to Paris; where, the marshals having refused to form themselves into a court-martial to try him, he was, on the 21st of November, arraigned before the chamber of peers, by whom he was found guilty of treason. There could be no doubt of the correctness of the verdict, or that, legally, he merited death; but his execution (the Achilles, as he was considered of the French army), was a great error on the part of the government. Efforts were made to obtain his pardon; and it was contended that he was included in the amnesty conceded by the capitulation of Paris. The duke of Wellington, when applied to by madame Ney, who earnestly and indefatigably exerted herself in her husband's behalf, told her, that the twelfth article of the capitulation had no reference to the king or the government of France; it was only intended to protect the inhabitants of Paris against the vengeance of a victorious army. "This interpretation," says an historian, who condemns the execution, "is the only one an unprejudiced person can admit." Care was taken to prevent madame Ney from having access to the king; and a large majority of the chamber of peers (amongst whom we find the names of Marmont, Serrurier, the duke de Valmy, Latour-Maubourg, and others who had been the marshal's companions in arms), having voted for the penalty of death, which Louis refused to commute into one of perpetual banishment, he was shot on the morning of the 7th of December, in the garden of the Luxembourg. With his last breath, he declared that he had never thought or acted treacherously towards his country. Though the duke of Wellington had publicly given the only opinion that appears to have been warranted, as to the construction of the 12th article of that convention under which

Paris capitulated, in the previous July, he exerted himself, in private, to save the life of marshal Ney, but without effect. The aristocratic party were too eager for vengeance; their determination was too strong to bring home condign punishment to such of the leaders in the events of the hundred days, as they could get into their power, to be influenced even by the wishes and entreaties of him, to whom, more than to any other individual, they were indebted for the position they then occupied.

What this party really contemplated has never been precisely ascertained. It has been asserted, and very generally believed by their opponents, that their object was to abolish the charter, and to restore the old system. M. Guizot denies that they ever contemplated anything "so extreme or audacious." "In fact," he says, "their views were as unsettled and confused as their passions were violent." If they had had a well-defined policy, they might have succeeded better than they ultimately did; but their direct aim seemed to be, to secure their own predominance, by getting into their hands the entire power of the central government, and by placing that of the departments in those of their agents and partisans. "In the management of their affairs they had their fighting champion, their political advocate, and their philosopher. M. de Labourdonnaye led their passions; M. de Villette their interests; and M. de Bonald their ideas—three men well suited to their parts, for they excelled respectively, the first in fiery attack; the second in prudent and patient manœuvring; and the third in specious, subtle, and elevated exposition; and all three, though unconnected by any previous intimacy, applied their varied talents with unflinching perseverance in the common cause."* During Louis's reign, this aristocratic party really stood between the people and the king, wishing to control both. "It was independent and haughty, often revolutionary in its conduct towards the monarch, and equally violent and ultra-revolutionary as regards the people;† but it was deficient in governmental and administrative capacity, and its measures tended to produce chaos, where it was essential that order and due subordination should prevail.

The chamber of deputies, during the remainder of the session of 1815, was occupied with the law of elections and with the amnesty. Various amendments were proposed, and some were carried, in the former, the effect of which would have been to give the aristocracy more power over the elections. As the ministry were successful in procuring the rejection by the peers of the measure adopted by the chamber of deputies, it is not necessary to enter into its details. The proceedings with respect to the amnesty had a more decisive result. Contemporaneously with the proceedings against Lava-

lette and Ney, other actors in the events of the hundred days had been brought before the court. General Monton-Duvernét, who was deeply implicated in those events, had been condemned at Paris; and general Chartrand, who had held an important command in the south, which he abandoned to join Bonaparte, was tried and convicted at Lille: both were shot; they were the last who suffered. Generals de Beth, Gilly, Clausel, and Decaen were saved by the interposition of the duchess d'Angoulême;—admiral Linon, and generals Cambronne and Drouet, were acquitted. The more violent party in the chambers were annoyed at this apparent turning of the tide, which pleased the government. M. de Labourdonnaye, on the 17th of November, proposed—in order to meet the wishes of the former—what he called "an amnesty;" but whilst it professed to establish that conciliatory measure, it comprised exemptions, extending to all that held administrative offices in the hundred days; and all the generals and prefects who took the oath of allegiance during that term, who were to be liable to death, if found guilty in the first degree; whilst those who were considered to be in a lower scale of crime were to be banished; and the property of all was to be confiscated to the state. These exemptions would have comprised, according to the lowest estimate, 1,200 persons, the highest being 1,500; and the proposal filled the whole country with consternation and dismay. The government put forward another proposition to defeat it.

On the 8th of December, the day after the execution of marshal Ney, the duke de Richelieu submitted a *projet de loi* to the chamber, for according a general amnesty. He said—"The king, by his proclamation of Cambray, had established an amnesty, which he was desirous of extending. He rejoiced that a considerable part of the power which the new laws bestowed upon him was temporary only. He would exercise that power in the spirit of justice, pursuing with severity those whom nothing could correct, nothing conciliate; but extending mercy to such as had only been misled. He had, to give the first example of a mutual and reciprocal confidence, directed his ministers to present a law of general amnesty, which should include all who had taken part in the insurrection of the hundred days, with the exception of those mentioned in the first article of the *ordonnance* of the 24th of July. Those mentioned in the second article, were to be required to leave France within two months, with the penalty of banishment, should they return without leave of the king. The family and relations of Napoleon, to the degree of uncle and nephew, were prohibited from settling or from holding office, rights, or property within the French territory; six months being allowed them to dispose of such property as they possessed in its limits." Having concluded

* *Memoirs of my Own Time*, by M. Guizot. † *Ibid.*

his statement, the duke said—"The amnesty proposed to you is not new in our annals: Henry IV., whose acts I am proud to retrace, gave a similar one in 1594, and France was saved."

The two measures were referred to the same commission, the aim of which was to incorporate with the duke of Richelieu's propositions the exceptions proposed in the project of de Labourdonnaye. The debate opened on the 1st of January, 1816; and the government only succeeded in preventing their project from being thus deprived of all its graciousness, by a majority of nine votes, when 359 deputies were present. On one point the chamber was unanimous, and the government had to yield:—this was on the question of the regicides, who, it was resolved, should be banished. Thus amended, the *projet de loi* passed the lower chamber, and no opposition was offered to it by the peers, who were informed by the duke de Richelieu, that the proscription of the regicides was not the wish of the king. As soon as it was passed, measures were taken to carry it into execution. An *ordonnance* was published, enjoining the proscribed to leave France before the 1st of March. Under arrangements with foreign powers, various places were assigned for their residence, and they were allowed to retain their property. Fouché, as a regicide, was in this list: he was recalled from Dresden, and went first to Prague, thence to Linz, on the Danube, and finally to Trieste, where he died. Before he resigned his office of minister of police, he had married Mdle. Castellane, a young lady of good family: she accompanied him in all his subsequent removals; and, deprived of his honours, and regarded with suspicion and distrust wherever he located himself, her affection was his only consolation. "With a true woman's fidelity," remarks Alison, "she clung only the more closely to him for the desertion of all the rest of the world." Cambacérès, who was immensely rich, Sièyes, Merlin of Douai, Carnot, Thibaudeau, the painter David, and Barrère, whose name was once so formidable, were among the banished; so was Drouet, the postmaster, who arrested Louis XVI. at Varennes. Tallien and Barras were permitted to remain in Paris; and the former lived there in great poverty for several years. Cambacérès was soon allowed to return to France, where he conducted himself with great prudence, and died at Paris in 1824. Drouet, weary of exile, resolved to return to his native country, where he resided under a feigned name, dying in 1825. After the revolution of 1830, the abbé Sièyes was permitted to return to France, and he died there in 1836.

The question of the amnesty disposed of, the ministers resolved, first, to bring forward the measures connected with revenue and expenditure, and then to endeavour to alter the composition of the chamber of deputies, so as to turn

the majority in their favour. The "budget," as we should call the financial statement, was introduced early in April by M. Corvetto. The expenditure of 1815 had been 798,590,859f. (£31,980,100); and the receipts had been made to equal it by a loan of 100,000,000f. (£4,000,000), and the levying 54,760,659f., in anticipation of taxes, not *legally* due till 1817. The expenditure of 1816 was fixed at 800,000,000f., including 140,000,000f., the first war contribution to the allies; and 138,000,000f., the cost of maintaining 150,000 men. To make the revenue equal to the demands upon it, additional percentages on the existing taxes were ordered to be levied during the first eight months of the year. The ministry also proposed that woods, covering 400,000 hectares, or 600,000 acres, should be sold to meet the exigencies of the state, but they were obliged to abandon that proposal. The financial measures gave rise to long and animated debates, and were not passed till the 24th of April. In connection with them, the state of the clergy, who had been despoiled of their property by the national assembly, had also been under the consideration of the legislature. Previous to the revolution, the church of France was the most richly endowed in Europe; subsequently, the clergy had become the stipendiaries of the state—the archbishop of Paris receiving £600, the bishop £200, and the *curés* from £45 to £50 per annum. It was proposed, that the clergy might receive, for ecclesiastical purposes, any donations that might be made to their respective churches; that all ecclesiastical property, not absolutely alienated, should be restored to them; that they should have the keeping of the parish registers; and that the state should increase its allowance to the church by 20,000,000f. (£800,000) per annum. These proposals, which were not made by the government, excited great alarm throughout the country, and the ministers combated them firmly in the chamber, contending, that to add such new charges to the outgoings, in addition to the enormous burdens imposed by the treaty of Paris, would render a second bankruptcy inevitable. Ultimately, a compromise was agreed to, by which a *curé* might receive gifts for his church to the amount of 1,000f. yearly; if a larger sum were offered, he must obtain the king's leave to accept it. The state also agreed to add 10,000,000f. annually to the funds for the support of the church.

Ministers having introduced a law to restrict the practice of divorce, which had become very common under the lax regulations sanctioned by the national assembly, the consideration of which they were obliged to defer till the next session, adjourned the legislature on the 25th of April. They then turned their attention to the chamber of deputies, with a view to render it less hostile to the views of the king and the government. They felt that this could only be

done by a *coup d'état*; and, before they took any steps, the ministry itself was modified, to prevent opposition in its own ranks. M. Barbé-Marbois, keeper of the seals, was dismissed, on the pretence that his health did not permit him to attend to the duties of his office; and M. Vaublanc was permitted to retire. The office of M. Marbois was not filled up, the seals being committed, *ad interim*, to the chancellor, M. Dambray; M. Lainé was appointed minister of the interior. He made it a condition of joining the government, that there should be a uniform franchise, the qualification being the payment, in direct taxes, of 300 francs yearly. M. Guizot went out of office with his chief, M. Marbois, whom he describes, as "one of those upright and well-informed, but at the same time neither quick-sighted nor commanding, men, who assist power by opinion rather than force;" the true mode of assistance, we should think, in a constitutional government.

The government was not, at this time, unpopular with the great bulk of the people. The amnesty had inspired confidence, as the public felt that it was a security against the arbitrary power of the police. But there were several parties in the country violently opposed to each other, independent of the ultra-monarchists, headed by the count d'Artois, and the ministry, which rendered the task of government very difficult. The monied interest, headed by Lafitte, were generally of liberal opinions; whilst the shopkeepers, and middle-class, as generally, were inclined to support the restoration, deeming the monarchical government most competent to maintain order, so essential to their prosperity. The working-classes, in the faubourgs of Paris, were mostly Bonapartists; and such of the old Jacobins as remained, had no difficulty in exciting sympathy amongst them. These three classes—each of which had its organ in the press—were, more or less, opposed to the nobility and the priests; and yet the count d'Artois and his friends had so influenced the elections, as to procure the return (as we have seen) of a majority to the chamber of deputies, more royalist than the king; and when they found that the ministry was opposed to their violent reactionary projects, they applied themselves to organise their party more firmly in the provinces: this was done through the church. A central body, formed from the religious congregations in the capital, spread branches through the departments. To this association, only Roman catholics were admitted; and two members had to vouch for the principles and good conduct of every candidate for membership. The abbé Fraysinnot preached to the members every Sunday in Paris, especially attacking infidel and Jacobin opinions; and enlarging on the beneficial influence upon society, of religion, and the clergy. The count d'Artois also applied

himself to operate in the departments, in favour of the extreme principles he adopted, through the agency of the national guard. When named lieutenant-general of that force, it was intended merely as an honorary distinction. M. Vaublanc, however, had permitted him to act as the real commander, and to appoint its officers in the departments, instead of nominating them himself. M. de Polignac was at that time secretary to his royal highness; and he engaged, under the count's direction, in an active correspondence with these officers, in all parts of the kingdom, with a view to secure their influence in support of the views of the majority of the chamber. This was one reason which induced the duke de Richelieu, and those of his colleagues who agreed with him, to resolve to get rid of M. Vaublanc.

Whilst the count d'Artois and his friends were thus endeavouring to propagate extreme royalist principles, and the ministry were considering the best steps to take, to strengthen themselves in the chamber of deputies, an insurrection broke out at Grenoble, for the purpose of advancing principles and measures opposed to both. The friends of Napoleon and the democrats united against the Bourbons; while that house was divided against itself,—the ultra-royalist, count d'Artois, and the liberal duke d'Orleans, being equally opposed to the king and his government. There was a committee of organisation at Paris; and the plans of the discontented were discussed in the *salons* and drawing-rooms of the duke of Orleans, M. de Lafayette, and other professed "liberals" of the higher classes. It is probable, had the counsels of the more elevated of the malcontents been followed, that the conspiracy would have occasioned some trouble. But it broke out prematurely, and, therefore, was easily suppressed. Grenoble, and the territory around it, had suffered considerably from the dissolution of the army, and the territorial arrangements of the treaty of Paris. Being a frontier district, a considerable force had always been stationed there, which led to the expenditure of large sums of money amongst the tradesmen and inhabitants. The valley, which the fortress of Grenoble commands, extends northwards into the territory of Savoy, which had been reannexed to the kingdom of Sardinia, by the treaty of 1815; and the profitable intercourse that had existed between Grenoble and Savoy had been put an end to by the custom-house guards. The loss of trade and employment had made the people of Grenoble very susceptible to impressions unfavourable to the existing order of things; and the tendency to discontent was heightened by the imprisonment of a number of persons under the new law of arrest; and the establishment there of one of the *prevôtal* courts. In these latter circumstances, the position of Grenoble only resembled that of other large towns: but, at that period, a

man named Paul Didier was residing there—one of those restless spirits who cannot exist without excitement; and who, through various phases of political opinion, had become an Orleanist; his aim being to substitute the duke of Orleans for Louis XVIII. He was a native of Grenoble, where he had held several important offices; and having, at Paris, made himself useful to the duke of Orleans, whose conduct in the chamber of peers rendered him an object of suspicion to the royalists, he exerted himself to unite all the discontented in the cause of that prince, under the name of “liberals.” Professing himself to be the agent of a body, called the Society of National Independence, he put forward Napoleon II., in the first instance, as the pivot round which those who wished to overthrow the Bourbons should rally; so many of the half-pay officers and disbanded soldiers, amongst whom he mingled, being Bonapartists, that he was afraid to mention the name of the duke of Orleans.

So ripe was the population for revolt, that Didier soon collected round him a force reported to number 4,000 men, though many of the liberals of Grenoble, who would have had confidence in an experienced leader, would not follow him. Count Montlivault, the prefect, and the commander of the forces, general Donnadieu, were ignorant of what was going on; and Didier had, on the 14th of May, assembled his followers in the vicinity of Grenoble, without their knowledge. Towards the close of that day, he directed his march upon the city; according to some accounts, at the head of several thousand insurgents; but others say, that not more than 200 followed the tricolour, which he had hoisted. The *maire* of a village he passed, seeing the body of armed men marching in the direction of Grenoble, mounted his horse, and rode to that city by an opposite route, to inform the prefect of what he had to expect. General Donnadieu collected those members of the national guard and the departmental legion upon whom he could depend, and dispatched them upon the road on which he understood Didier was advancing, in order to arrest his progress. They met the insurgents, with whom they had a brief encounter, which ended in the dispersion of the troops, and their retreat upon the city, followed by Didier and his men. The delay, however, had given time for the commandant, colonel Vautré, to collect his regiment, and they encountered the insurgents as they were chasing the retreating national guard into Grenoble. When ordered to fire upon the insurgents, the soldiers hesitated, and a word might have turned them; but the word was not spoken: one of the officers seized a musket, and discharged it at the advancing rebels; this animated the troops, and they poured a volley into the insurgent ranks, which broke and fled. Didier himself came up with a second division, which

was almost as easily dispersed: a few were killed, some prisoners were taken, and the insurrection was suppressed.

If this movement had been properly directed it might have proved very serious; under the management of Didier it gave no real cause for alarm. Such, however, were the exaggerated accounts sent to Paris by the prefect and general Donnadieu, that the government ordered Grenoble, and the department of the Isère, to be placed in a state of siege, and directed that no mercy should be shown to the prisoners taken in arms. The *prevôtal* court ordered three to be shot, who were executed on the 17th of May. Others were tried by a court-martial, by which twenty-one were condemned to be executed; and the ministers would not listen to any applications for pardon: the sentence was carried out on all, fourteen being guillotined. Didier had made his escape to the mountains, but was betrayed by his companions—he also was condemned to death, and shot. Before his death he was pressed for revelations, but he could only be induced to urge those who had access to Louis, to advise his majesty to banish from France, as soon as possible, Talleyrand and the duke of Orleans.

There can be little doubt that this occurrence at Grenoble was part of an organised scheme; and the conduct of the government, in ordering such severe steps to be taken against the insurgents, was probably owing as much to the discovery, about the same time, of plots at Paris and Lyons, as to the exaggerated accounts received from the prefect and general Donnadieu. MM. Lafayette, d'Argenson, and Manuel, were connected with the machinations at the former city. The information received by the police implicated the latter so deeply, that they advised his arrest. The government feared the evidence, though morally convincing, would not be sufficient to prove legal guilt; and they hesitated at taking a step which would array all the liberal party against them. But certain information was received, that a plan was formed to undermine the Tuileries, which was to be surrounded, and attacked after the mine had exploded; and an inflammatory proclamation was traced to three individuals—Tolleron, an engraver; Pleignier, a bootmaker; and Carbonneau, a writing-master. They were arrested; and, on their trial,—having admitted their connection with the proclamation, which told the people, that “the time had arrived to terminate their misfortunes;” called upon them “to defy the satellites of an odious tyranny;” and assured them that success was certain,—they were found guilty, and executed.—At Lyons an outbreak took place on the 8th of June. The authorities were prepared for it; and the *gendarmes* dispersed a body of conspirators, who advanced upon the city in the evening of that day. Only eight prisoners were

made at that time; but, soon after, upwards of 200 suspected insurgents were seized and imprisoned. By this time the government found that they had little to apprehend from the movements of the conspirators, and they felt regret that the exaggerated accounts received from Grenoble led them to sanction so many executions there. Marmont and Fabvier were sent to Lyons with conciliatory instructions; and tranquillity was re-established in that city and neighbourhood, without any blood being shed.

These unpleasant occurrences were only just over, when the marriage of the duke de Berri with the princess Caroline of Naples was celebrated. The contract had been signed in April, but the ceremony was not performed till the 17th of June. It took place at Nôtre-Dame; and was followed by numerous *fêtes* and festivals. Great disappointment was felt and expressed, that it was not inaugurated by the discharge of some of the numerous prisoners who were confined in various parts of the country for political offences.

The events at Grenoble, and the abortive conspiracies at Paris and Lyons, apparently threw the king and his ministers into the tide of reaction. The executions at the first-named place rendered them more unpopular amongst all those who called themselves liberals; whilst the party of the count d'Artois, who held their consultations in the pavilion Marsan (the residence of his royal highness), were not satisfied with the severity displayed. Louis did not show any inclination to resort to them for advice; on the contrary, he sought to gather round him such men as Pasquier, Royer Collard, Molé, Barante, Simeon, Mounier, Villemain, Guizot, and Angles—men, says Lamartine, “remarkable by their talents and their prospects, who formed the nucleus of a party, destined to increase and extend, because it took the same position with the king.” Of these men, “Royer Collard was the oracle, however yet obscure, of that active and equivocal sect, which was known later under the name of *Doctrinaire*.” The rallying of these men round the king, and the evident dislike of his majesty, both to the principles which emanated from the pavilion Marsan, and to the measures which the count d'Artois and the ultra-royalists recommended, caused Chateaubriand to write his celebrated *brochure*, entitled, *Monarchie selon la Charte*, in which he maintained, that “all Frenchmen were royalists; that the few who were not must be made so. To suppose that there existed any other opinion was falsehood and madness, as well as crime.” This pamphlet did not cause the government to change their conduct; probably it accelerated the decision upon which they had been deliberating for some time, viz., to dissolve the chamber. This was a step which could not be taken hastily, as it would obviously place the king at variance

with nearly every member of his family, and the entire party of the aristocracy, or ultra-royalists. The duke de Richelieu, not unnaturally, hesitated to take this step; but Lainé, Decazes, Pasquier, and Simeon, strongly recommended it. M. Dambray, M. Dubouchage, and the duke de Feltre, agreed with the duke de Richelieu. During all July, and part of August, anxious consultations were held on the subject; and at length, on the 14th of the latter month, the king, having made up his mind, announced his resolution to his ministers, assembled in a cabinet council. “Three months ago,” he said, “I had determined to reassemble the chamber of deputies. Even a month since I retained the same intention; but all that I have seen, and all that comes under my daily observation, proves so clearly the spirit of faction by which that chamber is governed, and the dangers which it threatens to France and to myself have become so apparent, that I have entirely changed my opinion. From this moment, then, you may consider the chamber is dissolved. Start from that point, gentlemen; prepare to execute that measure, and, in the meantime, preserve the most inviolable secrecy on the subject. My decision is absolute.” The ministers who were opposed to, or hesitated as to the propriety of, the dissolution, did observe secrecy; and no one out of the cabinet supposed that such a measure was in preparation. On the 4th of September an *ordonnance* appeared, re-establishing the Polytechnic School, which had been suspended by M. de Vaublanc. This was a popular measure, and gave great satisfaction. In the afternoon of the next day another *ordonnance* was drawn out, signed at 8 P.M., and immediately sent to the official paper. It commenced by stating his majesty's conviction, that “the wants and the wishes of his subjects combined to preserve intact the constitutional charter, as the basis of public right in France, and the guarantee of general order. He had, in consequence, judged it necessary to reduce the number of the deputies to the number fixed by the charter. But, to make that reduction legally, it became indispensable to convoke anew the electoral colleges, and to proceed to the election of a new chamber of deputies.” For these causes, it was decreed, “that none of the articles of the charter should be revised; that the chamber of deputies should be dissolved; and that the number of deputies should be fixed, conformably to the 33rd article of the charter,” that is, at 260, instead of 394. The electoral colleges of the *arrondissements* and departments to remain as fixed by the *ordonnance* of the 2nd of July, 1815; the former to meet on the 25th of September, the latter on the 5th of October. No one to be eligible as a deputy, who was under forty years of age, and who did not pay direct taxes to the amount of 1,000 francs per annum;

and the electors to be persons who paid those taxes to the amount of 300 francs a-year. One-fifth of the deputies to vacate their seats by lot every year.

The information that this *ordonnance* was sent to the *Moniteur*, was communicated to the count d'Artois the same evening, and he would have immediately proceeded to the king, to endeavour to induce him to recall it, but was stopped by the duke de Richelieu, who told him, that his majesty had given strict orders that he should not be disturbed. The count predicted that the measure was only the forerunner of the downfall of the monarchy. The duchess d'Angoulême was also very indignant; the duke less so; whilst the duke de Berri made no hesitation in declaring that "the king had acted wisely. He had warned those gentlemen of the chamber," he said, "that they had indulged in too much license." With the public the measure was very popular; and, as it was supposed that M. Decazes had been its great advocate, he was overwhelmed with congratulations and promises of support. "This country must be very sick, indeed," said the minister, "for me to be of so much importance."

There was an exception to the general satisfaction; all the ultra-royalists were displeased; and M. Chateaubriand added a postscript to his pamphlet, written in his usual eloquent and impassioned style, in which he vehemently condemned the measure, and expressed his doubts as to whether the king had given an unrestricted consent to it. This postscript irritated Louis, who was not only vexed at the attack on the ministry, but annoyed at the imputation thrown upon him, as being weak-minded, and wanting firmness, which certainly were not his faults. He gave orders that the name of the author should be struck out of the list of privy councillors; and the loss of the salary of office was seriously felt by Chateaubriand; but he lost none of his influence, nor did his spirits fail him, though he had to walk to the chamber of peers, or ride there in a hired conveyance. He termed his equipage a popular one; and said, "under the protection of the populace which surrounded it, he regained for himself the rights of the working-class to which he belonged;" and "from the height of his chariot he ruled the train of kings."

CHAPTER V.

EFFECT OF THE ORDONNANCE OF SEPTEMBER 5TH; INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE; OPENING OF THE SESSION; STATE OF PARTIES IN THE DEPUTIES; LEGISLATIVE MEASURES; ALTERATION IN THE LAW OF ELECTIONS; FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES; BUDGET OF 1817; DEATH OF MASSENA; MODIFICATION OF THE MINISTRY; DEATH OF MADAME DE STAEL; CONCORDAT WITH ROME; ELECTIONS OF 1817; IMPROVED STATE OF THE COUNTRY; OPENING OF SESSION 1817-'18; LAW OF RECRUITING; LAW ON THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS; THE BUDGET OF 1818; THE FINANCIAL CLAIMS ON FRANCE; ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; SETTLEMENT OF THE FINANCIAL CLAIMS; CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE; EVACUATION OF THE FRENCH TERRITORY BY THE ALLIES; NOBLE CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; ELECTIONS OF 1818; DISSOLUTION OF THE MINISTRY, AND FORMATION OF A NEW ONE.

THE dissolution of the chamber, which took the country, as well as the royalist party, by surprise, was hailed by the liberals as a constitutional measure, and they applied themselves zealously to influence the elections in their favour. The ministerialists and the ultra-royalists were not idle; and the king, feeling that the election of a majority of moderate men—of men who would neither embrace the reactionary principles of the pavilion Marsan on the one hand, nor those of the revolutionary Jacobins on the other—was essential to the security of the monarchy, exerted his personal influence on the occasion. His majesty wrote to, and had interviews with, the prefects and the heads of the electoral colleges; and is reported to have said to one of the latter, M. Raviz—"France has, unhappily, undergone too many convulsions; it has need of repose. To enjoy it, what is re-

quired is, a body of representatives attached to my person, to the cause of legitimacy, and to the charter, but, above all, moderate and prudent. The department of the Gironde, to which you belong, has already given me many proofs of its attachment and fidelity: I expect fresh ones in the elections about to take place. Tell them that it is a good old man, who only asks them to make his last days happy, for the felicity of his children." The royalists acted under the direction of a committee sitting at Paris; so did the liberals. The latter, with all their exertions, soon found that alone they were impotent, and could do nothing against the party of the count d'Artois; they, therefore, united with the ministerialists, and the result was, that the majority of the chamber was in favour of the government. It is said, however, that this would not have been the case had the number of deputies still been

394; but, in striking off 134, to reduce that number to 260, care had been taken to disfranchise those places and those electors which were in favour of the opposition. Thus the ultra-royalists went to the elections under unfavourable circumstances, and it was not expected they would have returned so many members as they did. The number returned who had seats in the old chamber was 184; 76 had not been in the legislature before. Several of the former members could not offer themselves on that occasion, not having attained the age of forty years; M. Decazes was one of these, and the king in consequence created him a peer, as count Decazes.

In the interval between the issuing of the *ordonnance*, dissolving the chambers, and the meeting of the new body, the ministry, acting with the most perfect concord and unanimity, diligently applied themselves to the discharge of their various duties. In the execution of them they were surrounded by difficulties, arising from the financial pressure, and the distress which prevailed in many of the departments, owing to the unfavourable harvest. In France, as in England and most other countries in Europe, the weather, during the summer and autumn of 1816, had been most unpropitious. Incessant rains had flooded the low grounds and destroyed the crops, and very much injured them in the high lands. Prices rose to an almost unprecedented rate; the holders of provisions kept them back, in the hope of making still more enormous profits; and the distress of the country was consequently extreme. The government met their first difficulty by a loan, which, after failing to obtain in their own country, they contracted with Messrs. Hope and Baring, of London; and the second, by purchasing corn, which they stored in granaries in different parts of the kingdom, and sold to the poor and destitute at reduced prices. To enable them to do this, subscriptions were raised throughout the country, which were most liberally supported by the king and all the members of the royal family. Conciliatory measures were also adopted towards those who were opposed to the government, especially the army. The duke de Feltre was ordered not to be exclusive in the grant of commissions; and the relatives of the leaders of the liberal party unexpectedly found themselves the objects of ministerial patronage. Reviews and inspections of the troops were ordered; the barracks and hospitals were visited with a view to their improvement; and nothing was left undone to attach to the interests of the throne that army, on whose fidelity, it was felt very shortly, the interests of both king and people would depend.

The legislative session was opened on the 5th of October, and the king made, as he usually did, a very judicious speech. Of course the public distress formed a prominent topic, and his ma-

esty expressed his deep regret at it. "Painfully affected," he observed, "by the privations which my people are suffering in consequence of the inclemency of the season, I feel even greater regret at not being able to hold out the prospect of an alleviation of the public burdens. I feel that the first necessity of the people is economy, and I have endeavoured to introduce it into every branch of the public service. My family and myself will make the same sacrifices as last year; and, to enable me to conduct the government, I rely on your attachment to my person and to our common country. Attached by policy, as by heart, to the divine precepts of religion, let us also adhere to the charter, which, without interfering with dogmas, ensures to the faith of our fathers its due pre-eminence; whilst, in secular affairs, it guarantees to all a prudent liberty, and to each individual the peaceful enjoyment of his rights, position, and property. I will never suffer any infringement of this fundamental law. My *ordonnance* of the 5th of September proves it. In conclusion, gentlemen, let hatred cease. Let the children of the same country—I may say of the same father—be truly a people of brethren. And let my people be assured of my unspeakable firmness to resist the attacks of malevolence, as well as to check the extravagance of too ardent zeal."

When the elections of president and vice-president took place, the government proved its ascendancy; the chosen were all moderate royalists, and supporters of the cabinet, round which, says M. Guizot, all the moderate men rallied, as well as the persecuted of 1815. "Casting aside their quarrels, antipathies, and private rancours, they combined to support the power which promised victory to the one and safety to the other." There were three sections in the chamber:—the centre; the ultra-royalists, denominated "the right;" and the ultra-liberals, who were called "the left." The centre was also divided into the centre-right, and the centre-left. The centre-right were ministerialists;—M. Lainé, M. Pasquier, and M. Bignon were the principal leaders. The centre-left also supported the government on most occasions, under the guidance of M. Camille Jourdain, M. Royer-Collard, and M. de Courvoisier. On the right M. de Villele and M. de Corbière were the most distinguished members; as M. Lafitte, and M. d'Argenson were on the left. Of the centre-right, M. Guizot avers that it "has been misunderstood and calumniated." "One general and just idea formed the bond of the party; the idea that, in the present day, after so many revolutions, society required established government, and that, to government, all good citizens were bound to give their support." "The central left," or *doctrinaires*, appear to have taken a middle course. They differed alike from those who asserted that "there was

nothing in the revolution but error and crime;" and that "the supporters of the old system were in the right;" and from those who maintained, "that the revolution erred only in excess; that its principles were sound, but carried too far; and that it had abused its rights." Denying both these conclusions, but "frankly adopting the new state of French society, such as the entire history of the people, and not alone the year 1789, had made it, they undertook to establish a government on rational foundations; but totally opposed to the theories in the name of which the old system had been overthrown, or the incoherent principles which some endeavoured to conjure up for its reconstruction. Alternately called upon to combat and defend the revolution, they boldly assumed from the outset an intellectual position, opposing ideas to ideas, and principles to principles, appealing, at the same time, to reason and experience, affirming rights, instead of maintaining interests, and requiring France not to confess that she had committed evil alone, or to declare her impotence for good, but to emerge from the chaos into which she had plunged herself, and to raise her head once more towards heaven, in search of light."*

When the chambers were organised, the ministers asked for the renewal, for another year, of the two provisional laws respecting the liberty of the press and personal liberty, passed in the session of 1815. With respect to the first, it was proposed, that "the censorship should be continued till January 1st, 1818." They carried this proposition by 128 votes to 89. With regard to the liberty of the person, the *projet-de-loi* proposed, that persons suspected of treason or conspiracy, might be arrested and imprisoned, without the authorities being obliged to bring them to immediate trial: the warrants for these extraordinary arrests to be signed by two ministers; and when any one was imprisoned under a warrant so signed, the gaoler who received him, was to send an intimation of the name of the person imprisoned, with the charge against him, to the *procureur-du-roi*, who was to examine him, and report to the minister of justice. This measure was also carried by 130 votes to 87. The debates were long and violent; the ultra-royalists, who were favourable to the measures in 1815, now opposing them. But their opposition was unavailing; the peers as well as the deputies sanctioned the ministerial proposals by large majorities.

The relief of the public distress next occupied the ministers and the legislature. Notwithstanding the steps taken by the government to alleviate it, that distress was very great, and led to riots in several parts of the kingdom, especially at Château-Thierry, Châtillon-sur-Seine, and in the Pays-du-Dôme, which were not repressed

without bloodshed. The chambers agreed to a vote of credit, to enable the government to purchase grain; and a bounty of five francs a quarter was offered on all corn imported. This led to large importations, to a fall in prices, and to the restoration of tranquillity.

Having obtained the renewal of the provisional laws, which would otherwise have expired, and procured the means for relieving the public distress, the ministers deemed it proper to introduce a measure for the purpose of legalising those steps which had been taken to elect the chamber. A project of law on elections was prepared by M. Lainé, assisted by M. Guizot (whose age excluded him from the chamber). This project embraced the provisions of the *ordonnance* of September 5th, with respect to the number of deputies, and the qualifications of deputies and electors. It also provided, that the prefect of each department should prepare the electoral lists; that every department should have one electoral college, which, where the number of voters was more than 600, should be divided into two sections; and that the college should be presided over by a chairman, appointed by the king, who was to sit ten days to receive the votes. The great change which this law introduced into the previous system, was the substitution of direct for indirect election; and it was defended, on the ground that it made the electoral law harmonise, as nearly as possible, with the charter; and, as the number of individuals who paid the required amount of direct taxes (300 francs), was scarcely 90,000, it could not be considered as too democratic; whilst the electors in each department would still be too numerous to be operated upon by bribery, or undue influence. The ultra-royalists maintained, that the proposed qualification would really place the elections in the hands of the most democratical part of the community; that it would deprive the great proprietors of almost all influence, leaving the immense body of the peasantry, and the working-classes with as little; and thus place the representation in the hands of one class. Both parties sustained their respective views, eagerly, and with great warmth; and the law, introduced on the 26th of December, did not finally pass till the 5th of February, 1817. The ministers succeeded in rejecting all amendments, and carried their measure by 132 votes to 100 in the deputies; and by 95 to 77 in the peers.

The financial propositions—which were first brought forward on the 14th of November, 1816—occupied more of the time of the deputies than all the other measures of the session. The expenditure of 1816, estimated at 800,000,000 francs, reached 895,577,205 francs; and to make the revenue equal to that sum, 69,763,000 francs were raised by loan, and the remainder by forestalling the taxes of 1817. To have defrayed the usual burdens of the year, without any

* *Memoirs of my Own Time*, by M. Guizot.

extraordinary payments, would have been difficult; but France, after the exhaustion of a war of twenty years, had not merely to meet the constantly-recurring expenses of the national government, but to find rations, clothes, and pay for 150,000 troops, by whom all the frontier fortresses of the kingdom were occupied; and, also, to raise, in a limited time, a sum equal to between sixty and seventy millions of pounds sterling, as indemnities to the allied sovereigns and their subjects; those of the latter being constantly increased by fresh demands. The finance minister, M. Corvetto, found his task somewhat lightened by the financial skill of M. Ouvrard, whose name became this year again connected with French finance. That financier put himself in communication with the duke de Richelieu and count Decazes; and, by his zealous co-operation, a favourable change was soon effected. It had been customary, when the income fell short of the expenditure, to add the arrears to the *rentes*; and the creditor, when the stock was under 60 per cent., was entitled to call for immediate payment. M. Ouvrard suggested, that the numerous arrears should be made a permanent obligation at five per cent., till after 1821. This was assented to; and, by the effect on the market, public credit was in a great measure restored. Ouvrard also proposed the conversion of the indemnity to the allies into *rentes*, or stock; and hinted, that, if they could be induced to take three-fourths of the amount guaranteed, the other fourth might be employed as bonuses, and other ways of remunerating bankers, to induce them to take the *rentes*, and thus the payments would be secured. This plan was ultimately carried out; and when he made his financial statement in November, M. Corvetto asked for leave to create thirty millions of *rentes*, which was granted. His scheme, besides this creation of *rentes*, embodied proposals for doubling the amount of the sinking fund, and applying to that fund the produce of the state forests; all the existing taxes were maintained, and two new excise imposts—a duty on oils, and another on public conveyances—were proposed. Still the estimated revenue was only, in round numbers, 760,000,000 francs, whilst the estimated expenditure was 1,000,000,000 francs; this left 240,000,000 francs to be provided for by loans, and by again anticipating the taxes of future years. The ministerial propositions gave rise to long and angry debates—the ultra-royalists energetically embracing the side of economy. They vehemently opposed the appropriation of the forests to the sinking fund, regarding that measure as a death-blow to the hopes of the clergy for increased support from the state. That proposition was modified, on the 4th of March, 1817, so as to except so much of the forests “as was necessary to secure a net revenue of four millions of *rentes* to the church;”

and, in April, the ministerial scheme was sanctioned by a considerable majority. Its success was accelerated by an announcement made by the duke de Richelieu, that the allies had, at the suggestion of the emperor Alexander, agreed to withdraw one-fifth of the army of occupation. The deficiency still left was made up by loans, contracted with the capitalists of London and Amsterdam; but on terms very unfavourable; the total amount raised by borrowing was, 352,089,033 francs.

On the 4th of April, marshal André Masséna died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was one of the most distinguished for military talents, and the most successful of Napoleon's generals. The two, when engaged in the same campaign together, soon became intimate friends; and, with the exception of Dessaix, it is probable that Bonaparte was not so strongly attached to any individual as he was to Masséna, who, after the battle of Loveredo, in 1796, he termed “the spoiled child of victory.” He held important commands in all the wars of the consulate and the empire; and joined his former friend and master in the strife of the hundred days. After the final overthrow of the emperor he lived in retirement near Paris; there he died; and, but for his avarice and cupidity, he would have left a fair character behind him.

As the discussions on the financial propositions proved that the chamber of deputies was decidedly liberal, it was deemed advisable to make the ministry correspond with that chamber in principle. On the 17th of May it was, therefore, to a certain extent, reconstructed. M. Pasquier, president of the chamber of deputies, had previously been appointed minister of justice in the place of the chancellor Dambray, being succeeded in the presidential chair, by M. de Serre. The duke de Feltre and M. Dubouchage retired; the former being succeeded, as minister of war, by marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr; the latter, as minister of marine, by count Molé. The count possessed great administrative talents, but was found deficient in resolution. He could plan wisely, but could not persevere determinedly, against difficulties and opposition. Marshal St. Cyr had greatly distinguished himself in his profession; and he had, says M. Guizot, “a powerful, original, and straightforward mind, with no great combination of ideas, but he was passionately wedded to those which emanated from himself.” His first wish and determined resolution was to give France back an army; and he devoted himself to that object as soon as he obtained possession of the seals of office.

In July, one of the most illustrious contributors to French literature, whose fame was not only current throughout France, but was known in every quarter of Europe, and in America also, the baroness de Staël-Holstein, better known, perhaps, as madame de Staël, died at

Paris, where she had resided, since the battle of Waterloo, with her daughter, who was married to the duke of Broglie. She herself, after the death of her husband, the baron de Staël-Holstein, had married a young French officer, M. de Rocca; but the union was not known till after her death. It is singular that, when she knew Bonaparte only by repute, she regarded him with admiration; but, on seeing him for the first time, in December, 1797, when he was preparing for his Egyptian expedition, she conceived for him an irrepressible feeling of dislike, which she could never repress; and it appears to have been fully reciprocated.—In 1801 she was ordered to quit Paris; and, in 1803, the first consul prohibited her from living in the French dominions. From that period she alternately resided at Moscow, Stockholm, and London; returning to Paris as soon as the restoration of Louis XVIII. put an end to the sway of Napoleon. Her *salons* there were the resort of all the eminent men of the day.

In the same month, an agreement with the pope was concluded by M. de Blacas, who had been sent ambassador to Rome early in the year. The chief object of his embassy was, to regulate and limit the interference of the pope in ecclesiastical appointments, and to perpetuate those liberties of the Gallican church, which the *concordat*, concluded with Napoleon, had established. Cardinal Gonzalvi met M. de Blacas as negotiator on the part of the holy see; and the latter was persuaded to depart entirely from the main object of his mission. Instead of continuing the *concordat* of 1801, M. Gonzalvi represented that agreement so forcibly to the French ambassador, as embodying concessions to the revolutionary spirit on the part of the pope, which could only be justified by the most imperious necessity, that M. de Blacas agreed to annul it, and to revive that concluded between Francis I. and Leo X.; thus annulling all the concessions, which, since 1789, had been obtained from Rome. A claim to Avignon, one of the first conquests of the revolution, was also made; and M. de Blacas agreed, if that place was not restored, that an indemnity should be paid. The suppressed bishoprics were also revived, though their endowments were forfeited; the king was to have the nomination of the bishops; but the papal sanction was made requisite for every ecclesiastical appointment; and the right of excommunicating whole districts was revived; though no bulls were to be sent to France without receiving the royal sanction. This new *concordat* was signed on the 16th of July, and when its provisions were known, they excited great discontent throughout France.

The condition of the peerage attracted the attention of the government at this time; and the king, towards the close of August, was induced to issue an *ordonnance*, providing that

no one should be created a peer, unless he first instituted a *majorat*, or entailed estate. The *majorat* for a duke was fixed at 30,000 francs per annum; that for a marquis or count at 20,000 francs; and that for a viscount and baron at 10,000 francs. Those sums were the *minimum*; there was no limit in the other direction. The *ordonnance* had not a retrospective effect; it only applied to future creations.

In the autumn, the elections of the fifth of the chamber of deputies who vacated their seats, took place, and the result could not be considered favourable to the government. The liberals of Paris took early steps to influence the returns as much as possible. Generals Lafayette and Thiard, and M. Benjamin Constant, all resided in the Rue d'Anjou St. Honoré; and they met at each other's houses, for the purpose of making such arrangements as it was possible for them to carry out. In the capital those measures were quite successful. The eight new deputies to be returned were all liberals—MM. Lafitte, Delessert, Roy, and Casimir Perier being of the number; the first was re-elected. In other quarters, Dupont de l'Eure, Bignon, Chauvelin, Caumartin, and Hernoux were returned. MM. Lafayette, Manuel, and Benjamin Constant were defeated for the department of the Seine; but, as a whole, the moderate royalists lost, and the extreme republicans gained ground by the elections. The liberals, however, did not feel themselves powerful enough openly to attack the government of the Bourbons, particularly under the improved circumstances of the country. Nor were the Orleans party—still held together (though not rendering themselves very prominent) by the diplomatic ability, and many of them supported by the wealth, of their chief—prepared for action. The duke of Orleans himself was aware that his time had not yet come. Of the two parties who must be annihilated or conciliated to insure his triumph, he said that he “was too much a Bourbon for the one, and not enough for the other;” and he resolved to wait.

At this period the country, Paris especially, was rapidly regaining prosperity, and with it internal peace. The harvest of 1817 had something to do with this; but much more decisive results followed from the influx of foreigners, which caused a corresponding demand for the products of French industry. The change in Paris was very great—indeed, surprising. Sir A. Alison, who was there in 1814, and visited it again in 1818, was astonished, as well as others who saw the city at the different periods, “at the unmistakeable marks of prosperity which were to be seen on all sides. Splendid streets had arisen, or were in progress, in many quarters; the Boulevards, the gardens of the Tuileries, the Champs-Élysées, breathed, even on ordinary occasions, the air of happiness and joy; the

streets were filled with elegant equipages; while the increasing brilliancy of the shops, and the variety and beauty of the dresses for the women, proved that the *bourgeois* class shared, in their full proportion, the general affluence and prosperity which the continuance of peace, and the immense concourse of strangers, had brought upon the metropolis. Among these strangers, the Russians and the English were particularly remarkable for the eagerness after works of art which they exhibited, and the immense sums they spent. These sums, indeed, were so great, as much to exceed the heavy weekly payments which the French were still compelled to make to the commissioners of the allied powers; and, like the Greeks of old, they might console themselves with the reflection, that they had established a more desirable ascendant than that of conquest over the minds of their conquerors; and that, if they paid tribute to the rude barbarians of the North, they received a homage more lasting and flattering in the influence of their acknowledged superiority in taste and art.”*

The king opened the session of the chambers on the 5th of November. In his speech, his majesty alluded to the sufferings of his people, occasioned by the bad harvest of 1816, and he expressed his great regret that those sufferings should have been attended, in some districts, with riots and outrage. His majesty stated, that the laws respecting individual liberty, and the *prévôtal* courts, would be suffered to expire; that negotiations with the allied powers were in progress, with a view to alleviate the burdens occasioned by a military occupation of the country; and that the *concordat* concluded with the pope, and a *projet-de-loi* for recruiting and reorganising the army, would be submitted to the chambers.

The *concordat* was the first measure brought before the chambers. It was opposed by the ultra-royalists, because it did not re-endow the church with landed estates, and free its prelates from ministerial influence; and by the liberals, because it restored so many antiquated forms. It was supported by the ministers; but the opposition appeared to be so strong that, after the first debate, its fate became evident if any vote were taken, and the subject was not introduced again that session. The project relating to the army was more successful.

The charter had abolished the conscription—a mode of raising an army which had tended more than any other course (perhaps more than all others put together) to render Napoleon unpopular amongst the people. Since the restoration, the army had been recruited by voluntary enlistment; but it was found that, whilst most of the loose and idle characters resorted to the royal standard, there was little chance of a sufficient number of recruits coming forward to keep

the army up to the necessary strength requisite for the defence of the country. The minister at war had devoted his attention to this subject from the day of his appointment to office; and he introduced his measure, which had been prepared with great care, on the 14th of January, 1818. In explaining its provisions, he said it “embraced the two modes of recruiting—voluntary enlistment and compulsory service; the latter not to be called into action till it had been ascertained that the first had failed. The complement of the legions was fixed at 150,000; and the proposed regulations of this force were divided into three classes, viz., those relating to the levying the corps, to the legionary veterans, and to promotion. The provisions in the first class were mainly founded on the old laws of the conscription, mitigated, however, in every instance in which it was practicable. The regulations concerning the veterans were based upon the principle that, in a free state, every man is bound to afford his services to maintain his country’s independence, and, therefore, that they ought to be reorganised. Those regarding promotion embraced the principles that, as a compensation for the sacrifices thus imposed upon the people, a regular and invariable system of promotion should be established in the army; that, beginning from the ranks, it should ascend to the highest grades; that the regulations on the subject should have the fixity of laws; and the recompenses should be as widespread as the services, so that the common soldier might have the prospect of any rank or employment, without any limit or any other title than his talents and his services.” Under the regulations made in the revolutionary period, one-third of the promotions in the army depended upon length of service, one-third upon election, and one-third upon the choice of the government. In future, two-thirds of the commissions were to be filled from the military schools, and one-third from the non-commissioned officers, whilst the officers themselves were to rise by years, not selection.

This law encountered great opposition in its passage through the chambers. The most impressive and determined speakers against it were MM. de Villele, Chateaubriand, and Salaberry. The essence of their speeches—very eloquent and very able—may be stated in a few words. The proposed law took away from the crown its most important prerogative—that of appointing the officers of the army; it would make the army so democratic, that it could not be relied on to support the monarchy, whilst it would revive the most odious and oppressive practice of the imperial *régime*—the forced levying of men by the conscription. The enrolment of the veterans was also opposed as injudicious, and fraught with danger. The measure was ably defended by the proposer, general Gouvion de St. Cyr; and

* *History of Europe.*

by MM. Courvoisier and Royer-Collard. They held, that forced levies could not be dispensed with, and adduced the example of England; that model of representative governments, they observed, resorted to the press to man her navy. They denied that the project betrayed the royal authority; and declared, that "the king, by surrendering one of his prerogatives, had given a noble example of the duty his situation required—of what the love of his people could effect." The incorporation of the veterans, it was averred, was a measure "at once called for by necessity, and justified by every honourable feeling." The old prejudices should not be kept up; after the crisis they were emerging from, there was but one remedy for the evils they had endured, and that was oblivion. "What Frenchman," exclaimed general St. Cyr, "has not need of oblivion, if not for himself, at least for his family, his brothers, his children? Error has been in all camps, within and without all walls, under all banners. All of us have faults, more or less grave, to expiate; and the king has given the best proof that he knows how to reign, by his knowing how to forgive." This speech of the minister of war made a decided impression, not only in the chambers, but upon the country, and had a great influence on the fate of the project. It was debated through January and February; many amendments were proposed, but none adopted, except what related to details; and it was finally carried, in the deputies, by a majority of 147 to 92; in the peers—where the majority would have rejected it, but for the influence of the ministers, and the personal solicitations of the king—the votes were 96 to 74.

The other measures of the session of 1818 were not important. M. Pasquier introduced a project of law, intended, by the *doctrinaires*, to regulate and limit the power of the minister to seize publications. It proposed to make the author of every writing, published in France, responsible for its contents; and, if the author was not known, the publisher; the printer, also, was to share in that responsibility. Offences of the press were divided into crimes and misdemeanors; the courts of assize taking cognizance of the first; the judges of the correctional police of the second. The law only applied to books and pamphlets; the newspaper press was left at the mercy of the crown and the censorship till January 1st, 1821. This law, after a hard struggle, passed the chamber of deputies, by 131 votes to 97; but an amendment, unpalatable to the liberals, being carried in the peers, they joined, with the ultra-royalists, in a negative vote, and it was thrown out of that chamber, by 102 to 59.—The laws respecting individual liberty, and the establishment of *prévôtal* courts, were limited to the end of 1818; they were suffered to expire; and no other measure of importance came before the chambers during the

session of 1817-'18, except the budget; in the discussion on which, the ministers—having taken middle ground, between the representatives and advocates of the banking and capitalist interest, on which side MM. Lafitte and Casimir Perrier were the great orators; and the territorial interests, chiefly advocated by M. de Villele—were assailed by both. The budget again presented a great deficiency of income as compared with expenditure. The ordinary expenses of government were estimated at 680,975,000 francs; the extraordinary (all connected with the occupation of the allies, and the required indemnities) to 312,268,022; making a total of 993,243,022 francs. The revenue was estimated to produce only 767,778,600 francs. This rendered a loan of 225,464,422 francs (£9,394,392) necessary, which was obtained of Messrs. Baring and Hope, on much more reasonable terms than those of the previous years; the five per cents being taken at 67, instead of 58. Still the interest, the extra charges of commission, &c., rendered the expense of the loan very nearly ten per cent.

During the session a negotiation was going on, the object of which was, to obtain some reduction in the enormous claims made upon the French governments, by the various powers and their subjects, for indemnities, which went far beyond the sums allotted in the treaty. Not only were these claims put forward, for losses sustained by the devastations and levies of the revolutionary and imperial armies, but some of the small German princes sent demands for arrears of payment for military services, rendered as far back as the reign of Henry IV. The aggregate had swelled to nearly 1,400,000,000 francs—more than two years' revenue. Then there were the expenses of the army of occupation; the whole making an amount much greater, the duke de Richelieu declared, than France could ever pay. His grace, relying on the former friendship of his imperial majesty, interested himself with the emperor Alexander, with a view to get the amount reduced. The emperor willingly followed up his successful attempt to reduce the army of occupation, by suggesting the appointment of commissioners to consider the claims, with a view to their adjustment, upon a fair and liberal basis, just to all parties. In consequence of a letter which Alexander addressed to his allies, on the 30th of October, 1817, this mode of disposing of this important question was adopted. At his suggestion, also, the duke of Wellington, generalissimo of the allied armies in France, was chosen by the sovereigns as their arbitrator, and the amount of sums to be paid to each was left to his decision: one of the highest tributes paid to the honour and justice, as well as to the intelligence and zeal, of that great man. The duke, accordingly, went to Paris to preside over the commission; and the discussions commenced in January, 1818.

The commissioners continued their labours with great zeal, and paid every attention to the representatives of the various claimants. The duke of Wellington was most diligent in his attendance; but though he was earnestly devoting his time, his energies, his talents, and his influence to the service of France—for he was seeking to lessen and limit the demands made upon her resources—one Frenchman (if he had no accomplices) sought his life. His grace returned to his hôtel about one o'clock in the morning of the 11th of February; and, on stepping out of his carriage, a pistol was discharged at him. The ball happily missed, and the assassin escaped. A few days after, two old soldiers, named Cantillon and Marenit, were arrested and brought to trial. The evidence was not sufficiently conclusive, and they were acquitted. But that Cantillon was guilty, and that Napoleon at St. Helena was aware of the fact, is evident from the will of the exile (dated April 24, 1820), in which he left a legacy of 10,000*fr.* to that individual, expressly on the ground that he had attempted to assassinate the duke: his right to murder the English general being maintained in the document! The atrocious attempt had one effect that must have been gratifying to the duke—it was the means of eliciting fervent demonstrations of the interest all Europe felt in his life; the manifestations made, showing that his death would everywhere, even in France itself, have been regarded as a national calamity.

This attempt on the life of the duke did not interrupt the proceedings, in which he was the chief agent, and in the progress of which, delicate as was his position, and the many different interests he had to conciliate, his grace appears to have conducted himself so as to gain the goodwill of all. They ended by a convention, signed on the 15th of April, by which the sum of 240,800,000*fr.* was accepted as a settlement of the claims of the subjects of the allied powers. This amount was raised by loan, inscribed on the *Grand Livre* of the Bourse, and subjected the government to an annual payment of interest, amounting to 12,040,000*fr.* A separate convention with England guaranteed the inscription on the book, of a *rente*, to the amount of 3,000,000*fr.* per annum, representing a capital of 60,000,000*fr.*, which was in liquidation of all claims of British subjects. Thus, for something more than 300,000,000*fr.*, France got rid of claims amounting to upwards of 1,300,000,000*fr.*, an immense reduction, for which she was entirely indebted to Russia and England. When the duke de Richelieu laid this convention before the chambers, anticipating the speedy withdrawal of the allied troops, he asked for a further credit of 24,000,000*fr.*, to meet any demands that might accrue in procuring this desirable result; and so satisfied were the deputies with his communication—so much

more satisfactory was the financial arrangement than they could have anticipated—that all his proposals were accepted, almost by acclamation; certainly there was not a sound of disapprobation heard. Soon after the session was closed.

This important affair thus satisfactorily adjusted, the sovereigns resolved to assemble in congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, to consider whether the occupation of France by their armies should terminate at the expiration of the three years, or whether it should, under the terms of the treaty, be extended to five. The duke de Richelieu and his colleagues were very anxious to free the country from the presence of foreign troops; and, as the king of Prussia was the only one of the allies who was known to be in favour of prolonging the occupation, as what he considered a just punishment upon France for the miseries and the evils her ambition had brought upon other nations, there was every expectation that this desirable result would be achieved. It is said, that the ultra-royalists were greatly mortified at the prospect of France being relieved from its greatest indignity, under a ministry to which they were so much opposed. A conspiracy to get rid of that ministry and the king has been attributed to them, of which it can hardly be thought they were guilty. But, in June, count Decazes was waited upon by a person, who professed to reveal to him the particulars of a conspiracy, the object of which was to employ the ultra-royalist troops of the guard to seize the ministers; to carry them to Vincennes; to compel the king to resign in favour of his brother, the count d'Artois; to restore the double system of election; to dissolve the chamber, and to summon a new one. The minister of police referred the deponent to the minister of the interior, M. Lainé, who issued warrants for the arrest of several ultra-royalists implicated, including generals Canuel and Donnadieu. All the parties named in the warrants were arrested, except Canuel, who fled; but no other proceedings were taken. They were liberated after a few months' imprisonment; and the conspiracy of the *Bords de l'Eau*, as it was called—if it really existed, and was not merely a *canard*, invented for some purpose by the person who revealed it to Decazes—utterly failed.

The congress of Aix-la-Chapelle began to assemble on the 20th of September. The place where it met is an old frontier city of Rhenish Prussia, forty miles south-west of Cologne. It was the favourite residence of Charlemagne, who made it the capital of his dominions, and there his successors were crowned till the 16th century. After the division of his dominions, it declined in splendour; but it has always been celebrated for its waters: and several diplomatic meetings and congresses have been held there, the last being that of 1818. At that important assemblage the interests of Great Britain were

represented by the duke of Wellington, lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning; those of Austria, by prince Metternich; of Prussia, by prince Hardenberg, baron Bernstorff, and baron Alexander d'Humboldt; and of Russia, by Capo d'Istria, and Nesselrode more especially; but there were several other Russian noblemen and diplomatists in attendance. The duke de Richelieu attended on behalf of France. Messrs. Hope and Baring were also requested to attend, as representing the capitalists of Europe, without whose aid it would have been impossible to bring the desired arrangements to a final conclusion. How anxious Louis XVIII. felt that that conclusion should be to relieve France from the presence of the allied troops, may be imagined, from his parting words to M. de Richelieu—"Make every sacrifice," said his majesty, "to obtain the evacuation of the territory; it is the first condition of our independence: no flag but our own should wave in France. Express to my allies how difficult my government will be, so long as it can be reproached with the calamities of the country and the occupation of the territory; and yet, you know, M. de Richelieu, it was not I, but Bonaparte, who brought the allies upon us. These are my whole instructions. Repeat to the emperor Alexander, that he has it in his power to render a greater service to my house than he has done in 1814 or 1815. After having restored legitimacy, it remains for him to reap the glory of having restored the national independence. Obtain the best conditions possible; but, at any rate, get quit of the stranger."

The king of Prussia arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 26th of September, and he was followed by the emperors of Austria and Russia on the 28th. The presence of so many distinguished personages, restored, for a time something like its former brilliancy to the old city. Prince Lieven was one of the Russian diplomatists present; the princess accompanied him. Lady Castlereagh, also, accompanied the English plenipotentiary; and the *salons* of those two ladies were the resort of all the crowned heads, diplomatists, military men, and civilians, who were assembled on this important occasion. Madame Catalani, then at the height of her fame, and in full possession of all her wonderful powers, was also at Aix-la-Chapelle, with an opera troupe from Paris; and, as many strangers, especially English, were attracted to the spot, pleasure was quite as predominant as business. A person was also present with a different object, and with different views. A mademoiselle Lenormand had imbibed the opinions of madame Krudener; and, assuming the pretensions with the dress of a sibyl, she endeavoured to acquire the same influence over Alexander that the latter lady had so notoriously possessed. She failed; though the emperor does not appear to have deserted the principles which gave madame

Krudener the ascendancy she for some time held and exercised over his imperial majesty.

The arrival of the sovereigns caused the plenipotentiaries to set to work in earnest; and the preliminaries of the "treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle" were all arranged on the 30th of September: on the 1st of October they were signed. A courier was immediately dispatched with a copy to Paris; and it was published in the *Moniteur* of the 9th. The principal conditions were:—"1.—That the troops should evacuate all the fortresses they occupied in the territory of France, on or before the 30th of November. 2.—That the sums required for the pay, clothing, and maintenance of the troops should be paid to the said 30th of November. 3.—That, in consideration of this evacuation before the five years, to which it might have extended, had expired, France should pay to the allies 265,000,000 francs (£11,041,666); 100,000,000 francs to be made good by inscriptions in the *Grand Livre*. 4.—That the remaining 165,000,000 francs should be paid by drafts on Hope and Baring, in nine monthly payments, the drafts to be delivered to the commissioners of the allies, on the evacuation of the fortresses." The signing of this treaty was followed, after a conference between the emperor Alexander and Richelieu, by the admission of France into the European confederacy; and, on the 15th of November, a secret protocol was signed by the ministers of England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. By its first article, the five powers stipulated "that the sovereigns determine never to deviate, either in their mutual relations, or in those which unite them to other states, from the principles which have hitherto united them, and which constitute a bond of Christian fraternity, formed by the sovereigns amongst each other." The other articles declared, that the union was "founded on no separate interests or momentary combinations," and "had no other object but the maintenance of the treaties, and of the rights established by them." That "France, associated with the other powers, by the restoration of a government at once legitimate and constitutional, engaged, henceforth, to concur in the maintenance and support of a system, which had given peace to Europe, and could alone insure its duration." That, "if, to attain those ends, the contracting powers should deem it necessary to establish particular reunions, either of sovereigns, or their ministers, to treat of subjects in which they had a common interest, such assemblages should be arranged by previous diplomatic communication; and should such reunions refer to the condition of other states, they were not to take place, without formal communications with those by whom the affairs of those states might, at the time, be directed."

Here, probably, the negotiations and agreements of the congress would have ended, but for

a "secret memoir" that was presented to the allied sovereigns, by the baron Vermeuil, from the party of the count d'Artois. The tendency of it was to show, that, in France, the revolution had again got possession of all, even to the lowest classes of the nation, who were violently excited with principles destructive of the monarchy, delivered from the tribune by the ministers of the king; whilst audacious writings sapped the foundations of social order, and repressive laws were applied to those writers who defended monarchy and legitimacy. Various events were noticed, to show the progress which the revolutionary feeling was making; and it was stated, that, to arrest this progress, five combinations presented themselves to different minds; all of which were, however, objectionable to the memorialists, except the last—a change of ministers. This was the course they recommended in the conclusion of their document:—"The king and his ministers," they said, "may be brought back to the principles on which monarchy may be firmly established: not the present ministers, who are short-sighted, and have not the strength of mind necessary to repair their early faults. A complete change of ministry, therefore, offers the only salutary, as well as the loyal means, of preventing France from becoming a focus of revolution, and again setting Europe in a flame."

The elections of 1818 showed that the feeling denounced by the ultra-royalists was, whether for good or evil, spreading in France. Few ultra-royalists offered themselves as candidates; the principal contests were between the ministerialists and the extreme republicans. M. Lafayette and M. Benjamin Constant were returned for the Sarthe, and M. Manuel for the Vendée—both ultra-royalist districts. Lyons returned Camille Jourdain, the most celebrated speaker at the time, amongst the liberals; St. Aulaire (whose daughter count Decazes had married), and other liberals, were elected for the first time. There is no doubt that for this result, if injurious to the cause of the monarchy, Decazes and the ministry were to blame. After the *ordonnance* for the elections, and convoking the chambers for the session 1818-'19 had been issued, the count proposed, that the count d'Artois should be deprived of the command of the national guards; and that the central administration of that force, which his royal highness had established, through the negligence or connivance of M. Vaublanc, should be suppressed. The king refused at first, but was obliged to yield; and thus the ultra-royalists lost all the influence which, as we have shown, they had previously exercised in the departments through this source.

The emperor Alexander visited Paris while these elections were going on, affording to Louis—according to an interesting memoir he left behind him—"one of the happiest moments of his life." In that memoir the king says—"Some

of the elections displeased me, such as those of the Sarthe, the Vendée, and Finisterre; but those are annoyances attached to a constitution like ours; and, on the whole, they were good. I observed with pain, that in the letters of the duke de Richelieu, he was more alarmed than I was." The duke appeared to have imbibed the idea, that the ultra-royalists must be brought back to the government, to save the monarchy; and the allied sovereigns entertained the same opinion. Whether they inspired the duke, or he their majesties, cannot now be ascertained. But the elections, and the declared sentiments of the king, with the known principles of the count Decazes, caused the allies to believe, that unless a change of ministry took place in France, a fresh revolutionary outbreak would be the result, and they resolved to be prepared for it. The ministers of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, therefore, on the 19th of November, signed a secret military protocol, by which they bound themselves to continue their alliance, for the purpose of putting down revolutionary movements—"the progress of the evils which had so long desolated Europe having only been arrested by the intimacy of the union, and the purity of the sentiments which united the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world." The next day, a second agreement was signed, stipulating precisely how, with the consent of the king of the Netherlands, the frontier fortresses which he had repaired were to be garrisoned; and in the two documents a complete system of military action, in case of necessity, was arranged.

Before the congress broke up, a modification was made in the treaty of the 1st of October. The financial arrangements of Aix-la-Chapelle, following upon the great loans contracted in the year—added to the avowed determination of the English government to revert, as soon as parliament met, to the system of payment in specie, so long suspended—produced a complete panic on the Paris Bourse, where the funds fell, in one day, 10 per cent., and more than 20 per cent. in the week. The pressure, and the alarm it produced, were so great, that the duke de Richelieu, acting by the advice of Messrs. Hope and Baring, applied to the allies to extend the payment of the instalments, stipulated to be made in nine, to eighteen months. Though the powers wanted money themselves, this application was agreed to; and, on the 19th of November, a supplementary article of the treaty, drawn up by M. Metternich, and granting the delay asked for, was signed. This averted the crisis which was anticipated; but the health of M. Corvetto, the finance minister, gave way under the anxiety and the exertions which it brought upon him, and he was compelled to resign. He was succeeded by M. Roy, one of the deputies of the hundred days; and an augmentation to the number of liberals already in the ministry.

The aspect of things in France caused no hesitation in the carrying out the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on the part of the allies. On the 28th of November, the duke de Richelieu returned to France; and, on the 30th, amid the discharge of artillery, the allied troops marched out of the garrisons which they had occupied since the peace in 1815; and the French marched in, and once more placed the national standard on the walls. The withdrawal of the allies, however, was not unregretted, though the restoration of the national honour and independence was hailed by all. But the troops had behaved well, spent large sums of money, and contributed to augment the industrial resources of the places where they were garrisoned; many, therefore, personally felt their withdrawal, and wished they could have remained. But although individuals might lose, the nation gained largely by the evacuation, for which it had to thank, more especially, the emperor Alexander and the duke of Wellington. In an age when, unhappily, we find a desire to promote self-interest so widely prevails, the noble disinterestedness manifested by the duke in this important episode of French history, should not be passed over without a word of praise. His grace occupied a position which rendered him the envy of every commander of high rank in Europe. He held, as has been forcibly remarked, "as commander-in-chief of the allied army of occupation, a situation which, in point of dignity and importance, any conqueror might envy, and which far exceeded that enjoyed by any sovereign prince." Besides having "immense appointments, and all his expenses paid," he "was at the head of the united armies of Europe, and he held in fetters the realm of Napoleon." Yet he exerted all his influence, and all his powers of persuasion, to terminate a state of things so advantageous in every way to himself, two years before the treaty required that it should cease. The French historian, Capefigue, bears honourable testimony to "the loyal manner" in which the duke "protected the interests of France in all the negotiations," and to "his disinterestedness," which his country ought never to forget. Before he gave up the command, his grace issued a valedictory order of the day to the army, in which his grace said, that he could not take leave of the troops he had the honour to command, without expressing his gratitude for the good conduct that had distinguished them during the time they had been under his orders. For three years the allied sovereigns had confided to him the command of that part of their forces, which circumstances rendered it necessary to leave in France. If the measures which their majesties commanded had been executed to their satisfaction, that result was entirely to be attributed to the prudent conduct and admirable bearing of the generals-in-chief; and the good

example they set to the other generals and officers, their subordinates, who had seconded all their efforts, had led to that excellent discipline which had been observed under all circumstances. It was with regret that he saw that the moment had arrived for the dissolution of that army, and for the termination of those relations, public and private, which he had held with the commanders and other officers of the different corps. The field-marshal found it difficult to express how agreeable those relations had been; and he begged the commanders-in-chief to receive, and to transmit to the troops under their orders, the assurance, that he should never cease to take the most lively interest in all that concerned them; and that to him the remembrance of the three years, during which he had been at their head, would always be dear.

The duke de Richelieu, having procured the evacuation of his country by the foreign troops, found new difficulties gathering around him in the political dissensions which prevailed—dissensions from which the camp of the ministers themselves was not free. Before he left Aix-la-Chapelle, he had expressed his uneasiness at the result of the elections. Writing to the king, he said—"I see with pain that the law of 1817 removes all royalists successively from the chamber; and I fear that we shall go too much on one side. On the whole, I prefer the exaltation of the royalists to that of jacobinism. I see with alarm the revival of the men of the hundred days; they have so much damaged our position in Europe." The emperor Alexander, also, looked upon the progress of the friends of revolutionary principles in France, coupled with indications of insubordination which had been manifested in Germany, with alarm; and the duke of Wellington advised the French minister to "lean to the royalists." The duke de Richelieu returned to Paris, influenced by a determination to endeavour to re-unite the ministry and the party of the count d'Artois; and he entered into negotiations for that purpose. The count and his friends were opposed to the election law of 1817, to which they attributed their losses. The duke offered to modify that law; and, after his arrival in Paris, meetings of the heads of both parties were held at the house of the cardinal Beausset, a friend of Richelieu. These proceedings were taken without the knowledge of the king. We learn this fact from the *Memoir* already quoted, written by Louis himself, and published by Lamartine. His majesty thought that the duke "was against himself in the course he was about to take. He wished to rally the ultra-royalists to the ministry, in changing the law of election, and he did not perceive that it was all the while the ministry that he was placing at the mercy of the ultra-royalists." This was true; and it was very unfortunate for the cause of the Bourbons that the minister did

not view passing events with the eyes of his sovereign.

The count Decazes knew that, as the reputed author of the election law, he was the great object of ultra-royalist dislike. That dislike had been shown in various ways—particularly by denouncing in the chambers the council of state and the ministry of police—both which the ultra-royalists opposed ostensibly, on the ground of economy, but really because Decazes held the office of head of the latter; whilst, it was alleged, that he elevated the *Doctrinaires*, who were amongst his supporters, and whose principles the ultra-royalists opposed, to seats in the former. The duke de Richelieu, though anxious to conciliate the ultra-royalists—a policy he considered necessary to preserve the monarchy—did not wish, at first, to sacrifice Decazes, and he proposed a modification of the ministry, by the suppression of the police department; the transfer of its chief to the interior; and of M. Lainé to the department of justice; M. Pasquier accepting the office of head of the king's household. This arrangement did not please M. Lainé, who would have resigned, and so would the count Decazes; but the duke de Richelieu determined first to meet the chambers, and to test the feeling of parties in those assemblies.

The session opened on the 10th of December; and the king, in his speech, warmly congratulated the chambers on the evacuation of the fortresses, and on France being now freed from the pressure of foreign troops. His nephew, the duke d'Angoulême, the king said, had himself planted the French flag on the walls of Thionville. The pecuniary sacrifices of the nation, and the way in which they had been met—the good harvest and its benefits—and the policy of conciliation, formed the remaining topics of the royal speech, which, being extremely guarded, did not call forth any especial manifestations of political feeling. The ministers, however, knew that there must be a change. At a cabinet council, held on the 12th, they deliberated as to what steps should be taken under the circumstances. There was a division of opinion; marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr and count Decazes were for pursuing that line of policy which had been hitherto adopted. The duke de Richelieu, count Molé, and M. Lainé advocated the making advances to the party of the right, and proposed a change in the law of elections. M. Pasquier and M. Roy were neutral. No decision was come to; and the same result attended a meeting on the 14th. On the 16th, the election of president, vice-presidents, and secretaries in the deputies, showed that the liberal ministerial party was yet strong in that chamber, though M. Ravez, who was acting with the duke of Richelieu, obtained ninety-seven votes for president; whilst M. de Serre, who supported Decazes, had only ninety-four. The election of M. de St. Aulaire, Decaze's father-

in-law, as one of the secretaries, was very displeasing to Richelieu. In the chamber of peers, the secretaries elected were of the party favourable to a fusion of the royalists and the ultra-royalists; but all the members of the commission, in whose hands the preparation of the address in reply to the king's speech was placed, were of the latter party.—Another cabinet council was held on the 17th; and the king has given an account of what occurred at it. All the members spoke, and maintained their former opinions, except M. Lainé, whose idea was, "that the ministerial banner should be fixed, but that the government should stretch their hands to the right and the left." "Yes," said Louis, "let us plant our flag upon the *ordonnance* of the 5th of September, 1816, and continue to follow the line in which we have been all united till now. Stretch out the hand, right and left, saying, with Cæsar—'He who is not against me is with me!'" The council then broke up, and Louis thought all differences would cease. They became more rife; and the duke de Richelieu imbibed, probably from intercourse with royalists, a bitter dislike to the politics of Decazes, with whom he had once acted so cordially. He demanded, as the condition of his remaining at the head of the ministry, that the count should not only quit it, but accept a species of honourable exile, as ambassador to Naples, or Prussia. In a letter addressed to the king, on the 22nd of December, the duke expressed, personally, love and esteem for the minister of police; but, he added, "on the one side, outraged by a party whose imprudence has caused so much trouble, it is impossible for him to be on good terms with it: on the other, urged towards a party whose doctrines are still more menacing, unless he is established out of France in some eminent employment, all the men in opposition to the ministry will look to him for the fulfilment of their hopes, and he will become, even in spite of himself, no doubt, an obstacle to the government." On these grounds, the duke justified his demand for the exclusion of M. Decazes from the cabinet, and, for a time at least, from France.

It was with great reluctance that the king was induced to communicate to Decazes—who had offered to resign his office—what was required of him. When he did, the statesman, notwithstanding he was recently married to a beautiful and amiable girl, only sixteen years of age, to whom leaving France would be anything but a pleasure, consented to what was required of him; an offer he made, as a compromise, to retire from Paris with his family, being refused. The ministry, in consequence, was dissolved on the 24th, and M. Richelieu endeavoured to form a new one. He could not succeed: he found that M. Decazes, who during his career had endeavoured to enlist talent on the side of the government, had more friends than he expected; and he was obliged,

after two attempts, to apply to the king, to be released from his task. He had undertaken it because his majesty could not see any alternative between him and Talleyrand, who was so obnoxious to the allies. In his letter, stating the failure of his overtures to different statesmen, he suggested to his majesty to send for either Macdonald or Marmont. Louis, however, thought that neither of those marshals could replace the duke, and as he was about to dispatch a reply to that effect, M. de Pasquier arrived. To him the king explained the then state of affairs, and he immediately went to seek Decazes, whom he brought to his majesty. The count, when informed of the failure of the duke de Richelieu to re-construct his cabinet, advised his majesty to send for general the marquis of Dessolles. He was a liberal, but was one of the first who had rallied to the Bourbons, to whom he had rendered great services; and the king, having ascertained from the count de Nesselrode, who was then in Paris, that the appointment was not likely to be disagreeable to the emperor Alexander, to whom the marquis was known, sent for that

noblemen, who, somewhat reluctantly, accepted the office of president of the council. The two first statesmen to whom he applied, baron Louis, and M. de Serre, agreed to accept office with him, but on condition that M. de Decazes was to be a member of the cabinet. The marquis was equally anxious himself that the count should continue in the ministry; but it was only the personal entreaty of the king that induced him to return to office. Ultimately, the ministry was composed as follows:—Marquis general Dessolles, president of the council, and minister for foreign affairs; M. de Serre, keeper of the seals and minister of justice; count Decazes, minister of the interior; baron Portal, minister of marine; marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr, minister of war; baron Louis, minister of finance. The ministry of police was suppressed, and its duties added to those of the ministry of the interior. This ministry was exclusively liberal and *doctrinaire*; and if the predominance of the former party was an evil, the duke de Richelieu and his immediate advisers contributed to produce it by the measures they adopted to bring about a different result.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST MEASURES OF THE MINISTRY; TESTIMONIAL TO THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU; DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PEERS AND DEPUTIES; CREATION OF PEERS; LAW ON THE PRESS; GREAT SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT IN FRANCE; STATE OF PARTIES; ELECTION OF THE ABBE GREGOIRE; DIFFERENCES IN THE CABINET; THE DECAZE MINISTRY; SESSION OF 1819-'20; THE ABBE GREGOIRE EXPELLED THE CHAMBER; VIOLENCE OF THE OPPOSITION; SECRET SOCIETIES; PROPOSED ELECTORAL LAW; ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE DE BERRI; VIOLENT LANGUAGE OF CHATEAUBRIAND; FALL OF DECAZES; SECOND MINISTRY OF THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU; STATE OF PARTIES; THE LAWS OF ARREST, OF THE PRESS, AND OF ELECTIONS; RIOTS, AND POPULAR COMMOTIONS; STEPS OF THE EXTREME LIBERAL PARTY; THE KING AND MADAME DU CAYLA.

THE year 1819 opened with what promised to be a popular ministry at the head of affairs. The first measures of the new cabinet were devoted to increase their friends, and to reward their adherents. M. Decazes, as minister of the interior, proposed to his majesty, that all the proscribed, with a very few exceptions, should be permitted to return to France. Louis, instead of objecting, entered cordially into the measure. "They have suffered much," was his reply to the minister's proposal; "but they should ascribe it less to me than to circumstances; and as we have resolved on an act of grace, let it be complete." Then the council of state was remodelled. MM. Barante, Berenger, de Broglie, Cuvier, Degerando, general Mathieu, Dumas, Guizot, and Ramond, being appointed members of the deliberative section; and MM. Camille Jourdain, Mounier, Portalis, Simeon, and Royer-Collard, were nominated upon the legislative division of that body. Royer-Collard was also

appointed president of the council of public instruction. In the army, marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr promoted many who had taken part with Napoleon in the struggle of 1815; and the royal guard of the king was opened to the officers and sub-officers of the army; whilst several colonels of the guard were advanced in the army as field-m Marshals. The two measures greatly displeased the count d'Artois and his adherents. Whilst the first admitted into the guard, as officers, persons on whom they could not depend, the latter removed from it those on whom they might rely as faithful defenders. But all remonstrance was vain. The tide had set in; and in every department of government, patronage was exercised in the same direction, both in the capital and the departments. "In a word," says an eminent historian, "the government threw themselves everywhere, and without reserve, into the arms of the liberal party, hoping that they would thus found the monarchy upon

the affections or interests of the majority of the nation.

On the 13th of January, count Decazes submitted a decree to his majesty, for the revival of public exhibitions of the products of industry, to take place every two years, the first to be opened on the 25th of August. On the 27th, the same minister submitted another decree to the king, for creating a council of agriculture, with a view of promoting the improvement of that branch of industry. His majesty heartily approved of both measures, and appointed the dukes de la Rochefoucauld, Choiseul, and Liancourt, members of the council of agriculture. Whilst thus attending to administrative details, no measure of public interest was brought forward in the legislature. Indeed, the only proceeding in the chambers that excited the slightest attention, during the first month of the year, was the proposal, made by Lally-Tollendal in the peers, and by Benjamin Delessert in the commons, that a national recompense should be made to the duke de Richelieu, for his services in delivering France from the pressure of the foreign army of occupation. It might have been supposed, that this was a proposition which would not have met with an opponent; it was, however, vehemently denounced by both the right and left sides of the chambers. In accordance with the wish of the king, the proposal was, that a *majorat* of 50,000*l.* per annum should be secured upon the crown property, and descend to the possessor of the title. As soon as the duke heard of it, he addressed a letter to both houses, declining any pecuniary recompense at a time when France was so heavily oppressed by the public burthens. If he had rendered services to France, and been a means of procuring the freedom of her territory, "the esteem of his country, the friendship of his sovereign, and the testimony of his own conscience," he said, "were a sufficient reward." The proposal, however, was persisted in; but the deputies limited the grant to the direct, refusing to extend it to the collateral, heirs to the title. In this shape the proposal was adopted in the deputies by 124 to 85 votes; in the peers by 83 to 45. The duke had no direct heirs, and, in the event of his death, the title would descend to a nephew. His grace, therefore, refused to avail himself of the gift during his life, but bestowed it on the hospitals of Bordeaux.

The ministers not bringing any measure of public importance forward, the ultra-royalists resolved, in the chamber of peers, to introduce a *projet-de-loi*, for altering the law of elections. The marquis Barthelemy—whose career had been varied, he having been, contrary to his wishes, elected a member of the directory, and been banished by the democratic decree of the 11th of Fructidor, 1797—had subsequently returned, his life being preserved by what was considered a near approach to a miracle—had been a senator

under the empire, and was now a peer of France—this nobleman was selected to bring the question forward in the peers. He introduced the subject on the 20th of February, and obtained leave to bring in his project by a majority of 80 to 53. The alterations contemplated the reconstruction of the electoral colleges, the double vote, and the restoration of the influence of the landed proprietors. The discussion of the question on its merits, commenced on the 20th of February, and the *projet-de-loi* was adopted by 98 votes to 53. These votes alarmed the government; and the conduct of the peers on another subject showed, that there was a determined line of opposition between the two houses. The financial year begun on the 1st of January. This was found to be practically attended with inconvenience, and the ministers wished to alter it. This could only be effected by voting the supplies for eighteen, instead of twenty, months. That the ministers proposed should be done; and, though the proposal was vehemently opposed by M. de Villele and the orators on the right, the chamber of deputies sanctioned it. When taken before the peers, it was rejected by 93 to 54.

These measures convinced Decazes (who was the real head of the cabinet) and his colleagues, that something must be done to procure a ministerial majority in the upper house; and it was proposed to his majesty, that he should create sixty new peers. The marquis Dessolles, as president of the council, laid a memorial before the king, strongly advising his majesty to take this step; and, although Louis objected at first, he finally consented: in the *Moniteur* of the 8th of March, the new creations appeared. They increased the number of peers from 208 to 270, and included such men as marshals Davoust, Jourdain, Lefebvre, Moncey, Mortier, and Suchet; admirals Tonquet, Tricquet, and Verhuel; counts Becker, Belliard, Clacapede, Dejean, Latour-Maubourg, and Rapp; the civilians d'Augout, de Barrente, Chaptal, David, Lacépede, Mathieu, and Portalis. This step taken, the electoral law was debated in the chamber of deputies; where it was rejected by 150 votes to 94.

M. de Serre then brought forward a law to regulate the press, and it was a great concession in favour of the liberty of that important engine of discussion. It abolished the censorship, but obliged the proprietors of public journals to give securities, to the value of 10,000*l.*, for good behaviour. Offences committed through the press, against the person of the king, those of the royal family, members of the chambers, or foreign sovereigns, and defamation affecting the character of any individual or individuals, were to be visited with graduated penalties, which were heavy in the cases of public functionaries, or foreign ambassadors. Heavy penalties were also affixed to offences against public morality. The

principle of trial by jury was introduced into the bill. Libels upon individuals were to be tried by the judges alone; those upon public interests or establishments, by juries. This measure the ministers carried, in the face of a violent opposition. Upon the question of its passing, in the deputies, the numbers were—*for*, 143; *against*, 58.—These were the most important measures brought before the chambers in the session of 1819. The budget proposed, exhibited a considerable reduction from that of 1818 (the expenditure being fixed at 889,210,000*f.*), and it passed without much discussion. Just before the chambers broke up, on the 14th July, on the motion of the duke de Lévis, it was agreed to abolish an old prerogative of the crown, called the *droit d'aubaine*, by which the sovereigns claimed the property of any unnaturalised foreigner who died in the country. This custom was abolished by the national assembly; but restored, with the establishment of the empire, in 1804.

There were several other administrative measures of considerable importance introduced during the year, although the legislative ones had little effect on the social state of France, except, perhaps, that connected with the liberty of the press. Besides those already mentioned, for the encouragement of industry, and the improvement of agriculture, the national guard was restored to its original municipal organisation, and placed under the inspection of a committee, which authorised all measures for its organisation. The study of law was encouraged and promoted by the establishment of chairs of public law, administrative law, and the philosophical history of Roman law. A general council of prisons was established, whose duty was to look attentively to the state of the prisons, the condition and treatment of the prisoners, &c. The security of individual liberty was also looked to; and M. de Serre issued a series of regulations, all having for their object, the protection of personal liberty, so far as it was compatible with public justice.

There is no doubt that the political measures of the government were all advances in the path of constitutional liberty; and the commercial ones were conducive to the promotion of social prosperity. From the operation of these measures, and from other causes, the condition of the country, and the prosperity of every class—even of the working-men—was considerably improved. The influx of strangers, by the large sums of money they expended, and the demand they created for the necessities and luxuries of life, contributed, materially, to this result. A great many of the visitors continued to be English. "The freedom of intercourse, which the restoration had established between France and England, was favourable to both countries. Frenchmen could see the immense progress which manufacturing industry had made in England, by the application

and improvement of machinery; and Englishmen could learn to profit by French taste and elegance. Great numbers of English visited Paris, and also settled in various parts of France, where they found living much cheaper, a better climate, and more of the conveniences and luxuries of civilisation, at less cost. The stranger in Paris admired the magnificent works of art, completed or commenced under Bonaparte; and the restoration, if it did not finish all that had been begun, did not neglect the improvement of the capital. The Bourse was completed; and the statue of Henri IV. restored to its place on the *Pont Neuf*."*

In this march of artistic and social improvement—this augmentation of personal convenience and comfort—if the din of party strife could have been stilled, still more rapid strides might have been made. But the extremes of both sides—the ultra-liberals and the ultra-royalists—were dissatisfied with the ministry. The latter availed themselves of the clergy to promulgate their dissatisfaction; and missionaries went throughout the departments, denouncing the revolution, not merely in its crimes, which were numerous, but in its benefits; and it was not entirely void of them. The pious inhabitants were called upon to perform penance for the sins of their fathers, and for their own, if they had taken an active part in any of the revolutionary movements; and the necessity of a return to the religious and political principles of the old *régime* was enforced. It was the policy of the ministerialists to balance one party against the other, and to take a middle course. But they soon found they had undertaken an impossible task. It is not much to be wondered at, that the liberals were dissatisfied. The ministers looked out for talent, and they were anxious to promote intelligence; but, when the electoral system they patronised and supported, out of a population of 30,000,000, supplied a body of electors only about 70,000 or 80,000 in number, it is quite evident that there must have been a great mass of interests and intelligence—to say nothing of numbers—unrepresented; we cannot, therefore, be surprised at the prevalence of discontent. The opposition of the ultra-royalists was much more inconsistent. If they had given the king a constitutional and a firm support, many of the evils and distressing events of after years, in all probability, would have been avoided. The king really wished to govern in accordance with the charter; and he wished to be king over *all*, not a mere portion of his people. Had he been younger and more active, he might have elicited a strong personal feeling, as his instincts and his likings tended to conduct which promoted popularity. He was compelled, however, to keep himself greatly secluded; and when he did appear in public, his unfortunate

* Lodge's *France and its Revolutions*.

appearance, bloated and obese, was not calculated to elicit respect. Still he was not unpopular; and if all the Bourbons had been like Louis XVIII., that family might still have occupied the throne of France.

At the election of one-fifth of the chamber of deputies who retired, in September, 1819, the ultra-royalists evinced an inconsistency, bordering on madness. They would not content themselves with leaving the ministerialists and the jacobins (as the party of the extreme left was again termed) to fight the contests out between themselves, when they had no chance of returning a candidate; but, raising the cry of, "rather return jacobins than ministerialists," they contributed to the return of some of the most ineligible men that were sent to the chamber. Thus, at Grenoble, they procured the election of the abbé Gregoire, ex-bishop of Blois, and a regicide. A central committee sat in Paris to superintend the elections; it was called the "managing committee;" and this particular election was settled by that committee, and took place accordingly, on the 11th of September. This was a great error—worse, it was a great fault; as, however the presence of such men in the chamber might damage their opponents, it could not benefit them. Several other candidates, almost as objectionable, were returned at that election by the same means. Of fifty-two members elected, more than one-half were decided liberals. They displaced ultra-royalists for the most part; but if the voters of that party had stood neuter, when they found they could not elect a candidate of their own, in most cases ministerialists would have been returned. The extreme left, at the close of the elections, mustered nearly 100 votes; amongst the new members introduced by them were general Foy, baron Mechin, l'abbé de Pompières, François de Nantes, and Sebastiani.

The result of these elections—particularly the return of the abbé Gregoire, which had given the count d'Artois an opportunity of reproaching the king with the evident tendency of his measures—caused Decazes seriously to contemplate a change in the election law. The representatives of the foreign powers were alarmed at the progress of liberalism; the duke de Richelieu, who had just returned to Paris from an excursion to the East, expressed his opinion very decidedly, as to the turn which he thought things were taking; and the election of the abbé Gregoire was very annoying to the king. The minister of the interior, therefore—at the express instigation, it is said, of his majesty—resolved on effecting some change. He proposed, that the annual renewal of one-fifth of the chamber should be discontinued; that, instead of the elections taking place in one town, in each department, the voting should be divided amongst different places; and he also suggested that shop-keepers,

who voted in consequence of paying the patent-tax, should not be entitled to the franchise, unless they had paid the tax for a year. There was no particular objection to these alterations; but, of course, they were displeasing to those who wanted no change, whilst they did not go far enough to satisfy the ultra-royalists. When discussed in the cabinet, the marquis Dessolles, St. Cyr, and baron Louis, refused to sanction them; and as the king sided with Decazes, those three ministers resigned. The count then, who had been virtually premier since the retirement of Richelieu, took that position, and the office of president of the council. General Latour-Maubourg was made minister of war; M. Pasquier, minister for foreign affairs; M. Roy again took the office of finance minister. At the same time, Royer-Collard resigned his office of president of the council of public instruction. He was one of the chiefs of the *doctrinaires*; and objected to implicating that party in support of Decazes' policy. He was not, however, generally followed by the members of that highly respectable and intelligent section of the monarchical party.

The session was opened on the 29th of November. In his speech, the king, after congratulating the chambers on the peace and plenty which prevailed, and on the increase to the family of the duke de Berri, which had just taken place; communicated the information, that a fresh agreement had been concluded with the pope, by which, though the number of bishops was completed, the liberties of the Gallican church were preserved intact. His majesty then adverted to the prevalence of a vague, but real disquietude, as to the duration of the then happy state of the political world. The violence of faction naturally produced alarm, from the eagerness with which the various partisans strove for domination; and the boldness with which they developed their schemes, and put forth their principles. These symptoms had suggested the propriety of making some modifications in the charter, in order to conciliate, if possible, the views of the opposing factions. "The moment has come for fortifying the chamber of deputies," said the king, in conclusion, "and withdrawing it from the annual action of parties, giving it a duration more consonant to the interests of public order, and of national respect abroad. I have given orders for the preparation of laws, insuring individual liberty and impartial justice, with the regular and faithful administration of departments and communes, as well as for modifications in the electoral law. And it is to the devotion, to the energy of the two chambers, to their intimate union with my government, that I must appeal for the means of saving the public liberties from license, securing the monarchy, and giving to all interests, guaranteed by the charter, the profound security for which we are indebted to it."

The election of president brought out all the parties in the chamber. M. Ravez was proposed by the ministerialists; M. Villele, by the ultra-royalists; and M. Lafitte, by the Jacobins. The first had 105; the second, 75; and the third, 65 votes. This affair settled, the election of Gregoire occupied the chambers, and, till that was decided, the members would not direct their attention to anything else. Though the ultra-royalist electors had contributed to his election, the ultra-royalist members were determined that he should be excluded, as a regicide. His election might have been declared void, on the ground of his residing without the limits of the department, but the right would admit of no compromise; Gregoire was a regicide, and must be expelled. Lainé, unexpectedly, took the same side, and declared that he must be deprived of his seat, which he was unworthy to fill: but Constant and Manuel contended, that, under the charter, his election was perfectly legal; reminding the ministerialists, that the king himself had summoned a regicide, Fouché, to his councils,—Pasquier replied, that if a king had a right to overlook and pardon crime, an electoral body had not. The result of the contest was, that Gregoire was expelled from the chamber; and as, at the same time, the proscribed, regicides included, were daily returning to France, under the relaxation of the law which Decazes himself had proposed to the king, the ultra-royalists vehemently blamed the minister for this inconsistency, as they termed it. But, surely, there is a great difference between merely removing civil disabilities from an offender, and permitting him to rejoin society (if society chooses to receive him), and investing him with the dignity and privileges of a legislator: the one might be a judicious act of mercy, the other a wanton outrage of propriety. Besides, for the election of Gregoire, the ultra-royalists, and not the ministerialists, were to blame.

The next struggle was upon the address. The ministerialists moved a commission for preparing the address, which, had they succeeded, would, as in England, have been the echo of the royal speech. The opposition proposed a commission of their own, and they carried it by one vote—the numbers being 108 to 107. The address, drawn up by this commission, termed the apprehensions as to the result of the intrigues of faction “unnecessary fears.” The laws, said this document, “are every day meeting with an easy execution; nowhere is the public tranquillity disturbed; but it is, no doubt, true, that a vague disquietude has taken possession of the public mind, and the factions, which attempt no concealment of their projects and their hopes, endeavour to corrupt public opinion, and they would plunge us into licentiousness, in order to destroy our liberties.” This address was carried.—The peers, in their address, declared, that

“opinions which have overthrown empires are again awakening, and threaten the institutions which are a rampart to the throne and to liberty. The most sacred things, the most august personages, are not secure against these rash attacks; and it is time to check the excess of a few factions.” The peers appear to have been warranted in these assertions. Since the law on the press had passed, the public journals against the government were most violent in the expression of their opinions; and the administrative measures of the ministers did not appear to have in the least mitigated the hostility of the liberal party. As soon as it was known that a change was to be introduced into the electoral law, petitions were poured into the chambers, calling upon them to maintain it as it was; these petitions were signed by women and children, as well as by men; and they were produced by the fear, that, few as were the electors under the existing law, the franchise would be still more restricted by any measure introduced by the government; whilst the qualifications for electors and elected, it was apprehended, would be so changed as again to give the aristocracy the ascendancy. In some of the journals, not only was the government opposed, but assassination was defended, and the most violent revolutionary doctrines, such as the sovereignty of the people, were promulgated; whilst the character and acts of Napoleon were the theme of unqualified eulogy. Many, if not all, of the movements of both press and people were directed by the secret societies which had come into existence since the second restoration. Into these societies, according to Lamartine, “the spirit of conspiracy insinuated itself under the colour of liberal opinions. Public associations were formed to defend, by all legal means, the liberty of thought, of opinion, and of the press. MM. de Lafayette, d’Argenson, Lafitte, Benjamin Constant, Gevaudeau, Mechin, Gassicourt, de Broglie, and others, directed the course of public action. M. de Lafayette, in his hôtel, held meetings of still more secret and determined committees. Every defensive arm, gained by our institutions to public freedom, became, in their hands, an aggressive arm for the purposes of conspiracy. Secret correspondences were established between the persons proscribed at Brussels and the malcontents in Paris. They spoke openly of changing the dynasty. The king of the Netherlands, it was said, secretly favoured their projects, and hoped to elevate his house on the ruins of the Bourbons. The threads of the conspiracy extended into Germany, Italy, Spain, Piedmont, and Naples.” In Spain, there was some excuse for reaction from the violations of the constitution by Ferdinand. There revolution prevailed, and led to the restoration of the constitution of 1812. In Germany, there was a disturbed state of the public mind prevalent throughout the

country. The students formed themselves into secret political associations, and were ready for any mad attempt on the established order of things. In Italy, the secret society of the *carbonari* was organised. In England, the radicals were holding those meetings, and taking those steps, which led to the dispersion of one of the former, at Manchester, by an armed force, and to the passing of the "six acts," for restraining the freedom both of speech and the press. In fact, all over Europe, the public mind was disturbed, and the people appeared to be prepared for the most violent changes.

The project for altering the election law—prepared by the ministers, assisted by MM. de Broglie, Guizot, and Villemaine—was designed to prevent, what was found to be the tendency of the existing system—the production of a uniform representation, and the establishment of a complete preponderance of one class of society over the others. The principal provisions were—1st. That the number of deputies should be extended from 260 to 430. 2nd. That 258 should be returned by colleges of arrondissements, and 172 by the colleges of departments. 3rd. The electors of the colleges of departments to be appointed by the colleges of arrondissements, and to be persons paying 1,000*fr.* of annual taxes. 4th. That the half of all taxes to make up the quota, should be land-tax. 5th. The elections to be by bulletin—a species of ballot. 6th. The 172 deputies for the departments to be elected immediately. 7th. The chamber to be renewed every seven years, like the English house of commons.

No sooner were the provisions of the bill known, than the violence of the press increased. The assassins of the present and former days were made the objects of eulogy; and in one pamphlet, written by M. Saint Simon, it was maintained, that it was a crime of less magnitude to assassinate such persons as the king, the duke d'Angoulême, and the duke de Berri, "because persons could be more readily found to perform the duties of kings and princes than of common workmen." It was almost impossible, but that such sentiments, freely disseminated, should produce their fruit. At that time there was living at Paris a man named Louvel; born at Versailles, in 1787, of humble parents, he was brought up amidst the scenes of the revolution; and seems to have imbibed the most intense hatred of royalty, which never abated. He contracted a mania for regicide; and in 1814, was waiting at Calais, with the intent to assassinate Louis XVIII., as soon as he put his foot on the French shore. Subsequently, he is said to have repeatedly visited St. Germain, St. Cloud, and Fontainebleau—his object being to assassinate one of the royal family. His morbid passions were, no doubt, increased in violence by the unprincipled publications of the day; and, at

length, he obtained the opportunity of committing the crime he had so long meditated. It was the 13th of February, the last day of the carnival. The duke de Berri went to the opera in the evening, with the duchess, who, since her marriage, had made herself "troops of friends," by the elegance and beauty of her person, and her engaging, lively, and graceful deportment. On the evening in question, in an interval between the performance, the duke and duchess had gone from their own box, to that of the Orleans family, several of whom were present. After a few minutes' conversation, the royal pair were returning to their seats, when, as they were passing along the lobby, a door was thrown open, which struck the duchess, and hurt her so much that, in her then condition—expecting shortly to become a mother—she expressed a wish to go home. The duke handed her to their carriage, intending to return to the box himself. As he closed the door, "Adieu," she said, "we shall soon meet again." At that moment, Louvel advanced, and plunging a poniard into the duke's right side, he left it in the wound, and ran off, unseen by the servants. The duke exclaimed that he was assassinated; his voice reached the duchess, as the carriage was driving off. A piercing shriek, and an order to stop the carriage, followed, and in a minute or two after he received the wound, the duke was in the arms of his wife. He was removed into a saloon of the opera-house, and almost instantaneously several of the most eminent medical men in Paris were in attendance. The wound proved to be mortal. His royal highness could not be removed; but he survived long enough for the king and other members of his family to arrive; also, the bishop of Chartres, his father's confessor, and his own. All the rites of the Roman catholic church—used in the case of dying persons—were performed; and his royal highness expired, while imploring the king to pardon his assassin. Louis did not assent to the request of the duke; and Louvel, who was arrested in his attempt to escape, was brought to trial before the court of peers, when it appeared that he had no accomplices, and he suffered the final penalty of the law, shortly after he had committed the crime.

The assassination of the duke de Berri appears to have excited great indignation. He was universally regretted, and the deepest sympathy for his duchess, who soon after gave birth to the present count de Chambord, was expressed. But it was soon made the ground for violent attacks on the ministry. Chateaubriand, in the *Conservateur*, an ultra-royalist journal, declared, that "the hand which struck the blow was not the most guilty. Those," he said, "who have really assassinated the duke de Berri are those who, for four years, have laboured to establish democratic laws in the monarchy; those who have banished

religion from our laws; those who have recalled the murderers of Louis XVI.; those who have heard with indifference impunity for regicides discussed at the tribune; those who have allowed the journals to preach up the sovereignty of the people, insurrection, and murder, without making any use of the laws intended for their repression; those who have favoured every false doctrine; those who have rewarded treason and punished fidelity; those who have filled up all appointments with the enemies of the Bourbons and the creatures of Bonaparte; those who, pressed by the public indignation, have promised to repeal a fatal law, and have done nothing during three months, apparently to give the revolutionists time to sharpen their poniards.—These are the true murderers of the duke de Berri."

Minor politicians, in their speeches and writings, exceeded even the tirade of Chateaubriand in virulence; and the count Decazes was openly charged with being an accomplice of Louvel. On the night of the assassination, he had gone into the room where the assassin was placed after his seizure, and asked him if the dagger were poisoned? thinking, if it were, that an antidote might be administered, and the duke saved. The reply was in the negative. What passed was not heard; but Decazes was seen to speak to the murderer, and that was enough to establish a connection between them in the minds of the numerous enemies of the minister. In the chamber of deputies, M. Clausel de Coussergues proposed, "to institute a prosecution against M. Decazes, minister of the interior, as accomplice in the assassination." On that occasion, general Foy expressed the detestation in which those of his side of the chamber held the crime. "If such an event is deplorable for all," said he, "it is in an especial manner so for the friends of freedom, since there can be no doubt that their adversaries will take advantage of this execrable crime, to wrest from the nation the liberties which the king has bestowed upon it, and which he is so anxious to maintain." There were some other speakers, but only twenty-five deputies voted for the proposition of M. Clausel de Coussergues. M. de la Bourdonnaye then proposed that an address should be presented to his majesty, praying him to put down revolutionary doctrines. General Foy supported the motion for an address, but moved that it should only express the grief of the chamber at the deplorable crime. This proposition obtained the unanimous assent of the members.

Though the provisions of the new electoral law had been made known before the assassination of the duke de Berri, it was not formally introduced to the chambers by the count Decazes till the 16th of February, three days after that event. At the same time, two other *projets-de-loi* were introduced, one to establish the

censorship of the daily press; the other to suspend the law relative to personal liberty in the cases of persons charged with plots against the person of the king, or the safety of the state, and the royal family. It might be supposed, that public feeling was in favour of the latter projects, for addresses were sent from all parts of France, calling for measures suited to the times, and adapted to check the spread of revolutionary doctrines; to protect the persons of the royal family; and to secure the safety and peace of the country. The minister, soon found, however, that he could not carry his propositions through the chambers, such was the prejudice entertained against him. The king would fain have kept him in the ministry, but M. Chateaubriand attacked him again in the *Conservateur*, and said "his feet had slipped in blood;" whilst all the members of the royal family, except the duke d'Orleans, demanded his dismissal. "How is it possible for me," said the count d'Artois to the king, a day or two after the above bills had been laid on the table, "to remain at the Tuileries with M. Decazes, accused of being an accomplice in the crime of assassination, sitting in the cabinet? I beseech your majesty to permit me to retire to Compiègne." This came to the ear of the count, and he immediately tendered his resignation, which the king felt obliged to accept, but he did so with assurances of his continued esteem. "It is not against you," said his majesty, "but against me that the stroke is directed. The pavilion Marsan are trying to overbear me. I will not have M. de Talleyrand; the duke de Richelieu shall replace you. I will show the world that you have not lost my confidence."

The king commissioned the count to wait on the duke de Richelieu, and induce him to accept the commission of reconstructing the cabinet. It was with great difficulty, and only by the express solicitation of the king, that he could be persuaded to do so; and he would not finally consent, till the duke d'Artois had promised him his support, and also to procure the absolute and unconditional adherence of his friends. The duke again took the office of president of the council, and M. Simeon was made minister of the interior. He had been under-secretary to the minister of justice, in which post M. Portalis succeeded him. Since Decazes had been minister of the interior the police had been united to that department. They were now again divided; and M. Mounier, son of Mounier, a member of the national assembly in 1789, was placed at the head of the police as director-general. M. Capelle, private secretary of the count d'Artois, was appointed principal secretary to the minister of the interior. These were the only changes; and Decazes, though fallen, was not disgraced. The appointment of resident minister at the court of London was conferred upon him, with a salary of

300,000*fr.* (£12,000) per annum. The king also made him several presents; gave him the patent for a dukedom, made out with his own hand; and wrote him two autograph notes, in the most affectionate terms, expressing his indignation at the charges made in the ultra-royalist journals against him.

The ministry, as now constituted and supported, was compelled to be essentially ultra-royalist; and the appointments of M. Portalis and M. Capelle, both members of that party, enabled the count d'Artois again to exercise an influence in the departments, of which he had been for some time deprived. The aim of that party was, to extinguish every vestige of the revolution; to prevent any person tainted with its principles from holding office; and to restore the ancient *régime* in church and state. The liberals, or Jacobins, on the contrary, still held the principles of the revolution, and all their measures were directed to increase the power and influence of the democracy. The liberal-royalists—in which category the *doctrinaires* are included—entertained, as we have shown,* principles, both liberal and constitutional. If they had been supported by the people, and enabled to carry those principles out, it would have been better for France. But, like most middle parties, violently attacked by both their opponents, they found themselves compelled to abandon office, or make advances either to “the right” or “the left.” The duke de Richelieu and his friends, of the two evils, chose what they deemed the least. They allied themselves with the ultra-royalists, and agreed to make such changes in the electoral law as would break down that predominance, which the extreme liberals were rapidly gaining under the existing system. An historian† says, that in doing this they acted “criminally as constitutionalists—suicidally as politicians.” But it should be recollected, they were unable to act by themselves, and carry their own measures. They expected to maintain their position by the promised aid of the count d'Artois and his friends, and to be able to restrain the progress of that despotism to which the ultra-royalists were inclined on the one hand, and the licentiousness of the extreme liberals on the other. We see nothing criminal in the course they took; and it is quite evident, from subsequent events, and the tendency of opinion in France, that they would have been, ultimately, equally extinguished as politicians, whether they had, for a time, endeavoured to maintain their independent ground, or had joined “the left,” under the leadership of Lafitte, Lafayette, and others of that school.

After the funeral of the duke de Berri, which did not take place till March 13th, the new ministers proceeded to bring in their measures for regulating the law of arrest, for restraining

the licentiousness of the press, and for altering the law of elections. The first measure was a revival of that introduced by Decazes before his resignation. It was opposed by the left—the principal speakers being general Foy and Benj. Constant, who contended, that the abyss of the counter-revolution was about to open; that all the guarantees which the nation strove to obtain in 1789, and hailed with so much joy in 1814, were to be abolished; and the *régime* of 1784 to be revived. The circumstances of the country did not call for any such measures as were brought forward, which would undoubtedly be applied in the interest of the counter-revolution. The dukes de Richelieu and Fitz-James, who were the principal supporters of the project, enlarged on the dangers to which the state and royal family were exposed, as no one could suppose that the assassination of the 13th of February was an isolated act. The ferocious songs sung in the streets, and even under the window of the duchess de Berri—the menaces of violence, and the threats which were directed against the bereaved father, whose grief ought to have excited sympathy—the circulation of medals, struck with the name of Maria-Louisa and her son—with other acts of the extreme liberal party (who had formed an alliance with the numerous friends of Bonaparte still in France), were cited as proofs of the licentiousness of the agitators. In February a conspiracy had been discovered in England, having for its object the assassination of the ministers; and, before the projects passed, on the 23rd of March, the fanatic student Sand had assassinated Kotzebue, at Mannheim,—the German liberals charging the dramatist with designs against the freedom of the country, in the interest of Russia, in whose service he was. These events were dwelt upon by the supporters of the measure as justifying its introduction; and their arguments were so far successful, that the *projet-de-loi* was adopted in the deputies by 134 votes to 113; and in the peers by 121 to 86. The bill for re-establishing the censorship of the press was as vehemently opposed. That also passed both chambers; in the deputies by 136 to 110; in the peers by 106 to 104.

The law of elections was not introduced till the 17th of April. That proposed by count Decazes being withdrawn, it was not without much consultation that the form of the new measure was arranged, chiefly by the exertions of MM. Simeon, Pasquier, and Mounier. The leading features of the project were, that the colleges of electors should be divided into two classes—those of departments and those of arrondissements. The departmental colleges were to consist of a fifth part of the whole electors, paying the highest taxes; those of the arrondissements of the remainder of the electors, residing within their limits. The latter colleges were to

* See *ante*, pp. 312, 313.

† Eyre Evans Crowe.

choose such candidates as they pleased, to return to the departmental colleges, who were to elect the deputies from the persons thus selected in the arrondissements. In the debate on this law, the orators of the left maintained, that "France and her liberties, the revolution, and its conquests, the honour of the present, and the security of the future, were all lost, if the ministerial measure should pass. The right, on the other hand, looked upon it as scarcely strong enough to save the monarchy for the moment, and declared their resolution to reject every amendment which might endanger its progress."* M. Royer-Collard, M. Lafayette, and general Foy, were the principal speakers in opposition; M. de Serre, M. Simeon, and M. Villèle, in defence. After several days' debate, M. Camille Jourdain proposed, as an amendment, what he termed a compromise between the ministerial views and those of their opponents. It was to the effect, that "each department should be divided into as many electoral arrondissements as the department returned deputies to the chamber; that each arrondissement should have its electoral college, composed of residents paying direct taxes annually to the amount of 300*fr.*; and that each college should directly nominate its own deputy." This amendment received the support of the entire party of extreme liberals, and of some of the *doctrinaires*, both in the chamber and the peers; and, to the surprise and annoyance of ministers, it was carried by 128 votes against 127. Of the members who were present at the sitting, the numbers were equally divided; but, when the division was taking place, M. de Chauvelin, absent from illness, and unable to walk, was carried into the chamber, and voted for Camille Jourdain's amendment.

This decision of the chamber materially affected the views of the ministers, as it would, in reality, have made no alteration in the tendency of the elections, the power being still left in the hands of the most democratic part of the community. To enable them to defeat the amendment, negotiations were opened with the chiefs of the *doctrinaires*, and many of that party were induced to support another amendment, which it was arranged should be proposed by M. Boin and M. Courvoisier, both members of that section of politicians. This amendment incorporated the provisions of M. Decazes' project, as to the increase of the number of members, and their division between departments and arrondissements; and proposed, that the 172 deputies to be returned by the former, should be chosen, not by the whole body of electors, but by one-fourth of them—those who paid the highest amount of taxes. This amendment was carried, in its first stage, by 130 to 125 votes; and the measure was ultimately passed by 135 to 66.

* M. Guizot.

In the chamber of peers it met with opposition; but it passed that ordeal also, and became law.

The debate on this measure extended over twenty-six days. It was carried on in the midst of riots and outrages out of doors, which the police and military had great difficulty in repressing. The conduct pursued to the duchess de Berri can only be termed brutal in the extreme. It soon became generally known that she was pregnant; and whilst the royalists hoped that she would prolong the royal line of the Bourbons, all who were opposed to that house—whether republicans or Bonapartists—saw, in her position, the very probable disappointment of their hope, that the assassination of the duke de Berri would be the means of extinguishing the elder branch. Excited by some parties, ruffians were found, who sang the most abominable songs under her windows, and repeatedly discharged lighted petards and caronades at night, in those arches of the Tuileries, over which, it was understood, the chambers of the duchess were situated. In the daytime, crowds assembled round the chamber of deputies and the Place Bourbon, shouting "*Vive la charte!*" and denouncing vengeance upon its enemies. The popular excitement was increased by the publication of a petition, presented to the deputies by M. Madier de Montjau, a judge of the royal court of Nismes. The purport of it was, that two circulars had been sent to various parties in that city, from a committee of ultra-royalists sitting in Paris. The first, dispatched immediately after the assassination of the duke de Berri, stated, that that event must produce the fall of Decazes; and the members of the party at Nismes were called upon to act as if that minister was no longer in office. The second, which arrived a few days subsequently, announced his fall: "We have gained a decisive victory," continued the writer, "and the ministry now forming may render us important service. Let hostility, therefore, disappear, and calm be restored." It was recommended that addresses should be got up; that they should be sent from every village; and that, in those addresses, the demand for vengeance should be mingled with the sentiment of grief for the murdered prince.

These circulars, really emanating from the central committee in Paris, which directed the elections, were supposed, by the judge, to indicate the existence of a secret government opposed to that of the king. They were drawn up, he said, by the same hand as penned the secret notes to the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle; and had he not retained, in Nismes, the military garrison, there would have been a renewal there of the scenes of 1815. He refused to give up the names of the parties from whom he received the circulars and his information; and he was reprimanded, instead of being complimented, by the chamber. Out of doors, however, his statements had a great

effect. They increased the unpopularity of the count d'Artois; and added to the violent zeal of the populace.

There really was no solid ground for these demonstrations. The ministers scarcely called the law of arrest into operation at all; and, as far as they were concerned, they, at first, evinced no great desire to interfere with the liberty of the press. They merely named the parties who were to act as censors, and established a superior commission of censorship, composed of magistrates belonging to the court of cassation, and the royal court, to which there was an appeal. But the "left" made both laws a basis for their opposition. Whilst the invasion of the freedom of the press was denounced, an association was formed to "protect prisoners of state," who might be "plunged into dungeons, under the law of arrest." The originators of this society issued a prospectus, in which it was maintained, that "arbitrary power, clothed with the forms of law, could not prescribe against those eternal laws which God had engraven on every heart." And "that humanity and justice were manifestly outraged by a measure, which delivered the liberty and the honour of citizens to the mercy of policy, hatred, corruption, meanness, and all the passions of certain individuals." The committee of management of this association included on its list, MM. Lafitte, Casimir-Perrier, Lafayette, Kératry, and Odilon-Barrot; and, though some of these men would have shrunk from such a consummation, there is no doubt that the direct conspiracy against the house of Bourbon, which soon afterwards broke out, originated with this association.

With respect to the head of that house, the ultra-royalists were, according to M. Lamartine, during this period engaged in a curious intrigue, with a view to overcome his attachment to his ex-minister, the duke Decazes, and to supplant the influence that statesman continued to exercise after he left office, by that of a young and attractive female, wedded to their interests. M. Guizot is silent on the subject; but all the other historians have adopted Lamartine's statement, who had ample opportunities of knowing the truth of what he asserted. The king was not licentious; he had no females at his court of that class and character, which had such a baneful influence in the reigns of Louis XIV. and XV. Yet he was fond of female society; and he really possessed the power of rendering himself agreeable to the ladies in conversation, and of maintaining a lively correspondence, in which, with many elegant compliments, pointed and brilliant sayings, and lively *badinage*, there was nothing of love. Aware of his inclination for this "innocent trifling," the ultra-royalists resolved to try whether it could not be turned to their account. A young and beautiful female was then residing in Paris, in the family

of the prince de Condé. The prince had an illegitimate daughter, the countess de Rully, with whom this young lady was intimate, and "no scandal," we are told, attached to her name. She was the daughter of M. Talon, who was a member of the old magistracy, before the revolution, and took an active part in the intrigues which preceded that event, especially those with which Mirabeau was connected. He subsequently became mixed up with the Bonapartists; and his daughter was a friend of Josephine and of her daughter Hortense. Early in life she married the count du Cayla, an old man of good fortune but bad temper, with whom she found it impossible to live. They were separated, *à la Française*, no blame whatever attaching to the lady, who retained her fortune and her children. As she frequently moved in royalist circles, the friends of the count d'Artois fixed upon her to be their agent for operating upon the king's mind, and weaning him from his affection for Decazes. The viscount de la Rochefoucauld was employed to explain their views to her, and to impress upon her the immense benefits she might be the means of conferring on the country, if she would, on being introduced to the king, exert the influence which, from her pleasing manners, she would be certain to attain over him, for the accomplishment of certain objects. It is said that madame du Cayla being sincerely, not ostentatiously, pious, some Jesuits were employed, with M. de Rochefoucauld, to expatiate on the services she would render to religion, if she could detach the monarch from men who had no attachment to the church—no regard for the clergy, but rather the reverse. These were the *general* views developed to her. The *particular* results she was urged to attain were the reconciliation of the king with his brother and with the princes; and the inducing his majesty to seek in M. de Villèle and his friends a ministry, at the same time loyal and constitutional, which would fix the throne on a firm foundation, and avert the catastrophe which threatened the monarchy.*

The published letters of this lady evince a mind at once highly cultivated, and deeply impressed with a sense of duty. From the communications made to her, she imbibed the belief that it was *her* duty to act according to the advice given her by men high in the church, and by one of the most amiable noblemen of the day. Just about the time when it was most desired, an opportunity was afforded for her introduction to Louis, under circumstances which were certain to excite his interest. Count du Cayla and the lady, between whom the intercourse of civility appears to have been kept up after their separation, came, in 1819, to an open rupture—he demanding her fortune, and that the children should be delivered up to him. The necessity of seeking the protection of the king was an excellent plea for her introduction

* Lamartine's *Hist. de la Restauration*.

to Louis. By the advice of the viscount de la Rochefoucauld, she availed herself of it; and his majesty was so influenced by her story, and by her charming manners, that he himself solicited a second interview. It took place; others followed; till, at length, her society became an essential necessity to Louis, and she spent several hours with him every day. The result was all the ultra-royalists could wish. The king does not appear to have faltered in his personal attachment to Decazes; but he ceased to be in-

fluenced by his advice, or to express a wish to have him again as minister. He also altered his policy in some essential particulars; and there is no doubt, as a former historian has observed, that the influence exerted by this lady—and there is not the most remote cause to suspect that it was of any other description than that which a sister of her talents and temperament might have exerted—had a great effect on the future destinies of France; though the *ultimate* result differed widely from that which her instigators desired.

CHAPTER VII.

MILITARY CONSPIRACY; ITS FAILURE; BIRTH OF THE DUKE OF BORDEAUX; REORGANISATION OF THE HOUSEHOLD, OF THE ARMY, AND OF THE SCHOOLS; THE ELECTIONS OF 1820; SESSION OF 1820-'21; LAWS RESPECTING THE CHURCH, AND FOR INDEMNIFYING THE MARSHALS; LAW OF THE PRESS; MINISTERIAL DIFFERENCES; DEATH OF NAPOLEON; CONGRESS OF TROPPAU AND LAYBACK; ATTEMPT TO MODIFY THE MINISTRY; MEETING OF THE CHAMBERS; THE VILLELE MINISTRY; THE "CONGREGATION;" PRINCIPAL MEN OF THE NEW MINISTRY; LAW ON THE PRESS; SECRET CONSPIRACIES; OUTBREAKS IN THE PROVINCES, AND THEIR FAILURE; BUDGET OF 1822; DEATH OF THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU; DEBATE IN THE DEPUTIES; POSITION OF M. DE VILLELE; ELECTIONS OF 1822.

ON the 17th of June, when the law of elections was in its last stage in the peers, MM. Barante, Royer-Collard, Guizot, and Camille Jourdain, for their opposition to the government, were struck off the list of councillors of state. Four prefects, belonging to the *doctrinaire* party, were also dismissed from office. This irritated the *doctrinaires*, and served to increase the popular discontent, and the tendency to violence and outrage. The riots in Paris were not suppressed without several conflicts between the troops and the people, in one of which a young student of the law, named Lallemand, was shot. They were followed by a military conspiracy. General Gouvion de St. Cyr, while minister of war, had done his utmost to conciliate the officers of the army of the empire; and he had been heartily seconded by Decazes. His successor, Latour-Maubourg, proceeded upon a different principle. He refused to employ any officers in the least tainted with Bonapartist predilections, or who were suspected of being so; and the discontent thus excited, was made use of, by M. de Lafayette, to further his designs against the government, which, he maintained, "must be overturned by open force, as it declared war against the equality of classes."* He became the head of a committee, which held its meetings at his house, and which was, in effect, a committee of insurrection. It was subsequently merged in the Carbonari. The members, besides M. de Lafayette, were—MM. Saint Aignan, Voyer d'Argenson, Beausejour, Corcelles, Dupont de l'Eure, Koechlin, Manuel, Merilhou, Rey, and Tarayr. Through

* Lamartine.

† Vaulabelle.

the agency of these men, assisted by three military officers—colonel Maziare, of the disbanded imperial guard, colonel Sauzet, on half-pay, and captain Nantil, of the legion de la Meurthe, then in garrison at Paris—a widely-extended conspiracy was planned and organised, which was to have broken out on the 19th of August. Before July closed, several legions of the army, including those stationed in the capital, were thoroughly affiliated; and early in August, M. Lafayette left the capital for La Grange; d'Argenson started for the Upper Rhine; Saint Aignan for Nantes; Corcelles for Lyons; and colonel Maziare for Amiens, to superintend the operations in those districts. All their movements were intended to be combined for one end—the overthrow of the government.† What was to succeed could not be so readily settled. Civilians joined the military; and whilst the latter were for placing the son of Napoleon on the throne, the former inclined to the duke of Orleans, thinking that it would be no relief to pass from the count d'Artois to Napoleon II. However, this difference as to the disposition for the future, was not suffered to interrupt the action of the present. There is no doubt that the conspiracy was skilfully organised. The regiments in Paris were corrupted and demoralised; and they were to be ready to join others from the provinces, who having seized the castle of Vincennes, were to march on the Tuileries, make prisoners of its occupants, and place a provisional government in the palace.

This well-arranged plot, in theory, was frustrated in the execution. The castle of Vincennes

was to have been seized on the 19th of August; but Lafayette, from a devotion to the memory of his wife, wished to observe the anniversary of her death, and a delay of a day or two being ordered, the disaffected troops were not assembled in the neighbourhood of Vincennes, when, on the 18th, an explosion of gunpowder took place in the castle. This caused fresh troops to be sent there; and the conspirators supposed that their designs were discovered. That was not exactly the case; and had they been prepared to act at the time appointed, they would have given the ministers some trouble, if they had not been entirely successful. Their delay caused all their well-laid plans to fail. The ministers had heard some rumours of a plot: they assembled on the 19th at the duke de Richelieu's; and, at that meeting, Marmont laid before them some information he had received from officers, who had been tampered with, but had refused to desert their allegiance. The names of the parties who had acted as suborners of treason were given; and also those of the men they mentioned as being concerned in the movement. Lafayette, Manuel, and several other liberal leaders, were included in the latter; but the government were afraid to risk their position in the chamber by arresting deputies so popular with the opposition. Some of the ministers, as the information they had received would enable them to prepare for the actual breaking-out of the plot, recommended, that those preparations should be made in secret; that the conspirators should be suffered to take their own course, and arrested when in the act of rebellion. Marmont advised the adoption of preventive measures; and his advice was taken. The legion de la Meurthe was sent from Paris to the frontiers; the officers being arrested, as were several of the parties who had acted merely as the agents of the real conspirators. All who were taken into custody were tried by the chamber of peers; some were acquitted; those who were found guilty were sentenced to secondary punishments.—For a time, these events injured the government; as attempts were made to persuade the public that no conspiracy existed. A few years after, the chiefs did not hesitate to boast of the share they had in it, and to exult in their escape.*

Though this plot was frustrated, peace and quiet were not restored to the land. The Bonapartists and the liberals were discomfited, but not disheartened; and they continued their machinations, which led to collisions with the police and the troops at Brest, Saumur, and some other places. Their prospects of success received a decided check from the safe delivery, on the 20th of September, of the duchess de Berri of a son. The infant was christened Henri, after the once popular head of the Bourbons, Henry IV., and was created duke de

Bordeaux, in honour of the city, which was the first to declare for the restoration of that family. Louis XVIII. was overjoyed at the event. When he first saw the infant, he said—"Here is a fine duke de Bordeaux; he is born for us all." The whole country seemed animated by the same sentiment; rejoicings took place in every town and village. Every municipality transmitted its address of congratulation; and the great cities of the kingdom, as they had done on the occasion of the birth of the king of Rome, presented a magnificent cradle to the happy mother. The only dissatisfied persons appeared to be the Orleans family—Louis Philippe being the next in succession, should the count d'Artois die without leaving a direct heir. Some of the friends of the duke d'Orleans spread the report, that the child was not in reality the offspring of the duchess de Berri, and the duke himself said to Suchet, who was present at the birth—"Monsieur le maréchal, you are a man of honour; you were a witness of the *accouchement* of the duchess de Berri. Is she really the mother of the boy?" The answer was—"As certainly as your highness is the father of the duke de Chartres!" The duke replied cordially—"That is enough, M. le maréchal;" and he and his duchess immediately went to the Tuileries to congratulate the newly-become mother, who, on her part, commemorated the birth of her infant by suing for and obtaining the pardon of two men, named Gouvin and Bouton, who had been arrested, tried, and found guilty of being connected with those attempts, to which we have alluded in a former page,† which were intended to produce such fright and alarm as might either produce miscarriage or shorten life.

The family of the prince and the French people were not alone in hailing the birth of the young prince as a happy event. The members of the *corps diplomatique* then at Paris met, and, regarding the continuance of the direct succession as likely to prevent future dissensions, and as a favourable omen for the maintenance of peace, they agreed to an address to the king, in which they said—"Providence has awarded the greatest personal blessing to the paternal tenderness of your majesty. The child of griefs, of regrets, and of tears, is also the CHILD OF EUROPE; he is at once the guarantee and the pledge of the repose and peace which should follow so many generations." The foreign sovereigns sent their congratulations to the king and the duchess; the emperor Alexander being perhaps the most warm and demonstrative. He wrote an autograph letter to the king, in which he said—"The birth of the duke de Bordeaux is an event which I consider to be most fortunate for the peace of Europe, and as affording just consolation to your majesty. I pray your majesty to believe that I adopt the title of the 'Child of Europe,' which the diplomatic body has already conferred upon him."

* Lamartine; Lacretelle.

† See ante, p. 331.

The government deemed the birth of the duke de Bordeaux to be a fitting opportunity for carrying out further measures of conciliation, which they hoped would enable them to rally, at all events, the *élite* of the different parties round the throne. The first measure was the appearance of an *ordonnance*, by which the royal household was re-organised, and divided into six departments, at the head of which were the grand almoner, the grand master of the wardrobe, the grand chamberlain, the grand equerry, the grand master of the hunt, and the grand master of ceremonies: of these six functionaries, the first four were officers of the crown; the other two officers of the household. The king would not surrender the regulation of these departments to the ministers. He took them into his own hands, but he displayed no exclusive spirit in his appointments. Whilst he put the royalist de Lauriston at the head of the household, he made one of Napoleon's veterans, general Rapp, master of the wardrobe, and the other nominations evinced a similar spirit.—Then the army, by an *ordonnance* of the 27th of October, was re-established, as nearly as possible, on the old system. No change was made in the guards or cavalry; but the infantry was divided into sixty regiments of the line, and twenty of light infantry. There were three battalions in each regiment, and eight companies in each battalion. The number of field-officers, sub-officers, and privates in each regiment, was 2,100; the total number of infantry in the army, 160,800. Between 2,000 and 3,000 officers, who could not be relied upon, were put on half-pay.—A third measure was the re-organisation, by a decree of November 1st, of the system of public instruction. The secretaries-general of schools, abolished by an *ordonnance* of 1816, were re-established, and formed into a royal commission, for the purpose of exercising *surveillance* and control over the university and schools, as the manner of teaching and the books read, with a view of bringing both in harmony with the existing government. They adopted the costume of the educational officers of the empire, and followed precisely the rules and regulations Napoleon had laid down, only making them apply to the cause of the Bourbons, instead of that of the imperial ruler. An academy of medicine was created by Louis; and the commission was also authorised to take stringent measures for the repression of that spirit of turbulence which the students in the schools of law and medicine had especially manifested during the popular commotions consequent upon the introduction of the election law.

In the middle of October, the proclamation was issued, calling together the electoral colleges. The new members for the departments had to be chosen, and also the fifth of those returned by the *arrondissements*—in all 224. As this was the first time the new electoral law came into opera-

tion, the ministers felt great anxiety as to the result. In order to influence the elections in the interest of the government, M. Pasquier proposed, that the king should address a circular to the electors. The other ministers assented, and, at the suggestion of Louis, M. Pasquier drew up the document, which the king corrected, re-wrote it in his own hand, and 100,000 copies were lithographed and circulated through the departments. It was brief and to the point. The electors were called upon to "set aside from the office of deputy the fomenters of troubles, the artificers of discord, and the propagators of unjust distrust of the government;" and told that, "on them it depended to secure the repose, the glory, and the happiness of their common country; they had the will to do this," and they were called upon "to manifest that will by their choice." That choice was made essentially from ultra-royalist candidates. Most of the new members for the departments were of that party, as were twenty-seven out of forty-six—the number of the old members to be replaced. The party of the count d'Artois had now, to the great alarm of the king, the command of the legislature. "I fear we shall be overwhelmed," said the monarch to de Richelieu; "can you restrain that majority?" "We have the word of Monsieur," replied the minister. He soon found that to depend on that word was to trust to a broken reed.

The new complexion of the chamber rendered it necessary that overtures should be made to the ultras; and, accordingly, the embassy at Berlin was conferred upon Chateaubriand, and a place in the cabinet was offered to M. de Villèle. This statesman had long distinguished himself as a skilful and apt, if not a very brilliant, speaker on the right side. He was born at Toulouse, went to the Isle of Bourbon to seek his fortune, and, having succeeded, partly by industry and partly by matrimony, he returned to his native place, where he became first a member, and then head, of the municipality, and purchased a large estate in the neighbourhood. When elected a deputy he took his seat on the "right," and soon became one of the leaders of the party of Monsieur. On being offered a seat in the cabinet, he was not willing to accept it, unless one was also found for his friend M. Corbière, a Breton lawyer, who had all the characteristics of that unpolished and simple race. There was some difficulty in doing this at the moment; but it was removed by Villèle saying, that "if something was done for Corbière, a seat in the council would be sufficient for him." M. Lâiné, therefore, ceded the *porte-feuille* of public instruction to the Breton, and M. Villèle entered the cabinet, for the time, without office. On joining the ministry, he stipulated that a new municipal law should be introduced.

The session of 1820-'21 was opened on the

20th of December, as usual, with a speech from Louis, who, being too ill to go to the palace of the legislative body, the deputies assembled in the hall of Henry IV., in the Louvre. His majesty was unable to make a long speech. He alluded feelingly to the short time which would probably be now allowed him in this world; said that every thing announced that the modifications introduced into the electoral system would produce the desired results, and expressed "his ardent wish that the union between the crown and the chambers might be strengthened, in order to allow the establishment, on a firm basis, of a system of government adapted to so large and important a country as France." The address of the deputies, after re-echoing the sentiments of the royal speech, concluded as follows:—"To fortify the authority of religion and purify morals, by a system of education at once christian and monarchical; to give to the armed force that organisation which may secure tranquillity within and peace without; to improve all our institutions which rest on the charter, and are intended to protect our liberties;—such are the well-known intentions of your majesty, and such are, also, our duties. We will pursue these ameliorations with the moderation which is the accompaniment of strength; we will attain them by patience, which is the act of waiting quietly for the fruits of the beneficial changes already introduced. May heaven, measuring the years of your majesty by the wishes and prayers of your people, cause to dawn on France those happy and serene days which are presaged by the birth of a new heir to the throne." To this address, giving a faint shadow of the main policy of the ultra-royalists, which they afterwards endeavoured to carry out, the king replied—"I have expressed to you my intentions, and your answer is a pledge that you will second them. I repeat it—if I wish to prolong my days, it is that I may prolong the institutions I have given to my people. But, whatever may be the decrees of Providence, let us never forget our constitutional maxim—'The king never dies in France.'"

The session continued till the 31st of July, 1821; but, in the seven months, very few measures of importance were passed. The municipal law, stipulated for by M. de Villèle, was introduced. It was drawn up by that statesman and M. Mounier, and was a compromise between the opposing views of the "right" and the "centre." Like most compromises, it pleased neither side, was violently opposed, and ultimately withdrawn. A project for completing the electoral law, by fixing the boundaries of arrondissements, drawn up in accordance with the views of the "right," was more successful; it was adopted by both chambers.—The next measure was a proposition to enable the king to create and endow, immediately, twelve new bishoprics, and eighteen others at a future period; to increase the salaries

of the poorer *vicaires* and *curés*, and also the funds for the repair of episcopal residences, seminaries, and other residences of the diocesan clergy. This measure was opposed by all the liberals, but was carried in the chamber of deputies by 219 to 105; and in the peers by a majority proportionately as great.—To please the *propriétaires* and the farmers, the corn-laws were altered, so as to restrict importation—limiting the number of places where cargoes might be received from foreign powers.—Another law, which was very offensive to the ultra-royalists, when fully developed, was one for securing to the marshals, generals, and others whom Napoleon had rewarded by grants in the various countries over which his power once extended, and who had lost their shortly-enjoyed possessions by his downfall, an indemnity for those losses out of the public revenues of the country, by inscriptions on the *Grand Livre*. The ministers intended this project to be the forerunner of another, for indemnifying the royalist emigrants and others, who had lost their estates in the revolution; but the ultra-royalists either were not aware of this intention, or they doubted the power or the good faith of the government, and gave the proposal, when it was brought before the chambers, and the names of the parties whom it was proposed to indemnify were read, their most determined opposition. The list embraced some zealous imperialists, and several distinguished actors in the scenes of 1815. It included MM. Jean-Bon St. André, Jean de Bry, Quinette, general Hullin, Labédoyère,* marshal Ney,* count d'Estar, general Lefebvre-Desnouettes, general Gilly, general Mouton-Duvernay, general Clausel, count de Laborde, general Excelmans, the duke de Bassano, general Lamarque, and baron Méchin. When these names were read, M. Duplessis exclaimed, that "it was a reward for conspirators." Similar exclamations were heard from the "right," and the measure was opposed in several able speeches. After long and angry debates, it was adopted by 203 votes to 125.†

The state of the press, which was more violent than at any period since the restoration, excited the attention of ministers during the session; and, before its close, count Simeon proposed that the censorship—which, he said, had been so moderately exercised, that no temperate discussion had ever been interfered with—should be continued. In the debate that took place on this proposition, M. Castelbajac made a speech so offensive to the more moderate section of the ministry, that it called up M. Pasquier, the minister for foreign affairs, who, whilst defending the *projet*, made some remarks which caused a great sensation, as they established a fact which

* The indemnity was to go to the families of those officers.

† Capefigue, *Histoire de la Restauration*.

had been long suspected, viz., that there were dissensions and disagreements amongst the ministers themselves. M. Pasquier directed his observations against the ultra-royalists, declaring that, "as he distrusted every usurpation, he had a repugnance to a small body of men claiming exclusively the title of royalists, who would wish to monopolise to themselves the sentiments which belonged to the French nation, and who would every day contract a circle, which it was for the interest of all should be expanded. Still more had he a repugnance to the same men, when they evinced too clearly the design of making a thing so sacred as royalty, and the power which emanated from it, the instrument of their passions, their interests, or their ambition. He had a repugnance to these men, chiefly because he felt assured that if they obtained all they desired, they would make use of the power they had acquired for no other end but to gratify private interests; and that they would be seen to reproduce, by the excessive triumphs of their petty ambition, that system of government which, in the years preceding the revolution, had done such mischief to France." This speech convinced all men that a dissolution of the government would soon take place. Its weakness was made manifest in the proceedings on the *projet-de-loi* that M. Pasquier defended. The commission to whom it was referred reported against it; and the chamber of deputies resolved, on the motion of M. Courtavel, a liberal, to modify it, by limiting its duration to three months after the re-opening of the session, 1821-'22. In that shape the *projet* was adopted by 214 votes to 112 in the deputies; and by 83 to 45 in the peers.

The only other proceedings in this session, requiring notice, were those on the budget. In introducing his financial statement, the minister estimated the revenue at 888,021,745 f., and the expenditure at 882,327,374 f., leaving a surplus of 5,694,371 f. It was further estimated, that, in the next year, the surplus income would amount to 24,000,000 f.; and a reduction of taxation was announced. It was proposed to reduce the land-tax by 20,000,000 f.; and as that tax was very unequal in its operation, owing to the various circumstances under which different provinces had been added to the empire, it was proposed, that the reduction should apply to the fifty-two departments that were most heavily taxed. The measure was opposed, because, in diminishing the amount of the land-tax, the number of electors would also be diminished; but it ultimately passed, and the session closed on the 31st of July, 1821. Before it broke up, M. de Villèle and M. Corbière resigned, as they found it impossible to carry out their ultra-royalist principles in the cabinet. At the same time Chateaubriand resigned the ministry at Berlin.

Before the legislature broke up, intelligence

was received of the death of Napoleon, at St. Helena. That event took place on the 5th of May; and it was at first supposed, that the demise of the man, of whom Chateaubriand said, that "his cocked-hat and greatcoat, placed on a stick, on the coast of Britany, would cause Europe to run to arms from one end to another," would restore peace to the continent, by quelling that revolutionary spirit, which was everywhere manifesting itself. It was rather excited anew, however, by the report, that he had been ill-treated by England, and that the restraints and privations he endured hastened his death. There were men in the British parliament who made these charges against their government and its officers; they obtained general credit, and were subsequently strengthened by the publication of the "*Memoires de St. Helène*," which Napoleon left behind him. Time, however, has caused justice to be done in this, as it does in many other cases. M. Capefigue, a French historian, records the indulgence with which Napoleon was treated; and M. de Lamartine thus describes his position during the restraints to which he was subjected, because of his breach of faith at Elba. "The sum of 300,000 f., often added to by additional grants, was appropriated, by the government of England, to the cost of the table provided for the exiled emperor's little court. Bertrand, the marshal of the palace, his wife and son; M. and madame de Montholon; general Gourgaud, and Dr. O'Meara; the *valet-de-chambre*; Marchand; Cypriani, *maitre-d'hôtel*; Prérion, chief of office; Rousseau, keeper of the plate; St. Denys, Noverras, his usher, Santini, and a train of valets, cooks, and footmen, formed the establishment. A library, ten or twelve saddle-horses, gardens, woods, rural labours, constant and free communication at all times between the exiles, correspondence (under certain regulations) with Europe, receptions and audiences given to travellers, who arrived in the island, and were desirous of obtaining an interview with the emperor;—such were the daily amusements of Longwood. Piquets of soldiers, under the command of an officer, watched the circuit of the building, and its environs; a camp was established at a certain distance, but out of sight of the house, so as not to offend the inmates. Napoleon and his officers were at liberty to go out on foot, or on horseback, from daybreak to nightfall, and to go over the whole extent of the island, accompanied only by an officer at a distance, so as to prevent all attempt at escape. Such was the respectful captivity which the complaints of Napoleon, and of his companions in exile, styled the dungeon and martyrdom of St. Helena."—No doubt the restraint was not pleasant, but it was requisite to preserve peace; and it is now the general opinion, that no harshness or unnecessary restrictions were enforced.

Whilst the French legislature was in session, the allied sovereigns had been assembled in congress at Troppau and Laybach. The emperors of Austria and Russia, and the king of Prussia, attended by their ministers, met at Troppau, on the 10th of October, 1820, for the purpose of concerting measures to repress the spirit of revolution which was so prevalent in Europe; and, just at that period, more especially at Naples. Metternich was the principal agent in causing the congress to assemble; his object being to induce the sovereigns to adopt the principle of intervention, for the purpose of maintaining, in their integrity, the states of Europe, as they were regulated and apportioned by the treaties of 1815. It was not without difficulty that the emperor of Russia was induced to coincide with the views of Metternich; but, before the congress separated, a protocol was drawn up, and signed by the three sovereigns, which bound them to interfere, by force, if necessary, for the maintenance of the then existing states, and the repression of revolution. An invitation was sent to England and France to join the alliance; the congress was adjourned to Laybach; and the king of Naples was invited to attend. The two emperors arrived at Laybach, early in January, 1821; the king of Prussia was represented by Hardenberg, Bernstorff, and Krusemark; lord Stewart was present for England; and France had three representatives; the small Italian states were also represented. There were five questions discussed. 1. The general principle of intervention. 2. Its application to the revolution of Naples. 3. The propriety of forming an Italian confederation. 4. The best means to put down revolution in Piedmont. 5. The means to be taken with respect to the insurrection in Greece, which broke out whilst the congress was sitting. At this congress, Austria, Prussia, and Russia adhered to the protocol of Troppau; England, not disputing the right of the other powers to act upon the principle laid down in that document, and, with respect to Naples, disapproving the manner in which the revolution was accomplished, yet declined to interfere; and Louis XVIII. gave a conditional assent, intimating, that the union of power and liberty was necessary to secure prosperity. Allied armies were immediately sent to repress the revolutions in Naples and Piedmont.

Before the session closed, general Foy, and other liberals, endeavoured to ascertain what part France really had taken at Laybach. They could get no satisfactory answer. M. Pasquier declared, that France had assumed a dignified position, but what that position was, he said, the chamber had no right to ask, and he had no intention to tell. This was considered an assumption of privilege on the part of the government, which the charter did not justify,

and did not contribute to its popularity with the liberals. After the session closed, and the trials of the conspirators came on, in August, the evidence given of the complicity of some of the liberal leaders—more especially of Lafayette and Manuel—was so strong, that the ultra-royalists expressed the greatest surprise that they escaped without prosecution. On all sides the ministry thus appeared to make enemies; and, to strengthen the government, negotiations were again opened with the count d'Artois and the other leaders of the ultra-royalist party. The count and his friends were willing to retain the duke de Richelieu as premier; but they demanded that the ministry of the interior should be given to M. de Villèle; that a new office—of minister of public instruction—should be created for M. Corbière; that M. Chateaubriand should have the London embassy; and that a diplomatic employment of the first class should be found for M. de Vitrolles. All these demands were conceded, except that connected with M. de Villèle. He was offered the ministry of marine; but it was insisted that M. Mounier should be minister of the interior. On this point the negotiations broke off.

The elections for 1821 were again in favour of the ultra-royalists; then every one saw that the days of the ministry were numbered, and the eyes of the public were directed to those who were likely to be their successors. The duke de Richelieu still thought that he might maintain himself by appealing to the good sense of the chambers, and by the introduction of constitutional measures; thus detaching those who really wished for nothing but the prosperity and happiness of the country, from the two extremes. The session was opened on the 5th of November. The king was again unable to go to the legislative palace; the peers and deputies assembled at the Louvre; and Louis was rolled into the hall, where they met, in his easy chair. He made a brief speech, which did not commit the ministry to any professed line of action. The most definite passage in the address was that in which his majesty spoke of his friendly relations with foreign powers; expressed a hope that they might continue; and, in allusion to the complications which might arise from the insurrection in Greece, anticipated "that accord between the powers would accomplish in the East what religion, policy, and humanity required." The address of the chamber of deputies, in reply, contained the following sentence:—"We congratulate ourselves, sire, on the continuance of your friendly relations with foreign powers, in the just confidence that so precious a peace has not been bought by sacrifices incompatible with the honour of the nation and the dignity of the crown." The ministers objected to these words, and demanded that they should be struck out. The majority, formed by a union of the opposite

sides, the right and left, resolved that they should stand; and, on a division, the address was adopted by 176 votes to 98. The king, who, infirm as he was, had too high a spirit to bear anything like indignity, refused to hear the address read when it was presented to him, and said to the president and secretaries of the chamber—"I know the nature of the address you bring me. In exile and persecution I upheld my rights, as well as the honour of my family and of the French name. On the throne, surrounded by my people, I am indignant even at the bare idea of my being deemed capable of sacrificing the honour of the nation and the dignity of the crown for any consideration."

The opposition did not acknowledge the justice of this rebuke; and the acerbity of party spirit became greatly increased. All business was arrested in its progress; and, to get rid of the difficulty, the king proposed that the chambers should be dissolved; whilst M. de Serre suggested that the ministry should bring forward extreme measures, with a view to dissolve the alliance between the two ultra parties, on the supposition that the friends of Monsieur must support them. It was decided that the course proposed by M. de Serre should be followed; and that minister brought in a *projet-de-loi* to continue the censorship of the press for five years longer, and increase the severity of the pains and penalties of offenders. The government also commenced a prosecution against Beranger, the celebrated song-writer, for libels against the king and the state, contained in some of his admirable lyrics. The prosecution was successful; the poet was found guilty, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. But, to the great surprise of the ministers, M. Delalot, one of the most violent adherents of the count d'Artois, energetically denounced the law of the press. "They want," he said, "to divide the majority, having failed to render it servile. They wish to reverse the law of elections, to commence a government by ordinances, and, by obtaining for five years longer the power of gagging the press, they hope to extinguish truth. They require darkness, in order that their designs may be accomplished. But they shall not escape justice; their heads shall pay for their misdeeds!" The liberals were equally indignant; and the ministers, finding that it was impossible they could carry on the government, on the 13th of December resigned. The duke de Richelieu advised the king to send for M. de Villèle; and the conduct of that statesman—who has been described as "a partisan on the benches of opposition, and a courtier at the palace"—had been so circumspect since he left the cabinet, that the king did not object. Nothing final was decided upon, however, till the count d'Artois was consulted; then the following arrangements for the new cabinet were arranged:—M. de Villèle, president of the

council and minister of finance; M. de Peyronnet, secretary of state and minister of justice; viscount Montmorency, minister of foreign affairs; M. Corbière, minister of the interior; marshal Victor, minister of war; the marquis Clermont-Tonnerre, minister of marine. A military command was given to general Donnadieu, who had been a violent opponent of the late ministry; and M. de Chateaubriand was sent ambassador to London. Several members of the late ministry—MM. de Serre and Roy, Latour-Maubourg, count Simeon, and baron Portal—were appointed members of the council of state; and Latour-Maubourg was also made governor of the Invalides.

From this ministry—though considered ultra-royalist, and as representing the ultra-royalist majority in the chambers—the principal ultra-royalist leaders were excluded; a *religious*, rather than a *political*, bias being given to the new government. For about ten years, there had been forming in France a party which has been since known as that of "the *Parti-prêtre*," or "the Congregation." Amongst its earliest promoters were the viscount de Montmorency, and the abbé Legris-Duval. The members were sincerely pious men, and their objects, at first, were no other "than the performance of good works, and other duties prescribed by a fervent devotion." But the society soon got into the hands of the Jesuits, who, not permitted to reside in France in their true characters, had assumed the name of *Pères de la foi*—"Fathers of the Faith." The "Congregation" then became the centre of all the intrigues that distracted France, with a view to restore the predominance of the church, and of the regal power, as subservient to the spiritual. Affiliated societies branched off from it in every direction. The Jesuits established themselves at Montrouge, where they directed all the movements of the main body. They had powerful allies, even in the bosom of the royal family; and Louis XVIII., though he could never be brought to recognise their legal existence, was induced to tolerate their presence. Then it was found, that "religion, so holy and beneficent an agent, when it acts wholly in a moral and spiritual direction, was mixed up with all the interests and intrigues of politics and ambition. The Jesuits founded colleges, under the name of *petits séminaires*, at which were placed the children of the most distinguished families of the kingdom." Fraysinous, bishop of Hermopolis, was, soon after the accession of Villèle to the ministry, appointed president of the council of education. He signalled his accession to office by displacing laymen wherever he could, and by substituting ecclesiastics in their place. The Jesuits soon became installed in the universities. "They governed the court, the church, and the majority of the chamber. Missionaries, for the most part,

fanatical and ignorant, who were affiliated with the 'Congregation,' traversed the kingdom to propagate its doctrines, and were nearly everywhere the intentional or involuntary cause of strange disorders."* They rendered themselves obnoxious to the people, who ascribed to religion itself the indefensible doctrines, and equally indefensible practices, of the missionaries, who, at last, could only preach under the protection of the soldiers or of the police.

With the exception of M. de Villèle, the leading men of the cabinet were members of the "Congregation;" and when it was constituted, the king said to a friend, "Now that M. de Villèle triumphs, I regard myself as annihilated. Hitherto, I have preserved the crown, and defeated the charter; if my brother imperils both, it is his affair."† To M. Decazes, the king wrote—"At last M. de Villèle is triumphant. I know very little of the men who enter the cabinet with him; but I believe them to be sufficiently reasonable, and have enough of good sense, not to give in blindly to all the follies of the 'right.' As for myself, I annul myself henceforth, and accept the consequences of constitutional government: not so completely, however, as to prevent me from defending my crown, should my brother expose it to risks."‡

After Villèle, the principal men in the new ministry were, the viscount de Montmorency, marshal Victor, and M. de Peyronnet. The first, sprung from one of the noblest families in France, had been carried away by the impulse of feeling at the outbreak of the revolution, and, in the constituent assembly, was the first nobleman who disclaimed the distinctions and privileges of his order, in accordance with what were then called the "Rights of Man." He soon cooled in his ardour for Jacobin principles; became an object of Jacobin vengeance; and was obliged to leave France. He returned after the empire was established, but refused to accept office under Napoleon; retiring, soon after, to Lake Lemán, where he was one of the brightest ornaments of the *salons* of madame de Staël and madame Recamier. He was soon somewhat detached from that brilliant circle by his piety; he became a member of the "Congregation," and of the court of the duke d'Angoulême; and, finally, obtained the confidence of the count d'Artois, and to that circumstance he owed his appointment of minister of foreign affairs.—Marshal Victor, duke de Belluno, had been a soldier of fortune, and a faithful follower of Napoleon; but after his abdication, he became a decided and honest royalist, notwithstanding, from his antecedents, he was not unpopular with the liberals.—M. de Peyronnet was a member of the bar of Bordeaux, who was distinguished for the courage and fidelity with which he adhered to the duchess d'Angoulême, in 1815. He had

also displayed great talent in defending the countess du Cayla, from the demands of her husband, that she should surrender her fortune, and give up her children; and he had been very zealous in the prosecution of the military conspirators. He had undoubted ability, was true to the principles he had embraced, and as firm in determination as he was honest in intention.

Besides the immediate partisans and dependents of the ultra-royalists and the "Congregation," M. de Villèle was scarcely installed in office, before all the functionaries of the centre—the *employés* of the duke de Decazes and the duke de Richelieu—transferred their allegiance to him; and, in the first struggle in the chamber, the value of their support was apparent. M. de Serre's *projet-de-loi* on the press had been the precursor of the resignation of the Richelieu ministry. That law was opposed by the ultra-royalists; yet the first measure introduced by the new cabinet was a measure affecting the press, of a still more stringent nature. M. de Villèle precluded the ministerial propositions by declaring, that the censorship of the press should be discontinued, and formally abrogated, except under extraordinary circumstances; and, on the 2nd of January, 1822, M. de Peyronnet introduced two *projets-de-loi*—by one of which it was proposed to enact, that, with the exception of the journals then in existence, none should appear without the authority of the king. The royal court might suspend, or, in extreme cases, suppress, any newspaper or public journal; and during the legislative recess, if any serious offences were committed by the press, the king should have the power to issue an *ordonnance*, countersigned by three ministers, re-establishing the censorship—to continue for one month after the next meeting of the chambers. The second project was a great departure from that of the duke Decazes. Under the latter, small fines and imprisonments were awarded, in the case of writers convicted of offences against religion and morals; by the ministerial proposition, the term of imprisonment, and the amount of the fines, were greatly increased; the offences were confined to the "religion of the state," viz., Roman catholicism; and they were to be awarded in cases where that religion was "derided," as well as when it was "outraged." By the old law, writers were to be punished for insulting or impugning the constitutional authority of the king; in the new law, the word "constitutional" was struck out. To protect the aristocracy and the priesthood, penalties were also inflicted upon those who excited hatred or contempt of a class. By Decazes' law, offences were left to the decision of juries; by the new one, the judges only were to hear the cases, to decide upon them, and to pass sentence. The pleadings and proceedings might also be in

* Crowe.

† Vaulabelle.

‡ Capefigue.

private, if the judges thought that their publicity would endanger morals or religion.

These propositions excited a perfect storm of indignant oratory, addressed more to the people than the chamber, for the opposition had little hope of making any impression upon the ministerial majority in the latter. One of the warmest and most able opponents of that part of the ministerial measures which proposed to withdraw the offences of the press from the jurisdiction of juries, was M. de Serre, who said—"the mask had fallen off; they were presented with a law destructive of the liberty of the press, and which, under the pretence of saving the institutions of the country, really subverted them. The proposed law," he maintained, "struck at the root of representative institutions;" and he contended, that "legitimate monarchy had nothing to fear from the press," which "was a social necessity it was impossible to uproot. The proposed law tended to destroy its utility, by subjecting it to arbitrary restrictions. Its power, however, would resist all attacks, and it would only become the more dangerous from being directed against the throne, not the ministers who abused its power." M. Castelbajac replied to M. de Serre. "They wished for the charter," said this orator, "but still more they wished for the king. They wished for liberty, but it was liberty without license. Unrestrained freedom of discussion were other words for anarchy. The law presented was peculiarly valuable, for it brought back this difficult subject to the principles of the charter. Respect religion, the laws, the monarch—such were the principles which order demanded. The liberty of the press could only be maintained by the laws which prevented its abuse; such repression was the soul of real freedom." Similar opinions to those of M. de Serre were expressed by M. Royer-Collard, M. Etienne, general Foy, Lafayette, and other members of the "left;" and the *projet* had to be strenuously defended, clause by clause. It was adopted in the deputies by 219 to 137.—In the peers, the opposition was equally determined, and one amendment, the re-insertion of the word "constitutional" was carried. With that amendment the law was passed, by 124 votes to 83: prince Talleyrand, the duke de la Rochefoucauld, and count Molé, protesting against it.

The debates on this law convinced the ministers that they had three parties to contend with in the chamber of deputies—the *doctrinaires*, led by Royer-Collard, Camille Jourdain, and their friends; the centre left, the principal leaders being general Foy, Benjamin Constant, and Casimir Perrier; and the extreme left, at whose heads were Lafayette, Manuel, and d'Argenson. Out of doors they had a chain of conspiracies formed against them, originating with secret societies, which, existing in France from the time of the second restoration, and countenanced by the

adherence of several of the most eminent of the opposition leaders, now became more extended and more dangerous, as the discontented were obliged to desist from making their complaints public through the press, or were severely punished if they did so. These societies were called the *Carbonari*, the *Bons-cousins*, and the *Chevaliers de la Liberté*. Of these, the most important and the most dangerous was the *Carbonari*, which was introduced into France from Italy in 1820. In the autumn of 1821 it was spread nearly all over the kingdom; and, in 1822, became the secret inspirer of most of the disturbances that took place, and which required the shedding of blood to repress. There was in Paris a committee, chiefly composed of members of the chamber of deputies, which corresponded with those of the departments, as the latter did with the committees of the arrondissements: the former were composed of nine, the latter of five members, with a president. All orders, resolutions, and plans were conveyed from one to the other verbally, nothing connected with the business of the society being committed to paper. All the members of the society were bound by a solemn oath not to betray its secrets, and to obey implicitly the central committee, from whom all orders emanated. Death was the reward of treachery or disobedience; and the chiefs, who formed the Paris committee, had always assassins at their beck, ready to carry out their sentence whenever they pronounced the fate of a member. The plans of the society first resolved upon by the committees, were made known to the members in secret midnight meetings; and at those meetings oaths were administered, with a dagger directed against the breast, and other melodramatic solemnities, to produce effect, and make a lasting impression on the members, all of whom were armed, as every *Carbonari* was obliged to provide himself with a musket, bayonet, and twenty rounds of ball-cartridge. If any disobedience of orders was manifest—if there was reason to suspect any member of treachery—secret courts were held, whose sentence was final, and it was executed by unknown hands, to the terror of the members.

Persons well acquainted with France, at this period, tell us, that, by the efforts of the "Congregation" on the one hand, and of the secret societies on the other, the people were induced to become either revolutionists, or to affect piety; and to "qualify themselves as loyalists and favourites of the existing government by hypocrisy." At the head of the *Carbonari* were general Lafayette and his son, M. Manuel, Dupont de l'Eure, M. d'Argenson, Jacques Kochler, count Thiard, general Taragré, general Corbineau, M. de Lascelles, and M. Merithou.*

* Lamartine; Vaulabelle.—The particulars respecting the *Carbonari*, were elicited on the trial of some captured conspirators.

All these were able and determined men, and Lafayette is described as "the head and soul of the whole." It is possible that Villèle might have disarmed their hostility, or counteracted their plots without bloodshed, if he could have pursued his own line of policy. Though acting with the ultra-royalists before he obtained power, he showed no inclination to go to extremes when he became the head of the ministry. He was particularly averse to the ultra-religious party, which was grouped round the count d'Artois; but he found himself obliged to yield to it; and no doubt that its ultra-zeal greatly increased the strength of those who wished to subvert the monarchy. Early in 1822, the leaders of the latter party thought they were strong enough to resort to overt acts; and their chief, general Lafayette, left Paris for Bèfort, to place himself at the head of the insurrection in Alsace. It broke out prematurely. The conspirators in Bèfort were so confident of success, that they mounted the tricoloured cockade, armed themselves with pistols and sabres, and showed themselves openly in the town. The governor, however, had not been secured, nor was the garrison corrupted. The former, M. Foulain, led the troops against the conspirators, and was, unfortunately, shot; but the disturbers of the public peace were defeated, and driven from the town. They happened to take the road by which Lafayette was advancing, and he returned to his château. Several of the conspirators were apprehended,—amongst them colonel Pailhis Tellier; but so difficult was it to obtain evidence, that none were capitally convicted.

But the *Carbonari* were not disheartened. The following month, February, they sent general Berton to Thouars. He left Parthenay on the 23rd of February, at the head of a considerable force; entered Thouars, and made a brigade of *gendarmérie* prisoners; hoisted the tricoloured flag; and proclaimed a provisional government, sitting at Paris, and composed of generals Foy, Demarcay, and Lafayette, MM. Benjamin Constant, Manuel, and d'Argenson. Berton then marched to Saumur; but the mayor met him at the head of a body of young royalists, and compelled him to retreat. His followers dispersed, he fled to the marshes near Rochefort, with several of the leaders who had been acting with him, where, a few days after, they were captured. They were brought to trial, and six were found guilty of the capital crime of treason, and sentenced to death. The duchess d'Angoulême interceded for the condemned, and obtained the pardon of all except Berton, and Caffé, a physician. The latter opened an artery, in prison, and bled to death; the former was executed on the scaffold, dying with the words, "*Vive la République!*" on his lips.

At the same time conspiracies were formed at Colmar, Marseilles, Nantes, Toulon, and

Rochelle. The movements at the latter place were directed by Lafayette, from Paris. M. Boriès, a sub-officer of the 45th regiment, was ordered to proceed to Pau, with some of his privates, whom he had induced to enrol in the ranks of the *Carbonari*. There were a number of affiliated brethren in that city, and the movement was to have taken place in connection with that of general Berton on Saumur. Notwithstanding the precautions against treachery, however, a traitor was found in the camp, who conveyed to the government such information as led to the arrest of Boriès, and others, as they were leaving Pau. These men were tried at Paris, M. Marchangy, the king's advocate, appearing as prosecutor. On the trial, evidence was given of the existence and organisation of the *Carbonari* conspiracy, and of its object, to overturn all existing governments, and establish republics in their place. Boriès and three of his companions were condemned to death, and executed; an attempt to bribe the jailer, and procure their escape, having failed. On the day of the execution, 12,000 of the *Carbonari* of the capital were dispersed over Paris, and in the neighbourhood of the place of execution, bound, by an oath, to rescue them. The government, however, appears to have been aware of all their arrangements; and the troops were so numerous, and so judiciously posted, that no attempt was made to interrupt the proceedings at the scaffold, where the victims met their fate with great firmness.—The insurrections at the other places mentioned, also failed; the government appearing to have been forewarned of what was to take place.

These outrages, and the suspense in which the information in their possession, kept the government, were the causes of very few measures being brought forward in the legislative session of 1822. M. de Villèle, himself, after his accession to power, directed his attention chiefly to finance; and he introduced great order and economy into that department. The revenue of 1821 had been very productive, leaving a balance, over expenditure, of 8,000,000*fr.* The income of 1822 was estimated at 915,591,000*fr.*; the expenditure at 882,321,000*fr.*, of which 250,000,000*fr.* were devoted to the army; and the large surplus was left at the disposal of the finance minister. The budget gave rise to an animated discussion, in the midst of which the duke de Richelieu died, having been attacked with fever. He was in his fifty-sixth year; and, when he was lost to France, all parties and all classes appeared to vie with each other in doing honour to his memory, and in bearing testimony to his disinterestedness. The king regretted him greatly; next to Decazes, he was the minister whom he most highly esteemed; and he continued, by a royal *ordonnance*, all the deceased duke's honours to his nephew, count

Odit de Jumilhac.—Louis, at this period, was leading a life, apparently, of quiet contentment. Since the accession of the Villèle cabinet, which, recommended by the count d'Artois, was considered as "Monsieur's ministry," the members of his family (except the duke of Orleans) had been upon more familiar terms with him. The duchess d'Angoulême shed her influence over the palace, and contributed greatly to his comfort; and his majesty himself remarked to one of his former cabinet, "that he had quiet in his household, which was a great thing for an old man upon the verge of the grave." That he was, on the whole, satisfied himself with the government was evinced, by his elevating, shortly after the death of Richelieu, MM. Villèle, Corbière, and Peyronnet, to the rank of counts; an honour which he communicated to each in one of his well-written, appropriately-worded notes.

Before the session was brought to a close, discussions arose upon the abortive conspiracies, and the share which some of the deputies were alleged to have had in producing them. In the act of accusation against general Berton, the names of Lafayette, Manuel, and others, were mentioned as implicated, and yet they were not prosecuted. On the 1st of August, Benjamin Constant complained of this proceeding; and M. Lafitte called upon the chamber to direct, that an inquiry should be made into the transactions, the assertions respecting which, as far as they affected himself, he declared to be "infamous falsehoods." General Foy and M. Casimir Perrier also protested against the accusations brought against their party, "endeavouring to cast," says M. Guizot, "the mantle of their innocence over the actual conspirators, who sat by their sides." M. Lafayette said a few words, neither confessing nor denying his complicity with the conspiracies, but demanding "the utmost publicity, both within the walls of the chamber, and in the face of the entire nation. Thus, he and his accusers, in whatever rank they might be placed, could say to each other, without restraint, all that they had had mutually to reproach each other with, for the last thirty years." M. Villèle replied. He was opposed to the inquiry demanded, and observed, that "the proper mode of proceeding appeared to him to be, to leave justice to its ordinary course, which no one had a right to arrest. If members of the chamber had been compromised in the act of accusation, did they not find their acquittal, in the very fact, that the chamber had not been called upon to give them up, to be added to the list of the accused? It was a contradiction," he continued, "for members to say, on the one hand, 'You have placed our names in the requisition for indictment;' and on the other, 'The minister in office has not dared to prosecute us, since the chamber has not

been required to surrender us.' The demand had not been made, because the nature of the process neither imposed it as a duty, nor a necessity on the part of the minister to adopt that course." He "declared, openly, before France, that the minister did not accuse the complaining delegates, because there was nothing in the process that rendered it either incumbent or essential that they should do so. Had either been the case, they would the more readily have fulfilled their duty, since the chamber could not suppose them to be so little acquainted with the human heart, as not to know, that there would be less danger in subjecting the deputies alluded to to direct prosecution, than in following simply and openly the line marked out by the ordinary course of justice."

No more was said, and the chamber, soon after, adjourned. M. Guizot says, that "the conspiring deputies lost more reputation than they gained security, by being defended, while they were disavowed, in their own ranks;" and, he thinks, that "M. Villèle assuredly had good reason to be satisfied with his position and himself." We doubt whether that is the general opinion. His conduct bore the aspect of a desire to prosecute the more humble and active instruments, and to let the heads and organisers of the conspiracy escape. There appears to have been ample evidence to bring home guilt to the deputies named; and they should not have been suffered to plot with impunity, when those they had seduced from duty were brought to punishment. At that period, however, according to his contemporary and friend, "M. de Villèle stood in the first and best phase of his power; he defended the monarchy and order, against conspiracy and insurrection; in the chamber of deputies he had to repel the furious attacks of the left-hand party; and, in the chamber of peers, the more temperate, but vigilant ill-will of the friends of the duke de Richelieu. The danger and acrimony of the contest united his whole party around him. Before such a situation, the rivalries, and the intrigues of the chamber, and the court, hesitated to show themselves; unreasonable expectations were held in check; fidelity and discipline were evidently necessary; the associates of the chief would not desert him, and dared not assail him with their importunities."

After the adjournment, the elections of one-fifth of the chamber took place. They resulted in the return of twenty-eight royalists, and seventeen liberals for the arrondissements; and of twenty-four of the former, and five of the latter, for the departments: giving the royalists a majority of thirty. This result proved, that conspiracy and insurrection at home, and revolution abroad, had not been without their effect in rallying the holders of property round the government. The whole number of electors in

the departments and arrondissements, in which the elections took place, was 21,416; viz., 4,426 in the former, and 16,990 in the latter: of these, 3,158 voted in the departments; 2,418 for the royalist, and 720 for the liberal candidates. In the arrondissements, the number of royalist voters was 9,053—of liberal, 5,751. The change in the electoral law might have something to do with this result; but there can be no doubt—both classes of colleges returning a majority of

supporters of the government—that other causes were at work. There was a desire to preserve peace and tranquillity, and a dislike of revolutions, if there was no very decided admiration of the ministry; and, however numbers might be disposed to join the secret societies, and take part in conspiracies, those who had anything to lose, with a few exceptions (that proved the rule), were determined to uphold authority, and maintain the law.

CHAPTER VIII.

M. VILLELE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS; EVENTS IN GREECE AND SPAIN: CONGRESS OF VERONA; ITS RESULTS; SUCCESSES OF THE COMMUNEROS IN SPAIN; LOUIS XVIII. AND VILLELE REFUSE TO CARRY OUT THE DECISION OF THE CONGRESS; RESIGNATION OF M. DE MONTMORENCY; CHATEAUBRIAND FOREIGN MINISTER; DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH MINISTER FROM MADRID; OPENING OF THE FRENCH CHAMBERS; THE KING'S SPEECH; HYDE DE NEUVILLE'S ADDRESS; M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND'S SPEECH; MANUEL'S EXPULSION; EXPEDITION TO SPAIN; RETURN OF THE DUKE D'ANGOULEME TO PARIS.

M. GUIZOT informs us, that "M. Villèle, on succeeding to office, had no very defined idea as to foreign affairs, or any decidedly arranged plans, beyond an unbiassed mind, and sensible predilections. During his short association with the cabinet of the duke de Richelieu, he had closely observed the policy adopted towards Spain and Italy—a peace policy of non-intervention, and of sound advice to kings and liberals—to liberals as to kings, but of little efficacy in act, and tending, above all other considerations, to keep France beyond the vortex of revolution and counter-revolution, and to prevent an European conflagration. In the main, M. de Villèle approved of this policy, and would have desired nothing better than to continue it. He was more occupied with internal government than external relations, and more anxious for public prosperity than diplomatic influence; but, in the accomplishment of his views, he had to contend against the prepossessions of his party; and, in this struggle, his two principal associates—M. de Montmorency, as minister for foreign affairs, and M. Chateaubriand, as ambassador at London,—contributed more embarrassment than assistance." The latter was very much dissatisfied with his position in the British metropolis. He was not there deemed the "bright particular star" he was accustomed to consider himself; and which was no unjustifiable assumption, from the respect, the deference ("the enthusiastic idolatry," Guizot calls it) that he met with in the circles he mixed with on the continent. This caused him to say, that "every kind of reputation travelled rapidly to the banks of the Thames, and left them again with the same speed;" and that he "should

prefer the galleys a hundred times" to a London season. The state of affairs on the continent led to events, which gave him an opportunity for appearing on another scene, of which he eagerly availed himself.

We have briefly alluded to the prevalence of the revolutionary spirit in Europe, to the events in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, and to the congresses at Troppau and Laybach, held to devise means for repressing that spirit, and preserving the "balance of power," as established by the treaties of Vienna. But there were still disturbances prevailing in Greece, owing to the oppression of the Turkish government; and in Spain, springing out of the arbitrary conduct of Ferdinand VII. In the first-named country, an assembly had been called at Argos, in December, 1821, composed of ecclesiastics, landowners, merchants, and civilians, by whom, on the 27th of January, 1822, the independence of Greece had been declared. Since that period the patriots had maintained a generally successful war with the Ottoman forces; a war which the latter stained, on the 23rd of April, and following days, by one of the most merciless acts on record. An overwhelming Turkish force landed on the island of Scio, and massacred nearly all the inhabitants, except such women and boys as could be sold for slaves. Upwards of 40,000 were barbarously murdered, and 25,000 consigned to slavery!

In Spain, Ferdinand was scarcely re-established on his throne, before he evinced his desire to restore the old state of things. The Cortes were not popular, they had taxed the people too highly to occasion any regret when that body was dissolved. But the king had promised a

new constitution, liberty of the press, and other liberal measures; instead of which he re-established the inquisition, recalled the Jesuits, and revelled, for a time, in the full enjoyment of absolute power; this produced re-action. From 1814 to 1819, there was a succession of contests between him and his ministers, which, in the five years, occasioned no fewer than twenty-five changes in the *personnel* of his advisers, and led to several conspiracies at home; whilst the loss of some of the American colonies added to the national feeling against the government. On the 1st of January, 1820, this feeling took a decided form. Rafael del Riego—an officer who had distinguished himself in the war of independence—at the head of four battalions of the army, proclaimed the constitution of 1812, in the Isla de Leon, of which he took possession. So successful was the movement, that, on the 8th of March, Ferdinand agreed to accept that constitution, and summon the Cortes. The same day he caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed; and, on the 4th, a provisional junta of eleven members was nominated, to carry on the affairs of the government till the Cortes met. In the presence of this body, and of the municipal authorities of Madrid, the king took the oath to the constitution; the inquisition was again abolished; and other liberal measures, including the appointment of constitutional ministers, adopted. For some months tranquillity prevailed. Then the contest between the friends of absolute government and the constitutionalists commenced afresh, which was heightened by the assertion of their independence by the other American colonies.

The constitutionalists had an able general in Morillo; and Martinez de la Rosa and Toreno were as able ministers; but their cause was injured by a decree of the Cortes, reducing the number of convents and the clergy, by which more than 73,000 ecclesiastics were deprived of their livelihood. One of these, Maragnon, afterwards known as the Trappist, became a famous insurgent leader; and many of his brethren joined the absolutists, forming an "army of the Faith." As the royalists increased in numbers, the constitutionalists became more violent. In 1822, all power had fallen into the hands of the most extreme democrats; and the state of affairs was further complicated by quarrels between the royal guards and the troops of the line. Had Ferdinand been really honest and sincere, in all probability the discontent might have been allayed without assuming the aspect of revolution; but, whilst professing to govern by the constitution, he intrigued with, and supported, those who were seeking to destroy it. At length, on the 7th of July, things were brought to a crisis, by an attempt made by the guards to get possession of the capital and the person of the king. They were defeated;

and the government became still more revolutionary, most of the moderate *employés* resigning office. These events led to the establishment, by the French government, of an army of observation, at the foot of the Pyrenees, near the frontier.

There were now two parties struggling for the sovereignty—the *comuneros*, as the popular party was styled, who held the king and the government in their hands; and the *apostolicals*, composed of the royalists and clergy. This latter party, in August, 1822, established a regency, composed of the marquis Mataflorida, then archbishop of Tarragona, and the baron D'Eroles. They established themselves at Seo d'Urgel, on the French frontier, which had been taken by the Trappist from the government troops; issued orders in the name of Ferdinand, whom they called "the imprisoned king;" and decreed the restoration of the state of things which had existed prior to the 8th of March, 1820.

These movements in Spain had attracted the attention of all the other governments of Europe, and more especially of those of France and England. Nor were the people of either country inattentive to the course of events. In both, there were those who sympathised with the men who were fighting, as was supposed, for liberty, and the constitution; but there were also those who thought, that the *comuneros*, or constitutionalists, had put themselves in the wrong by many of their acts, and who were desirous of seeing the monarchy restored to a more independent position; though in England, there were none who had any faith in Ferdinand. It was in France, however, that the greatest interest was taken in the progress of the liberals, for there it threatened to produce the greatest danger; and the government was soon made aware of the extent of the evils against which it had to guard. As the intelligence of the movements in Spain was received, the popular mind throughout France became greatly agitated. "Every audacious step of the revolution at Madrid was applauded, and proposed to the imitation of the French army. The most vehement speeches of the orators in the Cortes, the most violent articles in the revolutionary journals, were the subjects of enthusiasm in Paris; every triumph of the anarchists at Madrid over the throne or the clergy was publicly celebrated as triumph by the French revolutionists. Spain," it was thought, by the count d'Artois, and his friends, "was on the verge of a republic; and a republic proclaimed on the other side of the Pyrenees could not fail to overturn the Bourbons in France. Europe was slipping from beneath the monarchies; all felt it, and most of all the revolutionists of Paris."* These were the feelings which actuated the ultra-royalists of the pavilion Marsan, and made them anxious to

* Lamartine.

send an army to support Ferdinand VII. against the *comuneros*.

In England, there was a strong feeling against French intervention in the affairs of Spain; the other powers were decidedly against the spread of revolutionary principles, and the overthrow of legitimate governments; and to produce something like a universal acquiescence in the course to be pursued, if possible, it was determined, just before the establishment of the regency at Urgel, that another congress of the representatives of the five great powers should be held, and Verona was fixed upon as the place of assembly. Verona is a fortified city of Lombardy, situated at the foot of the Alps, where the Adige, having made its way through the defile of Chiusa, emerges on the fine Lombardian plain. It has been the scene of many memorable events; and its aspect presents an assemblage of the relics of ancient, mixed with the mementos of more modern, days. To this congress, the various powers sent the following representatives:—France—the viscount de Montmorency, the minister for foreign affairs, M. de Chateaubriand, the ambassador at London, and M. de la Ferronnay, ambassador at St. Petersburg. England—the duke of Wellington, lord Strangford, the English ambassador at Constantinople, the marquis of Londonderry (the late Sir Charles Stewart, who had just succeeded his brother, the celebrated lord Castlereagh, who was the first marquis), and lord Burghersh. Austria—prince Metternich, and count Lebzeltern, the ambassador to the court of Russia. Prussia—prince Hardenberg and count Bernstorff. Russia—count Nesselrode, M. de Takicheff, the ambassador at Vienna, M. de Strogonoff, the ambassador at Constantinople, and count Pozzo di Borgo. The emperors of Austria and Russia were also present, and took part in the deliberations; as did the kings of Prussia, Naples and Sardinia.

There had been some difficulty, at Paris, in the choice of plenipotentiaries. MM. de Montmorency and de Chateaubriand were both eager to go; whilst the king, who had no confidence in either, wished Villèle to attend himself. As the latter declined to take an office which, more especially, pertained to those ministers connected with foreign affairs, it was resolved to join M. de la Ferronnay with de Montmorency and Chateaubriand; but the king caused it to be known, that their instructions were to be drawn up by M. de Villèle. These instructions were strict and definite. The French plenipotentiaries were to abstain from the appearance of being anything like reporters upon Spanish affairs to the congress; they were not to take the initiative in recommending any measures; were to enter into no engagements as regarded intervention; were to insist that France should be left perfectly free to act towards Spain as she

thought fit; that if intervention became necessary, France should be the only power to act with its troops; that she must be the sole judge when it was necessary so to act; and if she thought it necessary to withdraw her ambassador from Madrid, the other powers should withdraw theirs. These instructions met the ideas neither of the count d'Artois nor M. de Montmorency; and whilst the inclinations of those personages were for a decided declaration in favour of intervention, it was believed that all the powers, England excepted, were also anxious that France should send an army into Spain to put down the revolutionary movement, and support Ferdinand on the throne. The views of the prince Metternich and M. de Montmorency completely coincided; and the influence of the Austrian statesman was, unfortunately, in other ways, very influential both with the French minister, and his royal patron, the count d'Artois.

The congress was opened on the 25th of August. At that time Verona could boast of a most unusual assemblage of beauty, rank, and genius within its walls. Amongst the ladies who collected around them all the members of the *beau-monde*, and the many celebrities—civil, military, ecclesiastical, and literary—then in Verona, were the empress of Austria; her daughter, Maria Louisa, who, though no longer empress of France, as duchess of Lucca and Parma, held rank with royalty; the queen of Sardinia, and the princesses, her daughters; the princesses of Modena, Tuscany, and several of the German powers. The theatre and opera-house were also open; and the principal actors and actresses, and vocalists of Europe, were collected together in the Italian city. There pleasure seemed to vie with business. Plays, operas, balls, concerts, *salons*, and *réunions*, were constantly taking place; but, although those who might be supposed to be most interested in the councils, were amongst the most sedulous worshippers, apparently, at pleasure's shrine, the important objects of the congress were not neglected; and, amongst the acknowledged diplomatists, the emissaries of the Jesuits intruded, carrying on, says an historian, "a series of intrigues destined to produce the most important results."

The first topic of discussion was the insurrection of Greece, and the relations between Russia and the Porte. We shall not enter into that subject, as it is foreign to our history; except to say, that the foundation was laid for the future independence of Greece.—Then came the question of Piedmont. The king of Sardinia declared, that he could maintain his position without the presence of the Austrian forces, which he wished to be withdrawn; and it was resolved, that, on the 31st of December, the Austrians should begin to leave the Piedmontese territory.

The English plenipotentiaries also endeavoured to procure from the congress solemn declarations against the slave-trade, and in favour of the independence of the states of Spanish South America. With respect to the former, a declaration was signed by the representatives of the five powers, to the effect,—“That they have never ceased, and will never cease, to regard the slave-trade as a traffic which has too long desolated Africa, disgraced Europe, and afflicted humanity; and that they are ready, by every means in their power, to concur in all measures which may ensure and accelerate the entire and final abolition of that commerce.” Upon the question of the independence of the Spanish colonies, there was more difference of opinion. Austria, Prussia, and Russia declared, that they “would never recognise that independence, so long as his christian majesty had not formally renounced those rights of sovereignty he had heretofore exercised over those provinces.” The reply of the French plenipotentiaries was more precise. One reason urged, by England, for recognising the *de facto* governments of the former colonies was, that, without such recognition, and the aid of those governments, the host of pirates and adventurers which had sprung up in consequence of the relaxation of the Spanish authority, and frequented the western ocean, to the great injury of commerce, could not be extirpated. France replied—“In so grave a question, France feels that Spain should, in the first instance, be consulted, as sovereign *de jure* of those colonies. She concurred with England in holding, that, where intestine troubles had long prevailed, and the law of nations had thereby been practically abrogated on account of the weakness of one of the belligerent powers, national right resumed its empire. She admitted that there were inevitable prescriptions of some rights; and that, after a government had long resisted, it was sometimes obliged to yield to overbearing necessity, in order to terminate many evils, and prevent one state from alone reaping advantages in which other states were entitled to participate. But to prevent the jealousies and rivalries of commerce, which might involve governments against their will in hostilities, some general measure should be adopted; and, perhaps, it would be possible to reconcile the interests of Spain, of its colonies, and of the European states, by a measure which, founded on the broad basis of equality and reciprocity, might bring into harmony also the rights of legitimacy, and the necessity of policy.” The result was—the refusal of the congress to consider the question any further; and the independence of the *ci-devant* Spanish colonies, though then an accomplished fact, remained an unacknowledged one.

When the question of Spain itself came to be

discussed, the difference in opinion between the English plenipotentiaries and those of the continental powers was very decided. It soon appeared that the latter, including those of France, were in favour of direct intervention. Apprised of what was going on in the congress, Mr. Canning, who had succeeded lord Londonderry as foreign secretary, wrote to the duke of Wellington on the 27th of September, instructing him to declare, “frankly and decidedly,” if it were proposed to “interfere, by force or menace, in the present struggle with Spain,” that, “to any such interference, his Britannic majesty would not be a party.” The discussion extended over October; and the plenipotentiaries of the other powers having resolved that intervention in the affairs of Spain would be necessary under certain circumstances, the duke of Wellington refused to sign the *procès-verbal* containing the resolution. The French plenipotentiaries then proposed three questions to the congress. “1. Should France withdraw her ambassador from Madrid, and interrupt all her diplomatic relations with Spain, are the other powers prepared to follow her example? 2. If war should break out between France and Spain, how would the great powers support the former, so as to strike a salutary terror into the revolutionists of all countries? 3. In such a case, what is the extent of the material succour the other powers are prepared to give France?” In proposing these questions, the plenipotentiaries of France exceeded the letter, and entirely violated the spirit, of their instructions; but they produced replies from the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to the effect, “that they would follow the example of France, if she suspended diplomatic relations with Spain; that they would imitate the attitude which France assumed; and that they would afford all the succour which might be necessary—the period and mode of co-operation to be arranged by treaty.” The duke of Wellington’s reply was to the effect, that having no information as to the causes of that misunderstanding which, it was said, would be likely to render intervention necessary, and not being able to offer an opinion upon a hypothetical case, he could not reply to any of the questions.

These points decided, it was at first proposed that a note should be addressed to the Spanish government, in the shape of an official remonstrance against the republican and democratic invasions of the royal authority, and the prevalence of the revolutionary spirit; which note should be signed by the representatives of the four continental powers. It was, however, ultimately resolved, that each power should address a separate note to the Madrid cabinet; and those notes being drawn up, the congress separated. Before the last sitting, the duke of Wellington addressed a note to the other plenipotentiaries, detailing the views of the British government.

Writing in the name of that government, his grace wished those ministers to consider, "whether the measures proposed were calculated to allay any irritation which might exist in Spain against France, and to prevent a possible rupture; and whether they might not, with advantage, be delayed till a later period. It was the opinion of his Britannic majesty, that to animadvert upon the internal transactions of an independent state (unless such transactions affected the essential interests of his subjects), was inconsistent with those principles on which his majesty had invariably acted. Such animadversions must involve his majesty in serious responsibility, if they should produce any effect, and must irritate if they should not. If addressed, as proposed, to the Spanish government, they were likely to be injurious to the best interests of Spain, or to produce the worst consequences upon the probable discussion between that country and France. The king's government, therefore, declined to advise his majesty to hold a common language with his allies on that occasion."*

Though the French plenipotentiaries had exceeded their instructions, they had certainly placed their country in a proud position; for "the business of the congress had turned out entirely to the advantage of France. Not only had she gained the consent of all the continental states to whatever policy she might deem it expedient to adopt, but, which was of equal importance, she had been allowed to remain the judge of that policy, the other powers agreeing to follow in her wake, not to take the lead."† Chateaubriand took this view of the result; and, in a letter to M. de Villèle from Verona, he said—"The wish of the [continental] powers is decidedly pronounced for a war with Spain. It is for you, my dear friend, to consider whether you ought not to seize the occasion, perhaps unique, to replace France in the rank of military powers; to restore the white cockade in a war, in short, almost without danger, to which the opinions of the royalists and of the army strongly incline. There is no question of an occupation of the peninsula, but of a rapid movement which would restore power to the true Spaniards, and take away from you all disquietude for the future. The last despatches of M. Lagarde prove how easy that success would be. All continental Europe would be for us; and, if England took umbrage, she would not even have time to throw herself on a colony. As to the chambers, success covers everything. Doubtless commerce and the finances would suffer for a moment, but nothing great can be done without some inconveniences. To destroy a focus of Jacobinism, to re-establish a Bourbon on the throne by the arms of a Bourbon—these are results which outweigh all considerations of a secondary nature."

* Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Verone.*

† Alison.

When M. de Montmorency arrived in Paris from Verona, he was almost immediately created a duke. He brought with him a draft of the despatches, which it was proposed should be sent to Madrid; but they did not meet the views of the king or M. de Villèle. Both deprecated a war, the mere rumour of which had produced a complete stagnation on the Bourse, and interrupted commercial speculations. They had doubts—not as to the resistance that, in fair warfare, Spain could offer—but as to the result of the meeting of the French troops under the lilies, with the victorious Spaniards rallied round the tricolour. At that moment the cause of the *comuneros* was in the ascendancy. For a short time after the establishment of the regency at Urgel, success had attended the movements of the apostolicals and royalists—no less than 450 towns and villages in the northern provinces declaring for them, and overturning the pillar of the constitution of 1812, where it had been erected. The Madrid government began to be seriously alarmed. They appointed don Francisco Espoz y Mina, who had acquired great fame in the guerilla war from 1811 to 1814, captain-general of the three armies of Navarre, Catalonia, and Arragon, and he took the field in the middle of October. His first success was the capture, by storm, of the fortified town of Castelfolli, on the river Bregas, when all the garrison, who did not succeed in making their escape, were massacred. He also issued a most severe proclamation against the inhabitants of all places which should yield to the rebels (as the royalists were termed), or furnish them with any succour. The baron d'Erolles, on hearing of Mina's success, marched against him, and was totally defeated. Other disasters followed. The regency and their troops were driven first from Urgel, and then from Puycerda; and, with the Trappist, Quesada (another royalist chief), and the remains of their forces, were obliged to take refuge in France, about the time M. de Montmorency arrived in the French capital.

The duke of Wellington also arrived in Paris before the king and his minister had determined what course they would pursue. In an audience with his majesty, at which M. de Villèle was present, the duke "pointed out the dangers of an armed intervention in Spain, and proposed a plan of mediation, to be concerted between France and England, to induce the Spaniards to introduce into their constitution the modifications which the French cabinet itself should advocate, as sufficient to maintain the peace. Louis XVIII. placed confidence in the judgment and friendly feeling of the duke of Wellington,"‡ and was very much disposed to be guided by his advice. In a day or two after this interview, a council was held, at which the duke de Montmorency read a note he proposed to forward to

‡ Guizot.

Madrid, drawn up in conformity with the terms agreed upon at Verona. The council was equally divided upon the question—"Should the note be sent?"—M. de Villèle decidedly supporting the negative.—The king closed the discussion, by saying—"Louis XIV. levelled the Pyrenees; I shall not allow them to be raised again. He placed my family on the throne of Spain; I cannot let them fall. The other sovereigns have not the same duties to fulfil. My ambassador ought not to quit Madrid, until the day when 100,000 Frenchmen are on the march to replace him." It was thus decided, that France would not send the note agreed upon at the congress; and whilst the journals, which supported the respective ministers, were endeavouring to agitate the public mind on the subject—the *Journal des Débats* advocating peace, the *Quotidienne* war—the king and M. de Villèle resolved to open a private correspondence with M. de Lagarde, the French minister at Madrid, for the purpose of instructing him to recommend a conciliatory course of policy to the government, and the adoption of such modifications in the constitution of 1812, as might render it acceptable to the royalists, and divest it of that tendency to ultra-democracy, which caused it to be so obnoxious to the allies, in fact, that Ferdinand VII. should imitate the conduct of Louis XVIII., and grant a charter to his subjects.

The decision of the cabinet against his note, led the duke de Montmorency to resign his office of minister of foreign affairs, which was given to M. Chateaubriand, who had remained at Verona, after his colleagues had left that city, where he had devoted himself to the emperor Alexander; and he returned to Paris, imbued with all the violent principles and prejudices of that monarch, and quite as anxious, as his predecessor in office could have been, to force the king into a war with Spain. Before he entered on the duties of his office, the notes of Austria, Prussia, and Russia had been transmitted to Madrid; and a more moderate one sent from France, drawn up by M. de Villèle, who held the seals of the foreign office, *ad interim*, between the resignation of the duke de Montmorency and the arrival of his successor. This note set forth, that France, since the revolution in Spain of 1820, regardless of the danger that threatened her from that event, had endeavoured to draw closer the bonds which united the two kings, and to continue the connection between the two people. But "a constitution, which king Ferdinand had neither recognised nor accepted, on resuming his crown, had been imposed upon him by a military insurrection; the natural consequence was, that every Spaniard had conceived himself entitled to seek, by the same method, an order of things more in harmony with his opinions and principles, and the repeated use of force had caused it to be regarded as a

right. Thence the movement of the guards in Madrid, and the appearance of armed corps in different parts of Spain. Thence arose the necessity, on the part of France, to take measures for its own security; and the events which had occurred since the establishment of the army of observation at the foot of the Pyrenees, justified the forethought of his majesty in placing it there. The precautions of France appearing just to her allies, the continental powers had adopted the resolution to unite themselves to her, should that step become necessary to the maintenance of her dignity and repose. France would have been contented with a resolution at once so friendly and so honourable to her; but Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had deemed it necessary to add to that act of the alliance a manifestation of their own sentiment. Diplomatic notes had, in consequence, been addressed to the representatives of those powers at Madrid, who would follow the instructions of the respective courts. The French ambassador was instructed to say, that the government of the king, united with his majesty's allies, was firmly determined to repel, by every means, the revolutionary principle; that it participated, equally with them, in the desire that the noble Spanish nation might find a remedy, of itself, for the evils which afflicted it—evils which were of a kind to disquiet the governments of Europe, and impose upon them precautions always painful. He was also to assure the authorities of Madrid, that the people of the peninsula, restored to tranquillity, would always find in their neighbours sincere and loyal friends; that succour of all kinds would always be offered to insure their happiness, and increase their prosperity; but that France would relax in none of its protective measures, so long as Spain should be torn by factions. The ambassador was also assured that he would be recalled from Madrid, if the essential interests of his royal master continued to be compromised; and if he (Louis XVIII.) lost all hope of an amelioration from the sentiments which had so long united the French and the Spaniards in the love of their kings, and of a wise liberty."

This note was dated on the 25th of December, 1822; and three days after, M. de Chateaubriand accepted the *porte-feuille* of the foreign office. He soon evinced his predilection for war; and there is no doubt that he was supported by the public opinion of France, notwithstanding the effect on the Bourse, and on commerce, produced by the apprehensions that peace would be interrupted. All classes are represented as demanding hostilities; and the conduct of the Spanish government was such as to afford every prospect of their demand being complied with. Sir W. A'Court, the British ambassador at Madrid, had been instructed to support the views contained in the private letter from Louis XVIII. to the count Lagarde; and to endeavour to induce the

Spanish authorities so to modify the constitution, that all pretence for foreign interference might be dissipated. Lord Fitzroy Somerset was also dispatched to Madrid, to co-operate with the ambassador in the attainment of that desirable object. His lordship arrived at the Spanish capital on the 6th of January, 1823. At that time, the government had received the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian notes; and a haughty acknowledgment being given, without the slightest intimation that any attention would be paid to the suggestions made in them, the ambassadors of those powers left Madrid. The foreign minister, general San Miguel, sent a more definite reply to the note from France. The constitution objected to, he said, was that under which Spain had fought and achieved her liberty, to which the king was indebted for his crown; and Europe, in some degree, for its independence. This constitution the king had set aside, and he had rendered his government so odious, that the revolution which had taken place, had been the result, not merely of "a military insurrection," but of the will of the entire nation, who would always be discontented with changes and reforms; but the enemies of liberty in Spain had been powerless in checking the progress of constitutional principles. The French government was charged, by its army of observation, its threats, and the encouragement it afforded to the enemies of liberty, with having fanned the flames of dissension and civil war; and Spain, said the minister, ought to demand the removal of the hostile army from its frontier, instead of France making any demands on Spain. In conclusion, San Miguel observed—"The despatch of the French government offered friendship and kindness in case that its demands were complied with; but this offer was conveyed in hypothetical and amphibological expressions, which it would be quite idle to analyse."

As soon as this note was received in Paris, M. Chateaubriand wrote, on the 18th of January, to the count Lagarde, transmitting him the king's orders to demand his passports, and to quit Spain, with the members of his legation. The foreign minister also explained the meaning of those expressions to which general San Miguel had applied the term *amphibologique*; though they were clear enough, he remarked, to common understandings. They were intended to imply, that "all should be considered terminated on that day when Ferdinand VII. was able, by himself, and of his own authority, to make the necessary modifications in the constitution." The king was also of opinion, that a general amnesty should be published from 1812, to the present time. "All Spaniards should be bound to submit to the new order of things, which, by the return of the foreign ministers to Madrid, would receive the only sanction and guarantee of which such an act was susceptible on the part of

foreign governments." In the conclusion of this letter, the course which the French government intended to pursue was set forth. "Your presence in Madrid," said M. Chateaubriand to the count, "as a means of conciliation, is perfectly useless; whilst your withdrawal is necessary for the preservation of peace, since it alone can authorise the collection, on the frontier, of 100,000 men, whom we purposely keep in readiness. When his royal highness, the duke d'Angoulême, who is to command this army, shall have reached the bank of the Bidassoa, king Ferdinand may present himself at the head of his troops on the other side. The two princes may then have an interview, which will, probably, be followed by a treaty of peace, by constitutional modifications, and by the amnesty, which the king of France desires." * * * * "Such are the sentiments of the French government. It does not pretend to impose any form of government upon any people; but it cannot regard, as legitimate and stable, institutions issuing from an illegitimate power."—On receipt of this despatch, the French legation left Madrid, and the diplomatic relations between the two countries were entirely suspended.

On the 28th of January, the session of the French chambers was again opened in the Louvre. The king was wheeled into the hall, as on former occasions; and he delivered a brief, but highly-important speech. "We enter upon the year 1823," he said, "with a balance of forty millions over the credits allotted for the past year. France owed to Europe the example of a prosperity, which people cannot obtain without a return to religion, to legitimacy, to order, and to true liberty. France offers this salutary example at present; but divine justice permits, that, after having so long inflicted upon other countries the terrible effects of our discords, we should be ourselves exposed to the danger which similar calamities have produced in a neighbouring country. I have done all in my power to guarantee the security of my people, and to preserve Spain herself from extreme misfortune. The blindness with which my representations, made at Madrid, have been rejected, leave me but few hopes of preserving peace. I have ordered the recall of our minister. One hundred thousand French soldiers, commanded by a prince of my family, whom it delights my heart to call my son, are ready to march, invoking the name of St. Louis, to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV.; to save that fine kingdom from ruin, and to reconcile it with Europe. If war is inevitable, I will use my best endeavours to limit its circle, and shorten its duration. It will only be undertaken to conquer that peace which the present state of Spain renders impossible. Let Ferdinand VII. be free to give his people those institutions, which they can hold only from him, and which,

by insuring the repose, will dissipate the just uneasiness of France, and, from that moment, hostilities shall cease. I take, in your presence, gentlemen, that solemn engagement. In taking this course, I have consulted the dignity of my crown—the honour and security of France. We are Frenchmen; and we shall always be united to defend those interests.”

M. Hyde de Neuville—one of the deputies for Berry, (his native province)—prepared the address to the throne in answer to the royal speech. He supported the war policy ardently and ably; and the language of the address was equally warlike:—“Sire!” it said “we are Frenchmen; no sacrifice will be regarded by your people which may be necessary to sustain the dignity of your crown, the honour and position of France. It is your part to conquer peace, by stifling anarchy; to restore liberty to a prince of your blood; to deliver from oppression a people who will aid you to break their chains. Your army is courageous and faithful. That army, which knows how to repel the cowardly invitation to revolt, starts forward with ardour, under the *fleur-de-lis* standard at your voice; it has not taken up arms, and it will not take them up, except to maintain social order, and to preserve from a fatal contagion our country and our institutions.”—There was an animated debate on this address, which was carried by 202 to 93. It was presented to the king on the 9th of February, amidst a scene of the greatest excitement, created by the number of members who attended; and the enthusiastic acclamations with which, when the document was read, many of its strongest passages were received. The address in the peers was also carried by a large majority.

On the 24th of February, a second debate on the affairs of Spain took place, originating in a demand made by M. de Villèle, for a supplementary credit of 100,000,000 f., to enable ministers to defray the expenses connected with the war. The balance in the treasury exceeded that stated in the king's speech, being forty-three millions, instead of forty, leaving 57,000,000 f. to be provided. M. Villèle and M. de Chateaubriand eloquently defended the government policy. The latter admitted the principle, that one government had no right to interfere in the affairs of another, except in cases where its security and immediate interests were compromised. He contended, that this was the case as between France and Spain at that moment; and England being the country which the antagonists of ministers opposed to them at every turn, he read long extracts from the declaration of war, issued by the British government in 1793, to show, that, upon the principles there laid down, France was justified in going to war with Spain. “It was true,” he said, “that, when England made that famous declara-

tion, Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were no more. He admitted, that Marie Josephine was then only a captive; that Ferdinand was still a prisoner in his palace, as Louis XVI. was, in the Temple, before he was led to the scaffold. He had no wish to calumniate the Spaniards; but he could not entertain a higher esteem for them than for his own countrymen. Revolutionary France gave birth to a convention, why should not revolutionary Spain do the same? England had murdered its Charles I., France its Louis XVI.; if Spain followed their example, a series of precedents in favour of crime would be established; and a body of jurisprudence in favour of people acting against their sovereigns.” A moral contagion, he contended, was resulting from the existing state of things. The revolutionists of Spain were in correspondence with the revolutionists of France, and were exciting her soldiers to revolt. These circumstances compromised the essential interests, and endangered the security of France, and fully justified the war.

General Foy, M. Royer-Collard, and M. Manuel replied to the speech of the foreign minister. M. Manuel was put forward, more especially, to answer that address, which made a powerful impression on the chamber; and is said to have “created a prodigious sensation in France, greater, perhaps, than any other since the days of Mirabeau.”—M. Manuel, after some general remarks, which no one knew better how to introduce, reverted to the state of things in Spain, which he described as being produced by the “atrocious” government of Ferdinand VII. He then alluded to the Stuarts, endeavouring to show, that the protection and succour afforded to them by France, led to the destruction of the princes of that family. “That succour,” said he, “was clandestine, it is true; but it was sufficient to encourage the Stuarts in their resistance to public opinion—thence the misfortunes of that family—misfortunes it would have avoided, had it sought its support in the nation. Need I remind you that the dangers of the royal family have been fearfully aggravated, when the stranger invaded our territory, and that revolutionary France, feeling the necessity of defending itself by new forces, and a fresh energy”——

The speaker was not allowed to finish his sentence. There were loud shouts from the “right” of “Order!” “order!” intermixed with cries of “Expulsion!” “expulsion!” and the remark, “thus is regicide justified and provoked.” The president, M. Ravez, as the speaker had not been allowed to finish his sentence, only called him to order. Both sides of the house rose, the “left” to deny that Manuel had said anything that called for the interference of the speaker; the “right” to demand that the apologist of regicide should be expelled. The storm continued for

some time, till the president, finding that it was not likely to subside, put on his hat, and suspended the sitting. After a time, finding the tumult did not subside, he dismissed the members to the committee-rooms. The "right" and "centre" retired; the "left" remained, and were joined by Manuel, who had continued in the tribune, and who employed the time in writing a letter to the president; in which he said, that his sentence, if he had been permitted to finish it, would have been as follows:—"Revolutionary France, feeling the necessity of defending itself by new forces, and fresh energy, put in movement its masses—excited all the popular passions—and thus brought on a deplorable catastrophe in the midst of a generous resistance." At the end of an hour, the sitting was resumed; and so was the tumult. On M. Manuel's approaching the tribune, his object being to explain what was the real intent of his sentence, he was met with cries, on all sides, of "Down with the regicide!"—"Expel the wretch!" Despairing of obtaining a hearing, Manuel delivered his letter to the president, and resumed his seat. M. Forbin des Issarts then mounted the tribune, and proposed that Manuel should be expelled. Loud applause came from the "right," with cries of "To the vote!" The president explained, that it would be irregular to put the vote without notice and discussion; and endeavoured to read the letter of Manuel. The "right," however, would not listen to it; and, amidst great confusion, the chamber was adjourned till the next day.

On that day (February 26th), as soon as the session opened, M. de Labourdonnaye moved the expulsion of M. Manuel, not for any single expression, but for the whole tendency of his speech. This motion came on for debate on the 3rd of March, when it was opposed by the count de St. Aulaire, the father-in-law of the duke Decazes. He was followed by M. Royer-Collard, who said—"Recurrence to violence, instead of law, when employed by a people, was called insurrection. When put in practice by state against state, intervention. When resorted to by a government, it was termed, by the French, a *coup-d'état*. The expulsion of M. Manuel was nothing but a *coup-d'état*."—As, if expelled, the electors of Vendée might have again returned him to the chamber, M. Hyde de Neuville proposed, that he should only be expelled for the remainder of the session. The debate extended into the next day; and then the proposition of the deputy for Berry was carried by two to one, the "centre" and "right" coalescing. Before the vote was taken, M. Manuel declared that the proceeding was illegal; that it was opposed to every principle of right and justice; and he would not obey the vote, except compelled by force. The next day, guards were placed at the doors of the chamber, to prevent him from entering. He, however,

eluded them, and took his seat. The government, though the ministers had endeavoured to prevent the vote of expulsion from being pressed, were determined to enforce the resolution of the chamber. As the first step, the president requested M. Manuel to retire. The reply was, "I told you, yesterday, I would only yield to force, I come to make good my word." M. Ravez then desired the deputies to quit the hall, and retire to their respective rooms. The "right" and "centre" obeyed; the "left" rallied round the expelled deputy. The next step was the appearance of the chief of the officers of the chamber, followed by a number of his men. As M. Manuel refused to obey their order to "retire," they did not attempt to enforce it; but made way for a detachment of the national guards and the troops of the line, who advanced with fixed bayonets; and Manuel, still refusing to leave the chamber, M. Morrier, who commanded the national guard, was ordered to take him into custody. Overawed by the cries of the deputies, he refused to obey; and this force was likewise removed, and succeeded by thirty *gens-d'armes*, under M. de Foucault. They soon put an end to the scene; M. de Foucault, on Manuel's repeated refusal to leave the room, seizing him by the collar, and dragging him out. Sixty-nine deputies followed him to the house of M. Gevandau, where they drew up, and signed a protest "against all the illegal and unconstitutional measures taken for the exclusion of M. Manuel, deputy of Vendée; and, against the violence which tore him from the chamber of deputies."

This *coup-d'état*, as M. Royer-Collard termed it, was a great mistake on the part of the ultra-royalists; for it could not, by any possibility, do them any good; whilst it might, and would, in all probability, but for the Spanish expedition, have led to a very serious outbreak of popular fury. But the French populace have always been fond of war, till they have begun to feel its effects in their own persons; and the movement of troops, the bustle and excitement attendant upon the preparation for the invasion of Spain, and the national ardour which was roused by the prospect of winning back that glory and *prestige* of which their troops had been deprived, by the issue of the last war with that country, completely diverted the thoughts and attention of the people from the chamber of deputies. The duke d'Angoulême left Paris to join the army on the 15th of March; and his royal highness had scarcely departed, when the police received information that the *Carbonari* had been at work; and that some of the officers and men of the army, destined for Spain, were implicated in the designs of that secret conspiracy. The baggage of several officers was searched, and a trunk of major Lostende, principal aide-de-camp to general Guillemot, chief

of the staff, was found to be full of tricoloured cockades, scarfs, an eagle, and other Bonapartist emblems. Marshal Victor was immediately dispatched to the camp to supersede Guillemot; and it was found that many officers were aware of the efforts of the disaffected. Prompt measures were taken to counteract the evil already caused, and whilst these were carrying out, other impediments to the departure of the expedition were discovered. The commissariat, it was ascertained, was very defective. Magazines of corn had been established at Bayonne; but, though cavalry formed a very important branch of the army, there was no forage for the horses; no means of transport; and no channel of correspondence had been opened with those who were to furnish the supplies, either of *matériel* or money. In this dilemma, M. Ouvrard—whose name has been several times mentioned in connection with Napoleon's military and financial measures—came forward, and proposed to take charge of all the supplies, and the conveyance of the artillery and equipages. By the influence of the duke d'Angoulême, the contract was concluded with him, though not without great opposition from other quarters; and he soon placed every thing connected with the commissariat and the finances on the most satisfactory footing. Such was the effect of his activity and admirable administrative capacity, that every difficulty was speedily removed, and the army was ready to cross the frontiers, with the assurance that all its wants would be promptly and efficiently supplied. Marshal Victor then returned to Paris, to resume the duties of his office; general Guillemot, who stood high in the favour of the duke d'Angoulême, and was not personally implicated in the conduct of his aide-de-camp, being restored to his post of chief of the staff.

In now taking the field, for the first time since the campaign of Waterloo, France did so upon a scale which showed that she was still, notwithstanding the disastrous occurrences of that period, a great military power. Ninety-one thousand fine soldiers were collected at Bayonne, and divided into four corps; the first commanded by marshal Oudinot; the second by count Molitor; the third by prince Hohenlohe; the fourth by marshal Moncey, duke of Castigliano. Of these corps, the first was destined to cross the Bidassoa, and take the direct road to Madrid. The second, supporting the left flank of the first, was to advance by the pass of Roncesvalles, and the valley of Bastan, to Pampeluna. The third was to secure the rear and the communications of the first, and protect its right flank. The fourth was to operate in Catalonia. There was also a reserve, composed of a division of the guard, and two divisions of cavalry, under general count Bordesoul.—The Spanish government had collected a more numerous army to meet the shock, and, if pos-

sible, stem the tide of invasion. They had 20,000 men under Ballasteros, stationed in Biscay, opposite the Bidassoa; 20,000 in Catalonia, under Mina; 18,000 in the centre, under d'Abisbal; 12,000 in Galicia; and 53,000 in garrisons—making a total of 123,000 men, of whom 15,000 were cavalry. But though outnumbering the French, there was a great inferiority in all that constituted the soldier. The Spaniards were not so well equipped, disciplined, or organised as the invaders; and if they were equally brave, they could scarcely be expected to compete with the veteran troops (as most of them were), and well-trained and experienced officers of France. And they had another disadvantage. The French went into the field animated by the hopes and wishes, and sustained by the prayers, of their countrymen; whilst the Spaniards, although fighting in support of a "popular" constitution, and a defence of "popular" rights, had the mortification of knowing that the "popular" feeling was not with them. A report made to the Cortes, early in the year, acknowledged, that the great majority of the people were hostile to their cause; the rural population (instigated, probably, by the priests) having always been so; while the enthusiasm once displayed at Madrid and the seaports, was sensibly dying away.

Some reliance was placed on the old Bonapartist feeling in the army; and the only opposition attempted to the passage of the Bidassoa by the French, was by a band of French exiles, commanded by colonel Fabvier, who, probably, was ignorant of the discoveries made in the baggage of major Lostende, and expected to find *Carbonarism* vivid in the ranks of the enemy. This band, of about 200 only (the colonel had been promised 800), clothed in the uniform of the old guards, the tricoloured flag, surmounted by the eagle, waving in the midst of them, and singing the *Marseillaise*, and other republican tunes, took its station on the bank of the Bidassoa. When the French advanced to the river on the other side, on the morning of the 7th of April, they certainly were surprised at the sight of the old uniform, and the old flag, and at hearing the old tunes. The 9th light infantry, with a gun and some artillerymen, formed the advanced guard, which first reached the banks of the river, opposite a broken bridge, on the other end of which Fabvier and his men were placed. General Vallin, who commanded, as soon as he saw the demonstration, ordered a volley to be fired over their heads, and the gun to be discharged at them. The refugees, as no shot took effect, shouted, "*Vive l'artillerie!*" thinking, probably, that the balls were drawn. Another discharge or two were ordered, as the first did not disperse them, and these killed and wounded a goodly number; the rest fled; and the French crossed the river. The next day,

Oudinot's division crossed; and the others followed. Ouvrard was with them, who sent round to the country people, requesting them to bring in provisions. They complied with his request; and he paid them so liberally, that the supply continued abundant: thus a great obstacle to the advance of the army was removed.

There was treachery in the Spanish army; for O'Donnell, count d'Abisbal, who had been already guilty of double treason, having betrayed the constitutionalists in the Isle of Leon to the king, and then betrayed Ferdinand to the dominant party, again deserted the cause he had embraced, and went over to the French; and there was disaffection in the Spanish people, who, unlike the feeling evinced from 1808 to 1814, now hailed the French as their deliverers. The French, therefore, met with little to oppose their progress. The right wing of the army had an engagement with the garrison of St. Sebastian, which made a sortie, was driven back, and the blockade of that town established. The different corps then pursued their march into the interior; penetrated to Burgos in one direction, and to Madrid in another, with very little opposition. As the French advanced, the Cortes left Madrid for Seville, carrying off Ferdinand with them, though he protested against leaving the Escorial. The entrance of the French into the Spanish capital was preceded by the issue of a proclamation, in which the duke d'Angoulême told the Spanish nation, that he did not make war on them; that he should respect their persons and property; and that, when the king was once more in his capital, the noble mission which the king, his uncle, had entrusted to him, would be accomplished. On the 24th of May, the French army once more entered Madrid; the duke d'Angoulême by the gate of Recolets, and Oudinot by that of Segovia. They were received with the ringing of bells, the strains of military music, and the cheers of the people; and the duke established himself, for a brief period, in the palace of Ferdinand. On the 25th, he nominated the duke del Infantado, the duke of Montemar, the bishop of Osma, the baron d'Eroles, and Don Gomez Calderon, a regency. These officials so shamefully abused their powers—annulling all the acts and appointments of the Cortes; and at Saragossa and Burgos imprisoning hundreds of the citizens who did not follow the popular cry—that, when on his way to Cadiz, where the Cortes, unable to defend Seville, retired with the king, the duke d'Angoulême stopped at Andujar, and issued a decree, abrogating the power he had conferred; forbidding the regency to make arrests; and ordering the French officers to liberate all those who were imprisoned merely for political crimes. The regency protested against this decree; and the Trappist, again at the head of a numerous body of royalists, refused to obey it. The duke was

ultimately obliged to modify its terms; for he found that he could not control the party he came to assist, though that which he came to oppose fled before him.

It would afford no information of the slightest interest, to detail the marches and counter-marches of the French troops, and the different movements of the forces which obeyed the officers of the Cortes. There was no fighting of any consequence, and the little there was was all in favour of the French, who appear to have been welcomed everywhere by the peasantry; the middle-classes (and they not uniformly) siding with the Cortes. It was on the 12th of June that the latter left Seville for Cadiz. The king again refused to accompany them; and, on the 11th, they proclaimed his deposition, and the appointment of a provisional regency in his stead. The next day they forced him and his family into carriages; and, escorted by about 8,000 men, set out for Cadiz, where they arrived on the 15th. Sir W. A'Court, who had accompanied the Cortes from Madrid to Seville, refused to go to Cadiz, but repaired to Gibraltar, to await the orders of his government. This deprived the Cortes of the moral support of the English ambassador; and they were also disappointed at finding that the English fleet, in the bay of Cadiz, had orders to observe a strict neutrality. Still they determined to defend that city to the last; and, as it successfully resisted the attacks of the French in the previous war, they probably were not without hopes that a similar result might now ensue.

But, at the former period, the English and the guerillas were successful in the field; now, the forces of the *Comuneros* had been everywhere dispersed. Morillo, who had been one of their best, and, apparently, most faithful commanders, joined the royalists in Valencia, and half his forces followed him. Ballasteros was defeated at Carabil, and surrendered to the French, with 7,000 men. Riego, as the French marched upon Cadiz, collected a force in their rear; but, constantly harassed by the enemy, he was finally defeated and taken prisoner, on the 14th of September. He was given up to the royalists, by whom he was subsequently shot. Most of the fortresses, also, surrendered to the French; and, very soon after, the Cortes shut themselves up in Cadiz; Barcelona, Corunna, and Ferrol, with a small guerilla force under Mina, in the mountains of Catalonia, being all that were left them beyond the walls of that city. It is said, that the money of Ouvrard had much to do in facilitating the successes of the French.

The siege of Cadiz was formally undertaken in the beginning of July. There were 20,000 men, 2,000 cannon, and an abundance of ammunition in the fortress, and no want of provisions. It was capable, therefore, of a long resistance.

On the 14th, a sortie was made, and the French posts were bravely attacked; but the besiegers were obliged to retreat, with the loss of 700 men. On the 16th, the duke d'Angoulême arrived in the camp of the besiegers. The next day, he sent a letter to the president of the Cortes; in which he said, that it was "the earnest wish of the government of the king, his uncle, that the king of Spain, restored to liberty, should practise clemency, by according a general amnesty, and, by the convocation of the ancient Cortes, give his people a guarantee for the reign of justice, order, and good administration."—To this the Cortes replied, that "the king was free; and the misfortunes of Spain were owing to the invasion. The establishment of the ancient Cortes was incompatible with the dignity of the crown; with the actual state of the world; the political situation of things; the rights, the usages, and the well-being of the Spanish nation. If his royal highness abused his power, he would be responsible for all the evils he might draw down on the person of the king, upon the royal family, and upon that worthy city."

After the receipt of this reply, the siege was vigorously pressed. The Trocadero was the first object of assault. This fort stands at the extremity of a peninsula that runs into the bay, commands the inner harbour, and shot and shell discharged from it can reach the city. It was completely invested on the 24th; bombarded till the 31st; and, on the morning of that day, was carried by assault. The Cortes then sent general Alava to treat with the duke d'Angoulême, who refused to enter into any terms till the king was at liberty. The siege was continued; and the arrival of Sir Robert Wilson at Cadiz, again inspired the Cortes with a hope of English intervention. The hope was vain; the gallant officer brought no aid but his own single arm. On the 20th of September, a French flotilla, of two ships of the line and two frigates, bombarded the fort of Santa Petri, on the margin of the bay. The fire was so destructive, that the fort surrendered; and, on the 23rd, a fire was opened from it and the Trocadero, on the city. The effect of this bombardment (so terrible to the inhabitants of Cadiz), and the revolt of the regiment of San Marcial, which was with difficulty subdued by the militia of the city, convinced the Cortes of the inutility of a longer resistance. That body, on the 28th of September, declared itself dissolved; the king sent to inform the duke d'Angoulême that he was at liberty; on the 30th, he published a proclamation, promising an amnesty, a constitution, and everything the *Communeros* wished; and, on the 1st of October, he repaired to the camp of the duke d'Angoulême, being escorted across the bay by admiral Valdez and general Alava, to whom he was most cordial and condescending during the trip; but whom he regarded with a look of such hatred as soon

as he landed, that the admiral suddenly pushed the bark in which his majesty had been conveyed from Cadiz, from the shore. "Miserable wretches!" was the exclamation of Ferdinand, "they do well to withdraw from their fate."

Cordially received by his deliverer, Ferdinand soon displayed himself again in his true character. He published a proclamation, declaring null and void all the acts of the government carried on in his name, from March 7th, 1820, to October 1st, 1823, as, during that time, he was deprived of his liberty, and obliged to sanction, against his will, the acts of the revolutionary administration. He also sanctioned and confirmed all the acts of the two regencies—that of the marquis de Mataflorida, and his colleagues; and that nominated, in the previous May, by the duke d'Angoulême. When he got to Madrid, he signalled his return by a persecuting, vindictive policy against all who had been active in support of the constitution, notwithstanding his promised amnesty; his entrance into the capital being followed by the execution of Riego, under the most degrading circumstances. The duke d'Angoulême, disgusted, but not deceived, by the conduct of Ferdinand—for he wrote to France, in September, "The king may make me a hundred promises, but he would break them all the very same day"—and finding that he had no influence whatever in the royal councils, placed a garrison in Cadiz, which the king allowed him temporarily to occupy: taking leave of the troops he left there, on the 22nd of October he set out for France. His royal highness refused to go to Madrid, and took the direct road to his own country. When he entered France, his journey was a continued ovation; and, when he made his entry into Paris, on the 2nd of December, on horseback, at the head of the troops which had returned with him, and surrounded by a brilliant staff, the enthusiasm of the people was at its height. The municipality, and other public bodies of Paris, met him at the *barrière de l'Etoile*, and delivered addresses of congratulation; to which he replied, "I rejoice that I have accomplished the mission the king has entrusted to me, and proved that nothing is impossible to a French army." At the Tuileries he was received by the king, who, on his dismounting, embraced him, and said, "My son, I am satisfied with you." Then taking him by the hand, he led him to the balcony, where the popular acclamations were redoubled. When he retired, he had to receive the congratulations of his family, who all thought that he had effected great things for France.

This campaign has been characterised as "one of the most remarkable recorded in history;" as, in "less than six months, with the loss of no more than 4,000 men, either by sickness or the sword, and with an expenditure of only 200,000,000 f.,"

the French forces "had subdued and pacified Spain, delivered the king, arrested the march of revolution, and stopped the convulsions of Europe."* We think this a misplaced praise; for whilst, in principle, the war was unjust, and, in fact, unnecessary, not one of the objects set forth by the duke d'Angoulême, and which he pledged himself to achieve—viz., a complete amnesty, and liberal government—was attained. "It also surrendered up Spain to the incurable tyranny of Ferdinand, without putting an end

to revolutions; and it substituted the barbarities of popular absolutism for popular anarchy." Nor did it establish the influence of France in Spain, as events subsequently proved. In fact, the war, politically, was a failure; and, in a military point of view, it brought little real honour to the French arms, because, except at Cadiz, no resistance, worthy of the name, was offered to the progress of the troops. Had it never been undertaken, it would probably have been much better for both countries.

CHAPTER IX.

EFFECTS OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSES; STATE OF THE KING'S HEALTH; CHATEAUBRIAND AND COBBETT; EFFECT OF THE SPANISH WAR ON THE FINANCES; POSITION OF THE MINISTERS; CREATION OF PEERS, AND DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES; MINISTERIAL DIFFERENCES; THE ELECTIONS; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1824; THE SEPTENNIAL PROJECT; PROPOSAL TO REDUCE THE RENTES; CHANGE IN THE MINISTRY; THE BUDGET; OPPOSITION IN THE CHAMBERS AND BY THE PRESS; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CENSORSHIP; DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII.; HIS CHARACTER; ACCESSION OF CHARLES X.; STATE OF FRANCE; CHARACTER OF THE NEW MONARCH; THE CAMARILLA; CHARLES'S FIRST ACTS; PROSPERITY OF FRANCE; LEGISLATIVE SESSION OF 1825; IMPORTANT MEASURES ADOPTED; THE CORONATION.

As the intelligence arrived, during the autumn of 1823, of the successful advance of the French army into Spain, and especially when the fall of Cadiz, and the liberation of Ferdinand, were announced, the exultation of the ultra-royalists was displayed in various ways; and it was further increased by the success of their party in the elections, to renew the one-fifth of the members who retired. At this period, the count d'Artois and the duchess d'Angoulême were, in fact, the government. Always, since his restoration, as before noticed, infirm from physical causes, Louis XVIII., towards the close of 1823, became almost incapable of any exertion. He could not walk, and was obliged to be conveyed from room to room on a chair or couch, prepared for the purpose. His disease was both internal and external; he suffered great and almost continuous pains in his chest; whilst boils and sores broke out nearly all over his body, and tried, to the fullest extent, the patience of those who had to dress them: for he became extremely irritable, and the slightest touch caused him considerable suffering. He was frequently driven out, having to be carried to, and lifted into, his coach; and, when seated, his greatest pleasure was in being driven rapidly through the streets, or along the boulevards, as fast as eight horses could convey him. It was evident that nature could not last much longer; and all who sought court favour paid homage to the count d'Artois. Thus, "the last days of Louis XVIII.," it is affirmed, "were a pitiable scene of court intrigue and royal weakness." Under these circumstances, and

with the popular voice, owing to the Spanish successes, in their favour, no wonder that the ultra-royalists made the most of their position. "They could no longer be kept in check by the minister, who was compelled to follow their impulse. The administration became suspicious, and violent in its measures. People were deprived of office on the slightest pretext—or none at all. A word, indiscreetly spoken, was enough to ruin a man."† M. de Villèle yielded to the partisans of the count d'Artois, and to the count himself; still, he did not altogether satisfy them: they felt that neither the minister nor the king were, really and sincerely, converted to the principles of the *Parti-prêtre*; and many about the court looked forward anxiously to the time when Monsieur would be really king.

The French successes in Spain not only excited joy at home, but gave great satisfaction to all the European powers, except England. Not able to prevent the expedition, Mr. Canning took advantage of it to acknowledge, in October, the independence of the Spanish colonies in South America—sending consuls to represent English interests at their chief cities. In taking this step, he anticipated France; though it was not known that her government contemplated sanctioning the revolt of those provinces, till the publication of Chateaubriand's *Memoirs*, several years after. In 1823, William Cobbett was one of the popular writers of the day; and in his political periodical, he defended the policy of France on the Spanish question, in opposition to the views of his own government. Referring to the events connected with, and springing from, the congress

* Alison.

† *France and its Revolutions.*

of Verona, in his *Memoirs*, Chateaubriand says—"Cobbett was the only person in England who, at that period, undertook our defence; who did us justice; who judged calmly both of the necessity of our intervention in Spain, and of the view we had to restore to France the strength of which it had been deprived. Happily *he* did not divine our entire plan—which was, to break through, or modify, the treaties of Vienna, and to establish Bourbon monarchies in South America. Had he discerned this, and lifted the veil, he would have exposed France to great danger, for already alarm had seized the cabinets of Europe." Of this alarm, there certainly were no signs which could give the public any idea of its existence; on the contrary, all the continental powers, Russia especially, were warm in approbation.

The position of France was considered to be so greatly improved by the result of the expedition, that M. de Villèle found, when it was necessary to contract another loan, as the vote of the chamber was not sufficient to cover the expenses of the war, that he had much less difficulty with the capitalists than he had before, and could obtain money on better terms. He required the large sum of 393,600,000*f.* (£16,400,000); and when he went into the market to obtain it, there was a competition among the capitalists, which had been very unusual, of late, for French loans. Rothschild and Co. were the successful bidders: they took the contract at 89·55 per cent.—much better terms than had been obtained on any other occasion, since the restoration. From that time, under every change of government and dynasty, that house has had the management of the French finances, in all matters connected with the national debt.

Notwithstanding the approval of foreign courts, the apparent loyal state of public opinion at home, and the favourable financial position of the government, the ministers found that they had much to contend with from party influences. The liberals were disheartened, not extinguished. In the chamber of deputies, said Villèle, "they fire upon us from both sides;" and in that of the peers, there was an anti-ministerial majority. This chamber—constituted chiefly of the celebrities amongst the civilians, and of many of the eminent military commanders of former days—was not inclined to submit either to the encroachments of the church or to those of the state; and, in the last session, after the liberals of the chamber of deputies had retired with Manuel, those in the peers took a more decided part in the public discussions, and, on several occasions, impeded the action of the government. The opposition in that chamber might have been overcome by new creations; and after the elections of the autumn, it did seem unlikely, to indifferent observers, that, in the chamber of deputies, there could be any successful opposition to the minis-

terial measures. But some of the ministers recommended, that, as the government, at that time, seemed so popular, the chamber should be dissolved; and that, in the next session, a law should be introduced to abolish the annual election of one-fifth, and make the chamber septennial. M. de Villèle at first opposed, but afterwards appears to have been quite reconciled to that measure. "We have had," he remarked, "good elections since we came into power; we shall, under present circumstances, have still better." The people of France, therefore, during the Christmas holidays, were startled by the appearance of two royal *ordonnances*. The first, issued on the 23rd of December, announced the creation of twenty-seven new peers; the names of several generals, and thirteen members of the chamber of deputies (amongst them M. Lainé), being in the list. The second, dated the 24th, and which appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 25th, dissolved the chamber of deputies. The meeting of the colleges of arrondissements was fixed for the 25th of February; that of those of the departments for the 6th of March; and the opening of the session of 1824, for the 23rd of that month.

Previous to the elections, ministerial differences arose. The duke d'Angoulême, and several of his more intimate companions, were dissatisfied with the duke de Belluno as war minister; and there was considerable jealousy between Chateaubriand and Villèle; whilst the former was dissatisfied with his treatment by the royal family, after he had been the principal agent in promoting the Spanish expedition. The duke d'Angoulême was satisfied by the removal of marshal Victor from the war-office; who was replaced by the baron Dumas, a *protégé* of the duke's; but the jealousy between de Villèle and the foreign minister was increased by the emperor Alexander sending to Chateaubriand and his predecessor, the duke de Montmorency, the insignia of the Russian order of St. Andrew. M. de Villèle felt that, in being overlooked on this occasion as the head of the ministry, he was signally slighted. The king felt it also; and told his minister, "that he would pay him in coin of a better stamp, by naming him a knight of the French orders, which were worth more than those of Russia." His majesty, accordingly, sent the minister the insignia of the order of the St. Esprit. This did not much ameliorate matters; and, shortly after, through the influence of M. de Chateaubriand, the emperor Alexander sent the ribbon of St. Andrew to M. de Villèle, and Louis conferred that of the St. Esprit upon the viscount. For a time this healed the breach, which had appeared to be rapidly widening between the two statesmen.

These differences did not cause the cabinet to be inattentive to the approaching elections. It was most important that the result should be in

favour of the government, as the success of the contemplated *projet-de-loi*, for repealing that part of the charter which required one-fifth of the chamber to be renewed every year, and to have the deputies elected for seven years, depended upon there being a decided ministerial majority in the chamber. No means, therefore, were left untried to influence the voters. The government sent out circulars and instructions; the bishops pastoral letters, and episcopal manifestoes; and the clergy, both from the pulpit and in their private visitations, enforced the necessity of supporting the government. Probably most, if not all, the clerical body agreed with the archbishop of Toulouse, who, in a *mandement* (or episcopal letter), called for great changes, all tending to weaken the royal, and exalt the spiritual, authority. This exceeded even the license accorded by ministers to their advocates, and the *mandement* was suppressed.

The efforts of the government and its agents were completely successful. The opposition appeared to be almost entirely annihilated. In Paris, where they held the twelve seats, they only returned general Foy, and MM. Benjamin Constant and Casimir Perier; whilst out of the entire 419 seats, the ultra-royalists and the "centre" obtained 410. This wholesale exclusion of the liberals was found to be as dangerous to the minister, as it proved to be, ultimately, disastrous for France. The *Parti-prêtre*, or "Congregation," having obtained "a full and complete victory, it governed the majority, and through it the ministry, who, from that time, had no longer the freedom nor the power of action." The ultras in the chamber, "inspired the crown with the idea, that it had a mission from heaven to restore to France its religion, its ancient morals, and its monarchic faith." For them, the events since 1789 had afforded no instruction; they had passed through, and outlived, one revolution; they could not see that the measures they recommended, the policy they enforced, were preparing the way for another.* It is remarkable, that the opinion of the monied men and the capitalists appeared to be in their favour; after the elections, the five per cents. rose to 104.80—a higher price than they had reached for fifty years.

The session opened on the 23rd of March, at the Louvre, as on other recent occasions. The king delivered his speech with difficulty. He commenced by congratulating the country on the result of the Spanish expedition. "The triumph of our arms," he said, "which has secured so many guarantees for order, is due to the discipline and bravery of the French army, conducted by my son with as much wisdom as valour." This sentence was followed by loud cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive le duc d'Angoulême!*" His majesty then announced the mea-

asures which it was intended to introduce during the session. "Repose and quiet," he said, "after long convulsions, are the first necessity for France. The present mode of renewing the chamber does not attain those ends; therefore a project of law will be presented, rendering the renewal septennial. The brief duration of the war, the prosperous state of the revenue and of public credit, enable me to announce, that no new tax or loan will be required to cover the expenses of the year. Measures have been taken to insure the reimbursement of the capital of the perpetual annuities, created by the state in less favourable times, and to obtain their conversion into funds, of which the interest is in proportion to that obtained in other monied transactions. This operation, which must have such a happy influence upon agriculture and commerce, will permit, as soon as it is accomplished, the reduction of certain taxes, in order to diminish the public burdens, and close the last wounds of the revolution."

The first step taken by the ultras, after the session was formally opened, was to dispute the returns of general Foy and M. Benjamin Constant; that of the former for some irregularity in the votes; that of the latter, because he was a Swiss. The general proved that the irregularity was merely alleged; and Constant that he was qualified under the law of 1790, which allowed the descendants of French families, exiled on account of their religion, to claim the privileges of French citizens. Constant had two protestant exiles amongst his ancestors, and, therefore, retained his seat, as did Foy.—The septennial project was next introduced. It was brief, but explicit. "The present chamber of deputies," it said, "and all those which shall follow it, shall be re-elected in their entirety. They shall last for seven years, reckoning from the time on which shall be issued the *ordonnance* for their first meeting, unless they be dissolved by the king." The debates upon this measure were long, and the opposition as vigorous as the paucity of numbers would allow it to be. It was contended "that the project not only repealed a vital part of the charter, but introduced an entire change into the constitution. That it would make the king independent of the popular voice, and might bring the legislature into such discredit with the nation as, in troubled times, might produce the most terrible convulsions, and, in pacific periods, totally destroy its utility."—It was supported by the ministers on different grounds. M. de Villèle hoped that, by the skilful use of the extensive means of patronage he had at his disposal, he could render the majority more subservient to himself, as it would be, for so long a time, independent of the electors. M. Chateaubriand required the permanence of the ultra-royalist majority, that he might carry out various schemes he had formed for the increase of the dominions, and the extension of the influence, of

* Capefigue, *Histoire de la Restauration*.

France. Besides the erection of Bourbon monarchies in South America, he contemplated the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine, and a return to the Napoleon system of acquiring an irresistible control over the destinies of Europe. The rank and file of the ministerialists contended, that the alteration would put an end to that continual ferment in which the people were kept by the annual elections; that it would lessen the evils of corruption and undue influence, by, at any rate, rendering the opportunities for their exercise less frequent; and (in the words of the duke de Doudeauville), "that it would be a kind of lease for seven years between the ministry and the chambers, a period useful for the development of all institutions, and of the representative government."—If the arguments of the supporters of the project did not prevail, their numbers did; it was passed in the deputies by 292 votes to 87, and in the peers by 117 to 64. It became law on the 9th of June.

While it was under discussion, the second measure, announced in the royal speech, was introduced—the project (*en bref*) "for converting the five per cents into three per cents, taking the latter at seventy-five." It was calculated that this would make a difference of 30,000,000*f*. (£1,250,000) per annum in the expenditure, and it was intended to employ this sum in providing an indemnity for the emigrants. The project was not brought in till arrangements had been made, if successful, for acting upon it. The houses of Baring, Rothschilds, and Lafitte, had undertaken to advance money to pay such holders of the five per cents as might refuse to take the three per cents in exchange, the amount of their investments, and had also agreed to take themselves the three per cent. stock at seventy-five, in exchange for the capital advanced. They were to receive, as a premium, all the profits that might accrue from the conversion, from the day it took effect, till the 31st of December, 1825.* The law was introduced on the 5th of April, and it was opposed and defended rather as it affected the interests of the speakers than on party grounds. The capitalists opposed it because it interfered with their profits; and the holders of annuities, on the ground, that those annuities, or *rentes*, were intended to be, or ought to be, perpetual; added to these reasons, M. Casimir Perrier objected to the measure, because it was to be carried out by foreign financiers. The most popular objection was put forward by the archbishop of Paris. "The fundholder," he said, "who is ignorant of the speculations of commerce, or the calculations of the bank, or of the treasury, who lives only on his income, without troubling himself about anything else, will he not see in this reduction a complete revolution in his existence, in that of his children and his

family?"—The ministers pointed out the fallacy of the arguments by which it was contended that the debt was never to be reduced or redeemed, and the necessity there was of availing themselves of the then favourable state of the money-market, and of following the example of England, whose government had just reduced a large amount of four per cents to three-and-a-half. The landholders showed how land was taxed in comparison with the public funds; they urged, that whilst every burthen was thrown on land and the provinces, the Parisians, who were all holders of *rentes*, enjoyed certainty of revenue, and comparative exemption from taxation; all capital, too, was directed to the funds, and landowners could not borrow except at enormous rates of interest.—In the chamber of deputies these arguments prevailed; on the 3rd of May, 238 members voted for, and 145 against, the project. It was one month before the chamber of peers, where the final vote took place on the 3rd of June, when the *ayes* were 94, the *noes* 128. The bill was, therefore, lost, a result which was celebrated in Paris and other places by bonfires, illuminations, and other modes of popular rejoicing.

This adverse decision led to a change in the ministry. The opinion of M. de Chateaubriand was supposed to be against the project; the conductors of his organ, the *Journal des Débats*, had refused to support it; and he himself, when it was before the peers, neither spoke nor voted; but it was reported, that he had remarked elsewhere upon the imprudence of introducing a measure which no one desired and no public necessity called for, but which was merely a suggestion of the bankers, adopted by the minister of finance, as likely to add to his reputation, when it was much more likely to cause his ruin. Whilst this was the understanding in public, "the friends of M. de Villèle say, that he warmly expressed his approbation of the measure, and was even anxious that, by a previous arrangement with the bankers, the finance-minister should secure the means of carrying it, as a prelude to that which was intended to heal the most festering wound of the revolution"†—the indemnity to the emigrants. If such had been the conduct of the foreign minister *before* the project was introduced, no wonder that his colleague was annoyed at his not supporting the measure, and using his influence with his friends (several of whom, in both chambers, voted against it), to induce them to do the same. Soon after the decision of the peers was come to, M. Chateaubriand met M. de Villèle, and said to him—"If you resign, I am ready to follow you." He received no answer, but a look which he never forgot. Two days after, he received the following note from his colleague:—"Monsieur le Vicomte,—I obey the orders of the king, in transmitting without delay to your excellency a

* *Annuaire Historique*.

† M. Guizot.

decree which his majesty has just placed in my hand :—‘The count de Villèle, president of our ministerial council, is charged, *ad interim*, with the portfolio of foreign affairs, in place of the viscount de Chateaubriand.’” M. de Villèle and his friends assert, that it was the king who insisted upon dismissing Chateaubriand; his majesty felt anxious to heal “the last wounds of the revolution,” the means for which this conversion of the *rentes* would have afforded; and he refused to receive the viscount again as his minister, for assisting, by his silence, to procure its rejection.

The dismissal of M. de Chateaubriand occasioned several changes in the *personnel* of the government. The *porte-feuille* of the foreign office was given to the baron Dumas, the war-minister, who was succeeded by the minister of marine, M. Clermont-Tonnerre. M. de Chabrol was appointed to the marine office. The duke de Doudeauville was made minister of the household; his son, Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld (who introduced madame du Cayla to the palace), minister, or director, of the fine arts; and, at a later period (August 26th), bishop Frayssinous was appointed minister of public worship and ecclesiastical affairs. The faculties of protestant theology were exempted from his jurisdiction, and placed under that of the baron Cuvier, a protestant; but, notwithstanding, the appointment of a member of the episcopacy to that important office, was considered tantamount to putting education altogether into the hands of the Roman-catholic clergy.

The session, after these changes, passed off without offering anything worthy of note, except the inquiry into M. Ouvrard’s proceedings in Spain, and the budget. The success of that financier’s operations did not protect him from envy; perhaps it excited and increased that evil passion. At all events various charges, implying extortion, overcharges, and other malpractices, were brought against him. Inquiry was demanded, which the minister, at first, refused; but, at last, he found himself obliged to grant it. A commission was appointed, before which the whole subject, was investigated; and the sum total of M. Ouvrard’s numerous accounts was considerably reduced. It was then ordered to be paid.—In introducing the budget, M. de Villèle stated, that the revenue for 1823, including the 100,000,000 f., borrowed for the Spanish war, was 1,123,456,000 f. (£46,810,666); the expenditure 1,118,025,169 f. (£46,584,382). For 1824 the revenue was estimated at 905,306,633 f. (£37,721,109); the expenditure at 904,734,000 f. (£35,530,583). The public debt, at that period, amounted to 2,700,726,000 f. (£112,530,250); and there were in the army, 230,000 fighting-men; and forty-nine ships of the line, with thirty-one frigates, in the navy.*

* *Annuaire Historique.*

† M. Guizot.

During the remaining period of the session, after the dismissal of M. de Chateaubriand, M. de Villèle, “in place of having to defend himself against a powerful opposition of the ‘left,’ which was equally to be feared and resisted by the ‘right’ and the cabinet, found himself confronted by an opposition, emanating from the ‘right’ itself, and headed, in the chamber of deputies, by M. de la Bourdonnaye, his companion, during the session of 1815; in the chamber of peers and without, by M. de Chateaubriand, so recently his colleague in the council. As long as he had M. de Chateaubriand for an ally, M. de Villèle had only encountered as adversaries, in the interior of his party, the ultra-royalists of the extreme ‘right,’ M. de la Bourdonnaye, M. Delalot, and a few others, whom the old counter revolutionary spirit, intractable passions, ambitious discontent, or habits of grumbling independence, kept in a perpetual state of irritation, against a power, moderate without ascendancy, and clever without greatness. But, when M. de Chateaubriand and the *Journal des Débats* threw themselves into the combat, there was then seen to muster round them an army of anti-ministerialists, of every origin and character, composed of royalists and liberals, of old and young France—of the popular and aristocratic France.”† The paper of the late minister of foreign affairs was supported by many others; some old journals, others established for the purposes of opposition; and the war of the press never raged more furiously. Attempts were made, at the instance of the count d’Artois, to mitigate the virulence of this opposition, by purchasing some of the most violent of the papers, M. de Villèle advancing money from the secret service fund for the purpose :—this failed. Next, the *Courrier Français* and the *Quotidienne* were prosecuted for libels on the church and the state; but the judges would not convict. Then it was resolved to re-establish the censorship, under the clause of the law of 1822, which permitted that step to be taken in extreme circumstances, during the recess of the chambers. The illness of the king, the necessity of keeping his last days as quiet and as free from irritation as possible, were put forth as the reasons for this measure. The ministers were unanimous in their opinions upon the point; but it is said they could get no literary man, no man of celebrity in any department, to accept the office of censor. On the 15th of August, a secret commission of censorship was therefore appointed, to whom the journalists were obliged to send proofs of their articles; and, for a month after, the opposition papers appeared morning after morning with blank columns, their contents having been marked out by the censors, and their conductors not choosing to fill them up, even if they had the time, preferring to let the unfinished paper

go forth, for the purpose of showing the public what they had to submit to. It has been said, and we have little doubt of the fact, that this proceeding had a greater effect, and tended more to make the ministry unpopular, than the most violent philippics against them could have done. Nor did the public entirely lose the diatribes, which, in some instances, flowed from real patriotism; in others from disappointed ambition. What was excluded from the papers, much of it at all events, appeared in pamphlets; and caricature and ridicule were brought to the aid of argument, in the attacks on the government. Secure, however, in the support of the majority of the deputies, the court, and the heir apparent, M. de Villèle thought the press could do little against him. He had miscalculated the effect of that engine when wielded almost entirely in one direction.

All this time the king was sinking. From the time he had found himself obliged to part with the ministers who were disposed to carry out that moderate royalist policy, which he considered essential to the safety and happiness of the nation, he submitted to the change, but appeared to take little interest in public affairs, except when such events as that of the return of the duke d'Angoulême from Spain, appealed to his patriotic feelings. He ultimately became attached to M. de Villèle, because he thought that minister wished to check the violence of the sacerdotal and the ultra-royalist party; but his personal interviews with him were "few and far between." Madame du Cayla, who spent every Wednesday with him, was the chief medium of communication between him and his minister, as she was between his majesty and the count d'Artois. At the close of her weekly interviews, the king presented her, on several occasions, with 50,000f. (£2,083), intended to be the purchase-money of a château, which was building at St. Ouen, for her residence, after the monarch's death.* For some reason, in the summer of 1824, the royal family treated this lady with so much coldness, that she ceased her visits, and absented herself from the palace several weeks before that event took place.

The last illness of Louis was tedious both to himself and everybody by whom he was surrounded; and we do not think that we are at all uncharitable, when we say, that every one wished for his demise. When it became quite evident that his last hour was approaching, his family were most anxious that he should receive the rites of religion, as prescribed by the church; but no one dared to mention the subject to him. He appears to have had a due sense of the importance of religion, and of its great value in

the maintenance of order, and the support of the throne; but he was no bigot, and was irritated by the presence of the Jesuits, who, under the sanction of the count d'Artois and the duchess d'Angoulême, had established themselves in the palace. He would hold no intercourse with them. The duchess d'Angoulême and Monsieur, therefore, sent for madame du Cayla, and begged her to renew her visits, and urge the king to accept the last offices of the church. She complied; and to her entreaties the king yielded. "You alone," he said, "could venture to address me on this subject. I will do as you desire. Adieu! We will meet in another world. I have no longer any concern in this." Then the priest came; but, previously, Louis had his last interview with the count d'Artois, at which the duke de Bordeaux was brought in. In that interview the dying monarch showed what were the prevailing thoughts of his mind. Addressing the count, he said, "I have tacked between parties, like Henry IV. Unlike him, I die on my bed, and in the Tuileries. Do as I have done, and you will reach the same end of peace. I pardon whatever annoyance you may have caused me, for the hopes I entertain of your conduct as king. But," pointing to the duke de Bordeaux, "let Charles the Tenth take care of the crown for that boy."

Surrounded by his family, in his last hours, the dying monarch offered to them truly christian advice. "Love each other!" were his emphatic words, "and console yourselves by that affection for the disasters of our house. Providence has replaced us on the throne, and I have succeeded in maintaining my position, by concessions, which, without weakening the real strength of the crown, have secured for it the support of the people. The charter is your best inheritance; preserve it entire, my brothers, for me, for our subjects, for yourselves; and also," pointing to the infant duke, "for this dear child, to whom you should transmit the throne. May you be more wise than your parents." After he had uttered these words he received extreme unction. This was on the 15th of September. That night his majesty had a calm and apparently tranquil sleep. The next morning, the chief physician, M. Portal, accompanied by the count d'Artois, entered the chamber, and, going up to the bed, withdrew the curtains, to feel the king's pulse. He found that it had ceased to beat, and that life was nearly extinct. When all was over, he exclaimed, to the attendants, "The king is dead!" Then, turning to the count d'Artois, and bowing, he said, "Long live the king!"—We are told that the breath had scarcely left the corpse of

* Lamartine, one of his majesty's court, from whom we derive these particulars, ascribes that character to madame du Cayla's intimacy with Louis XVIII., which we have elsewhere given to it [see *ante*, p. 333.]

It is right, however, to say, that M. Capefigue, in his *History of the Restoration* takes quite an opposite view of the intercourse between the sovereign and the lady.

Louis XVIII., before the count, now the king, took possession of the private cabinet of his deceased brother, and burnt all the memorandums, letters, and other documents it contained: amongst them a will, in which he had assigned a life pension to the lady whom the count had been the means of introducing to him, and who had so earnestly promoted what she imagined were his interests. From that time, Charles X. took no notice of madame du Cayla, who was never seen at the Tuileries; but he allowed her a pension of 25,000 f. per annum.

Louis XVIII., as a monarch and a man, had many good qualities; though it must be confessed that he was not equal to the position in which he was placed—one much more difficult to fill, than if he had succeeded to the throne in due order—without the interval and the reminiscences of the revolution and the empire. According to M. Guizot, he “was a moderate of the old system, and a liberal-minded inheritor of the 18th century. His wisdom was egotistical and sceptical, but serious and sincere. Through all the different cabinets of his reign, whether under the abbé Montesquieu, M. de Talleyrand, the duke de Richelieu, M. Decazes, or M. de Villèle, the government of Louis XVIII. was ever consistent with itself.” He is said “to have had no other principle than that which his brother professed, of the nation being the property of the eldest of a reigning dynasty;” and “to have had no faith, either in the justice of the representative principle, considered in the abstract, or in the wisdom and good results of its being fairly applied, at least in France.”* But, as another historian observed, he sat on the throne of France for ten years, “during the most difficult and stormy period in its whole annals;” and “alone, of all the sovereigns who have ruled its destinies since the revolution, he succeeded in conducting the government, without either serious foreign war, or domestic overthrow.” “He was no common man, who, at such a time, and with such a people, could succeed in effecting such a prodigy.”† If his views and his policy had not been counteracted by the ultra-royalist principles of his brother, there can scarcely be a doubt but that it would have been much better for France. He had great natural talents, and a humane, benevolent disposition. With all the revived pomp and splendour of the French monarchy around him, he was abstemious in his personal tastes; and he preserved his court from those licentious scenes which had been so common in the Tuileries, prior to the reign of Louis XVI., and from which that palace was far from free during the empire. It was reported, that he had been very prodigal to madame du Cayla, and his other favourites, and that he left his finances in

great disorder. The examination, made after his death, proved the falsehood of these rumours. It appeared, that he had been liberal and benevolent; but his accounts were in excellent order; and his expenditure rarely exceeded his income. Louis was an excellent companion. “His natural talent—cultivated, reflective, and quick—full of recollections, rich in anecdotes, nourished by philosophy, enriched by quotations, never deformed by pedantry, rendered him equal in conversation to the most renowned literary characters of his age. M. de Chateaubriand had not more elegance, M. de Talleyrand more wit, madame de Staël more brilliancy. Never inferior, always equal, often superior, to those with whom he conversed on every subject, yet with more tact and address than they, he changed his tone and the subject of his conversation, with those he addressed, and yet was never exhausted by any one. History, contemporary events, things, men, theatres, books, poetry, the arts, the incidents of the day, formed the varied text of his conversations. Since the suppers of Potsdam, where the genius of Voltaire met the capacity of Frederick the Great, never had the cabinet of a prince been the sanctuary of more philosophy, literature, talent, and taste.”‡ This praise, given by one who partook in the conversations he describes, and who was well calculated to shine in them, may be exaggerated; but if it is only true in part, Louis XVIII. must have been “a remarkable man.” This writer mentions other traits in the character of his friend and sovereign. He was in the habit of going to Versailles, where he had the apartments he inhabited, before the revolution, furnished in the old style. There he would sit for hours, in solitude, thinking of the past; and the days he spent in England were not forgotten. In memory of them, he had a garden laid out in the park, like that he possessed at Hartwell, which he always visited, when he went to Versailles, being drawn round it in a wheeled chair, when he became unable to walk.

Charles now took the name, having for some time exercised the power, of king. He ascended the throne under the most favourable circumstances. France was respected abroad, and prosperous at home. He had no change to make in the cabinet, for the ministers had, for the last few months, been his, rather than his brother's; and M. de Villèle had in that time acquired his entire confidence. He at first wished to confer place and power on two of his personal friends, both active members of the *Parti-prêtre*—MM. Jules de Polignac and De Vitrolles;—but M. de Villèle described the first as incapable, and the second as restless; and the king did not press the matter. The ministers were in harmony with the peers, and had a large majority in the chamber of deputies; for

* Crowe.

† Alison.

‡ Lamartine.

the time, therefore, opposition seemed powerless, whilst the country never presented a picture of greater content and happiness. Every branch of industry was flourishing; money was plentiful; the finances in a much more healthy condition than they had exhibited since the best times of the empire; and the nation, having most honourably discharged the burthens which were the fruits of Napoleon's wars, was beginning to breathe freely under a less stringent exaction of taxes. The Spanish war of 1823, though it presented no really great achievements, yet, from its entire success, had restored the *prestige* of the French arms, and revived the influence of France in the councils of Europe. Thus, at home and abroad, the prospect, to those who did not look beneath the surface, was bright; and the personal character of the monarch was calculated to give confidence to all who anticipated a quiet and a happy future.

Charles Philippe de Bourbon, the fifth and youngest son of the dauphin Louis, son of Louis XV., was, in his youthful days, distinguished by his dissipation, extravagance, and *hauteur*, and was, perhaps, the most unpopular of the Bourbons at the time of the revolution. He was one of the early emigrants, and he returned to his country a changed man. Unlike his brother Louis, who was unable, long before he came to the throne, to mount a horse, Charles was an excellent horseman, and could, if required, have sat eight hours a-day on horseback—a necessary qualification, according to Burke, for a monarch of France. In the palace he was the perfect courtier—urbane, polite, and obliterating all considerations of rank by the easy grace of his manners. He was very much the creature of impulse; and, at one period of his life, had been a great lover of the fair sex. On the death of his last favourite, however, madame de Polastron, he abjured female influence, and devoted himself to religion, the priests obtaining and maintaining a great ascendancy over him. He was always a steady and attached friend; and his tall and majestic figure contributed, with his chivalric manners, to make him personally liked by all, and loved by many, with whom he came in contact. Born in 1757, he was sixty-seven years of age when he ascended the throne; he married very early, before he had completed his sixteenth year; and the duke d'Angoulême, who was his eldest son, was in his fiftieth year.

But though all was thus fair and pleasant to the eye, there was a secret under-current at work, which neutralised the advantages of the situation, and rendered Charles's reign a short, and far from a happy one. He had long been under the influence of that society, already described as the "Congregation," or *Parti-*

prêtre;* and, when he ascended the throne, a *Camarilla* of its members completely influenced his conduct. It was composed entirely of ecclesiastics, the principal leaders being the cardinal Latil, archbishop of Rheims, Lambruschini, the pope's legate; and M. de Quelan, archbishop of Paris. The duke de Rivière, prince Polignac (ambassador at London), M. Jules de Polignac, M. de Vaublanc, and M. de Vitrolles, were all active agents of this secret cabinet; to them the misfortunes of Charles's reign may be chiefly attributed; indeed, according to one historian of the restoration, the history of that reign is only a narrative of their indirect administration; their influence giving the tone and character to the foreign and domestic policy of the government.† This secret party in the palace, *intended* to secure and strengthen the monarchy in the person of Charles X. and his descendants; but there were still three parties in the state opposed to that consummation, and only watching for an opportunity to act.—That of the Orleanists, sanctioned by the duke d'Orleans, which comprised many leading and able men, both in Paris, and the departments; the Bonapartists, who were prepared to rally round Napoleon II., and the tricoloured flag; and the republicans, whose secret conspiracy was still ramified throughout France, and whose movements were still directed by the men we have before named as their chiefs.‡

The reign of Charles X., however, commenced, to all appearance, auspiciously. Having, according to the usual custom of the monarchy, left the Tuileries—where the body of Louis XVIII. lay in state—for St. Cloud, his first acts were to secure the succession, as he thought, in his family; he, therefore, conferred the titles of dauphin and dauphiness upon the duke and duchess d'Angoulême; thus reviving another memorial of the old monarchy. At the same time, to conciliate the duke d'Orleans, he gratified a wish which that prince had many times expressed, by changing his title of serene highness, to that of royal highness. He also promoted the duke de Chartres, the eldest son of the duke, to the command of a regiment. At St. Cloud, he received the addresses of the peers and deputies, and of other public bodies, upon his accession. His replies were liberal, and conciliatory. To the legislative bodies, he said, "I promised, as a subject, to maintain the charter and the constitution, which we owe to the late king. Now, that the right of my birth has given me power, I will employ the power which is in my hands to consolidate, for the happiness of my people, the great act which I have sworn to maintain."—To the representatives of the courts of justice he addressed a brief but impressive exhortation, to execute the law faithfully and impartially. To those of the Roman catholic and protestant religious bodies,

* See *ante*, p. 339.

† Lacretelle.

‡ See Louis Blanc's *Histoire de Dix Ans du Règne de Louis Philippe*.

he promised protection for their worship, and liberty of conscience. To all, he held out a firm hope that constitutional liberty would be preserved; and the fears of those who apprehended the revival of a stern and gloomy despotism gave way to anticipations of a very different state of things. All these anticipations were confirmed by another act of the new sovereign. The remains of Louis XVIII. having been conveyed to their last resting-place, in the vaults of St. Denis, arrangements were made for the return of the king to the Tuileries. The 27th of September was fixed for his public entry into Paris. The day before, a meeting of the council of state was held, and the king proposed that the decree of the 15th of August, creating a commission of censorship, for the control of the press, should be abrogated. The dauphin, who had been made a member of the council, supported the proposition, to which the other members assented; and the next morning, a brief *ordonnance* appeared in the *Moniteur*, to the following effect:—"Not judging it necessary to maintain, any longer, the measure which was adopted, under different circumstances, to control the abuses of the liberty of the press, the *ordonnance* of the 15th of August last, will cease to have any effect." This measure gave the greatest satisfaction. There was but one opinion expressed—that of approval—an opinion with which the liberal journals mixed up their own views. The *Courrier Français*, one of the most violent of that portion of the public press, said, "A new reign has commenced, and the king wishes the general good. He must be taught, however, how it must be obtained. In restoring freedom to the journals, his wisdom has torn asunder that cloud of deception with which his ministers would willingly envelop him. What more satisfactory pledge can the nation desire? What more efficacious guarantee can it obtain for the future, than that of the liberty of the press?" More emphatic and heartier eulogies of the *ordonnance* appeared in other quarters.

On the 27th of September, Charles X. made his public entry into Paris, and took possession of the Tuileries, as king. The day was most unpropitious—the rain falling in torrents, as the monarch and his brilliant staff passed through the streets. The king was on horseback, and rode from St. Cloud to Paris; crowds of people, notwithstanding the weather, lining the roads and streets, by whom he was most heartily received. On the way, one of his attendants asked if he did not feel fatigued? He replied, "No: joy never feels weariness." The rain did not discompose him; and he passed on exchanging smiles and courtesies with all around, delighting both young and old by his good-humour. The ladies were particularly pleased with his attentions. "He is charming as hope," was

the exclamation of one fair damsel, whom he noticed in passing. Arrived at the palace, the archbishop of Paris, and the chief pastor of the reformed church, had audiences, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of his ancestors. The address of the former breathed the spirit of the *Parti-prêtre*; and he hesitated not to say what the church expected from so pious a prince. The king was very brief in his reply, which gave no encouragement to the prelate to expect extreme measures from him. The address of the protestant pastor was merely complimentary, and expressing a hope that liberty of worship would be preserved to the members of his faith. His majesty replied, that all Frenchmen were equal in his eyes, whatever their religion, and should have equal rights.—The following day, the king reviewed the national guards, riding through their ranks on horseback; and the official *Moniteur*, and the liberal *Courrier Français* alike admit, that Napoleon, in his palmiest days, never experienced a more enthusiastic reception by the army. At this review, the royal *cortège* being pressed upon somewhat unceremoniously by the crowd, the guards came forward to keep order. As they were exerting themselves for that purpose, they caught the eye of the king, who immediately ordered them to cease, exclaiming, "No halberds between me and my people!"—an expression which was soon known all over Paris, and added to his popularity.

But very few weeks had passed before the influence of the *Parti-prêtre* began to be felt. It was exerted in the disposition of patronage; and especially in the direction of education. All the youth of the nobility were sent to Montrouge, the Jesuit seminary; and the most splendid equipages were seen daily at its doors. The court itself assumed a very different aspect from that which distinguished it under Louis XVIII. The imposing and solemn rites and ceremonies of the Romish church were daily performed; and the ecclesiastics were found in every part of the Tuileries. Efforts were also made to introduce a religious feeling into the army; plans were regularly organised for that purpose; a catechism being drawn up for the use of the troops, and introduced into all the regiments, with singular effect in some. To influence the civilians, processions, in which the pomp and ceremony of the church were ostentatiously displayed, were constantly seen in the streets; but, we are told that these displays were regarded by the people, often with indifference, sometimes with respect and reverence, and not unfrequently with contempt.* These manifestations were not unmarked by the statesmen and others who had always opposed the undue extension of the spiritual authority; and the *Parti-prêtre* was soon attacked through

* Lacretelle; Capefigue.

the press. The names of the abbé de Pradt and Paul Courier became distinguished in this literary warfare, as did that of Hoffman, a writer in the *Journal des Débats*. Nor was the viscount de Chateaubriand wanting. Though an ultra-royalist, he was not an ultramontane; and religious liberty, and the exemption of the civil from the control of the spiritual authority, had not a more ardent defender.

Still, there were no popular manifestations of discontent. The prosperity of the country affording plenty of employment, left the working classes little time to attend to anything except their industrial pursuits. The external trade of France had increased, and produced a great demand for her textile manufactures, as well as for her *bijouterie*, and other works of art. It is said, that the silk manufacturers of Lyons, St. Etienne, and Rouen, never were in such a state of prosperity as when Charles X. ascended the throne, and for some time after; whilst the hotels of the capital, and of other towns, were crowded with strangers, who spent their money freely, and added to the general wealth of the country. The constant excitement caused by the numerous and important business transactions, and the presence of so many foreigners, diverted the minds of both employers and employed from what was transpiring in the political world; and they paid little attention either to the demonstrations of one party, whose bigotry and love of absolutism ultimately were the cause of that king, whose reign began so auspiciously, losing his crown; or to the exposures which already began to be made of the evil tendency of the influence that party exerted. Before the year closed, however, an injudicious measure of the minister of war was the means of raising an unpleasant spirit amongst the old Bonapartists of the army. By an *ordonnance*, issued on the 16th of December, all those officers who had a right to the maximum of their retired allowances, and had not been employed since January 1st, 1823, and those who were entitled to less than the maximum, and had not been employed since January 1st, 1816, were put on half-pay. This *ordonnance* threw out of active service above 100 marshals of the camp, and fifty lieutenant-generals—amongst them, generals Grouchy, Vandamme, Gazan, Drouet, Ornano, Excelmans, Harispe, and many old officers of the empire. The measure, it is said, was planned by the minister of war (nephew of the archbishop of Toulouse), to aid the views of the *Camarilla*, by excluding from the army those who were opposed to their policy, and who would counteract their endeavours to influence the troops. The king gave his assent to it hastily, and without consideration. So numerous, however, and so loud were the complaints, that his majesty found himself obliged to mitigate the effects of the *ordonnance* in various

ways, and to grant several exemptions from its operations.

The chambers met on the 22nd of December. In the deputies, M. Ravez was, for the seventh time, chosen president, and the session was formally opened by the king, with great pomp. He delivered a brief but impressive speech. "You have lost a good and a wise king," said his majesty, "and the glory of his reign can never be effaced. Louis XVIII. not only raised up, once more, the throne of his ancestors; but consolidated it by institutions which, connecting the past with the present, restored peace and happiness to France. The confidence with which my accession to the throne has been received shall not be disappointed. I know all the duties which royalty imposes on me; but, with the aid of God, I hope to have the courage and the firmness necessary to their fulfilment." The friendly dispositions of foreign powers, the satisfactory state of all the relations of the government abroad, and the necessity of ameliorating the sacred interests of religion at home, were next alluded to; and then the king proceeded—"The king, my brother, found a great consolation in preparing the measures for healing the last wounds of the revolution. The moment has arrived for the execution of the wise designs which he conceived. The situation of our finances will permit the accomplishment of this great act of justice and of policy, without augmenting the taxes, impairing credit, or curtailing the funds destined for the public service. The ceremony of my coronation will terminate the first session of my reign. You will assist, gentlemen, at that august ceremony. There, prostrate at the foot of that same altar at which Clovis received the sacred unction, and in the presence of Him who judges people and kings, I will renew the oath to maintain, and cause to be observed, the state laws and institutions granted by my brother."

On the 3rd of January, 1825, four very important *projets-de-lois* were introduced into the chamber of deputies—three by M. de Villèle, and one by M. de Peyronnet, the minister of justice. The first of the premier's projects regulated the civil list. It was proposed that the sovereign's income should be permanently fixed at 25,000,000*f.* per annum; that 7,000,000*f.* should be appropriated to various expenses of his family; and that 6,000,000*f.* should be set apart to defray the funeral expenses of the late king, and those attendant upon the coronation of Charles X. This project also included a provision, authorising the restoration to the duke d'Orleans of all the immense territorial possessions of Philippe Egalité, which, in 1791, had been annexed to the state. Louis XVIII. had provided for the Orleans family out of the receipts of this property; Charles now proposed to restore the whole.—The second project was

one for indemnifying the emigrants, whose estates had been confiscated and sold during the revolution. It was proposed to create stock to the amount of 1,000,000,000*f.* (£40,000,000), at three per cent.—the interest of which (about 30,000,000*f.*, or £1,200,000, per annum) was to be entirely devoted to the families who were impoverished by the events of the latter part of the eighteenth century.—The third measure was a proposal to reduce the interest of the national debt, by converting the five per cent. *rentes* into four-and-a-half per cents., with a guarantee that they should not be paid off before 1835.—The proposal of M. de Peyronnet was to repeal a law prohibiting monastic establishments, to declare those establishments legal, and to allow the clergy to receive gifts and bequests of real property. These laws gave rise to very animated and prolonged debates; but they were passed by large majorities.

They had a considerable effect on the social and political aspect of the country. The restoration of the duke d'Orleans' property greatly increased his influence, and improved his political position. He rendered his entertainments at the Palais-Royal the most brilliant in Paris; became the patron of artists; made *protégés* of unfortunate liberals, and gathered round him many of the most talented men of the day—Talleyrand, among others. The measure for indemnifying the emigrants was carried out by a commission, and this threw a considerable amount of patronage into the hands of M. de Villèle. Great care was taken to settle the claims fairly, and in accordance with the strict rules of justice; and the decisions of the commissioners appear to have given general satisfaction. M. de Choiseul received upwards of 1,100,000*f.*; M. de Liancourt, 1,400,000*f.*; the duke de Rochefoucauld, 1,000,000*f.*; the family of Montmorency, 12,000,000*f.*; M. de Lafayette (who was in the United States, where the congress had voted him a handsome sum for his services in the war of their revolution), 400,000*f.*; and the duke d'Orleans, for that part of his property which had been sold, the large sum of 14,000,000*f.* By this law, many former landowners were converted into fundholders; their interests became allied with the capitalists; and the addition of a *milliard* to the funded capital of the nation, produced much speculation, increased the influence of the monied interest, and, ultimately, gave that interest a great control over the elections.—The measure for resuming the five per cents. caused a reduction in interest to the amount of 6,238,000*f.*, which was applied to the reduction of the land-tax.

The law for legalising the establishment of monasteries was followed by two others—one for increasing the penalties in cases of sacrilege; the other for enabling religious establishments of women to hold property. By the first, it was

proposed to visit the profanation of the sacred elements with the punishment awarded to parricides, who had to walk barefoot to the place of execution—the hand being cut off first, and then the head. Violating the sacred vases, when empty, was to be punished with death; stealing any article in churches, or other sacred places, was also to be punished with death, or hard labour for life; and stealing sacred things in consecrated places, with various terms of imprisonment, according to the enormity of the offence. This project excited a strenuous opposition in both chambers; in the peers, count Molé, the duke de Broglie, and the viscount de Chateaubriand, speaking and voting against it. It passed, however, by majorities of 115 in the deputies, and of 36 in the peers. The bill relative to female religious societies also passed by large majorities.—The budget was brought forward by M. de Villèle towards the close of the session. The expenditure of 1824 had been 986,073,842*f.*; the income, 994,971,960*f.*—leaving a surplus of 8,898,118*f.* The expenditure for the ensuing year was fixed at 915,504,499*f.*; and the income estimated at 924,095,704*f.* There was an increase in the expenditure of the department of religion and public instruction, and in the payment for military matters—another demand being made for M. Ouvrard, who had already received upwards of £2,000,000 sterling. These were the only parts of the budget that gave rise to much discussion; and some proceedings of M. Ouvrard, in consequence of the resistance to his claims, led to his imprisonment. Ultimately, however, he obtained nearly all he demanded. The budget passed, and the session soon after closed.

The law of sacrilege was very unpopular; it led the public to perceive what were the real tendencies of the administration, influenced, as it was, by the *Parti-prêtre*; and great disapprobation was manifested. The popular discontent was also increased by another decree from the war-office, which had passed under the control of the duke d'Angoulême; by which 167 generals—all those who had not been employed since 1815—were placed on half-pay. The list included nearly all the veteran officers of the empire; and ramified as their connections were, not merely in the army, but among civilians, no wonder that an adverse feeling to the government became widely diffused. Preparations for the coronation of the king were, however, carried on, and somewhat diverted the people from reflecting upon the acts of the ministers; for the French, except in extreme cases, are never insensible to the attractions of a splendid spectacle. It was arranged that the ceremony should be performed at Rheims, and nothing was omitted that could add to its pomp and splendour. Victor Hugo, then a royalist, wrote one of his best poems as a prelude; Chateaubriand and Lamartine also

employed their pens on the occasion; whilst Beranger ridiculed all the proceedings in one of his ballads, which at once became popular in the faubourgs. It did not, however, impede the preparations for the grand festival, nor, apparently, do much to dissipate the interest the people took in them.

The health of Louis had prevented him from being crowned; all the ceremonials, therefore, had to be revived, or, where necessary, remodelled, for Charles. A commission was appointed to make the necessary arrangements in the noble cathedral of Rheims, which had long enjoyed the privilege of having the coronation of the kings of France performed within its walls. The church being much dilapidated—from time, not by the hands of men—architects were sent down to repair, and decorators to beautify and embellish, the sacred edifice. The magnificent glass windows, which were shattered and defaced, were restored; the statues, which had been broken, were all made perfect; and even the “sacred phial” was said to be restored. This vessel, which contained the holy oil, and had been used at many coronations, was ordered by the commissioners of the national convention, when they were at Rheims, to be destroyed. It was broken on the 6th of October, 1793; but, as alleged, the pieces were eagerly gathered up by the faithful—so was some of the oil; and all were carefully preserved. The archbishop of Rheims transfused the broken glass into a new phial, into which he placed the preserved oil. “Accordingly, there can be no doubt,” said the official paper of the government, “that the holy oil, which will flow on the forehead of Charles X. in the solemnity of his coronation, is the same as that which, since the time of Clovis, has consecrated the French kings.”* Whatever might be thought by those who put it forward, it is quite certain, that this pretence of reviving the holy oil did not increase the respect for the ceremony in the minds of many of the French people, to whom an alteration which was made in the coronation oath—much against the will of the clergy—seemed more in accordance with the spirit of the times.

The French ambassadors announced the approaching ceremony at the various courts to which they were accredited; and all the sovereigns sent ambassadors-extraordinary to be present on the occasion; “not political personages, but wealthy nobles, who could make a

* *Moniteur*, May 16th, 1825.

splendid show.” The duke of Northumberland was sent by England; prince Esterhazy by Austria; and the other powers had equally efficient representatives. The ceremony took place on the 29th of May; and the various rites, &c., connected with it occupied about six hours. Many of the old and new *noblesse* took part in it; prince Talleyrand, as grand chamberlain, putting on the velvet boots of the king; whilst marshal Moncey acted as constable of France, and bore the sword of state before the monarch. The procession to the altar was very grand and imposing. There the crown of Charlemagne was put upon the head of his successor, who took the following oath:—“In the presence of God, I promise to my people to maintain and honour our holy religion, as becoming the most christian king, and the eldest son of the church; to render justice to all my subjects; and to govern conformably to the laws of the kingdom, and the constitutional charter, which I have sworn faithfully to observe. I also swear by God, the Creator, to live and die in the holy faith and religion of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church.” When the king was crowned, and had taken his seat on the throne, the bells of the cathedral gave the signal, and a royal salute was fired from the ramparts; medals, struck for the occasion, were distributed amongst the people; and a number of doves, and other birds, were let loose by the king’s fowlers, and flew about in the church, apparently scared and dazzled by the lights. They were intended, as “carriers,” to convey the intelligence of the coronation to distant parts of the kingdom; but most of them died in the cathedral. As an appendage to the ceremony, there was an investiture of knights of the order of the St. Esprit, amongst whom were M. de Chateaubriand and M. de Villèle. Three marshals, who had distinguished themselves in the “hundred days” as the friends of Bonaparte—Sault, Mortier, and Jourdain—were invested with the *Cordon Bleu* on this occasion, which the king also conferred on the duke de Chartres. His majesty addressed his relative, when putting the ribbon over his shoulders, in terms so considerate and friendly, that they greatly enhanced the value of the honour conferred. As a *finale*, a comprehensive amnesty for political offenders was published; which those not very friendly to the monarch admit, “betokened his and Villèle’s desire to bury even the remembrance of treason and disaffection.”

CHAPTER X.

PROSECUTION OF THE PRESS; RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ST. DOMINGO; DEATHS OF GENERAL FOY, M. DE SERRES, AND THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA; SESSION OF 1826; LAW OF ENTAIL; THE BUDGET; FOREIGN POLICY; THE JUBILEE; THE PRESS AND THE JESUITS; THE PRESENCE OF THE JESUITS DECLARED ILLEGAL BY THE JUDGES; MR. CANNING IN PARIS; SESSION OF 1827; THE LAW ON THE PRESS; FUNERAL OF THE DUKE DE ROCHEFOUCAULD; REVIEW AND SUPPRESSION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD OF PARIS; OTHER MEASURES OF THE SESSION; TREATY ON THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE; CREATION OF PEERS; DISSOLUTION OF THE DEPUTIES; THE SOCIETY "AIDE-TOI, LE CIEL T'AJDERA;" THE ELECTIONS; RIOTS IN PARIS; MINISTERIAL DIFFERENCES; DISSOLUTION OF THE VILLELE MINISTRY.

WHEN Charles X. ascended the throne of France, there was a great calm, both in home politics, and in the relations with foreign states—the latter very much to the annoyance of the minister of foreign affairs, who wished to make France again predominant in the councils of Europe; whilst it accorded with the views of M. de Villèle, who was really anxious to promote improvement at home, and to observe the rule of non-interference abroad. After the coronation and the amnesty, there appeared some likelihood of the domestic tranquillity being preserved; but, unfortunately, the practices of the *Camarilla* at the palace were so eminently directed to make the spiritual power and influence all in all, that the press, now free from the censorship, denounced the proceedings and the principles of the *Parti-prêtre* in no measured terms; using language so strong, that the government resolved to prosecute the *Drapeau Blanc* (in which M. Montlosier, though an ardent royalist, denounced the Jesuits), the *Courrier Français*, and the *Constitutionnel*. The *procureur-général*, or king's advocate, appeared before the *Cour-royale*, to demand that each of these papers should be suspended for three months. M. Dupin, the able advocate, who had been increasing in popularity ever since his defence of Ney, was employed to defend the journals; and the case ended in the judges declaring that the court was incompetent to grant the application, which was, therefore, dismissed without costs. This judgment was considered a great triumph by the liberal party. They deemed it not merely a declaration of the law, but an enunciation of principles—a manifesto against the tendency of the *Camarilla* and the *Parti-prêtre*. They, therefore, became more bold, and the press more energetic than ever; and whilst there were few measures of the government that were not singled out as subjects of comment, there were still fewer that received the meed of approval.

The ministers were prudent enough not to make any very marked demonstrations, after failing in the prosecution of the journals; and one of their acts must be considered as a concession to liberal principles, though, probably, it was mainly prompted by M. de Villèle's ill-concealed envy of the commercial prosperity of England, and a desire to open out new markets

for the French merchants. We allude to the conclusion of a convention, on the 31st of October, with the envoys of St. Domingo; which was a virtual recognition of the independence of that island. Whilst there is little doubt but that M. de Villèle was mainly, if not entirely, actuated by the motives we have stated, in advising that this step should be taken—one, in some degree, humiliating to France, as it was the formal abandonment of what had been a flourishing colony of the old kingdom—Charles X. was influenced by feelings which were honourable to him, both as a man and a monarch. "In that negotiation," he said, in a conversation which French historians have reported, "I was not influenced merely by the advantages of commerce and the marine. I was moved chiefly by compassion for a class, at once the most unfortunate, and the most undeserving of misfortune. No one can doubt the repugnance I felt at entering upon that affair. I was in the same position as regards St. Domingo, as my brother had been in regard to France. Three alternatives alone remained for us to take—either to make war, and attempt to subdue the negroes by force; or to abandon the island and colonists altogether; or to enter into a compromise. The last course was the one we adopted, and which my ministers carried into execution."* As the French colonists lost all their property in the island, the government of St. Domingo agreed to pay an indemnity of 150,000,000f.; and some advantages, in the way of trade, were secured to France. This convention was favourably received on the Bourse; and, for a short time, the name of the minister was hailed by the commercial world with tokens of approval.

In the next month, two eminent men—men who had been opposed in principle, and had frequently been in open antagonism in the senate, but who always manifested the greatest regard for each other—were snatched away by death: these were M. de Serres and general Foy. The first was an honest and sincere royalist, who emigrated in the early days of the revolution, but returned in 1802: devoting himself to the bar, he rose to be advocate-general, and ultimately keeper of the seals. He had left France—after having shared in that ingratitude which

* *Annuaire Historique*. Capefigue.

many of her best men experienced, both from prince and people—for Naples, to recruit his declining health. It was too late; and he died in that city on the 25th of November. General Foy died at Paris, on the 29th of that month; his disease being one to which many orators have been subject—aneurism of the heart. Since Mirabeau, no man had been more regretted; and he is described “as a Mirabeau, without his vices.” At the time of his death he was engaged upon a history of Spain, undertaken as much from pecuniary motives, as from a desire of literary renown. His death left his family in very reduced circumstances, and his friends opened a subscription for their benefit. It is rarely, indeed, that such undertakings are so fortunate and productive as this. There were few liberals, even of the smallest independent means, whose names were absent from the list of subscribers, and some of them gave very large sums—the duke of Orleans and Casimir Perrier subscribing £400 each; and the eminent banker, Lafitte, £2,000. The entire amount realised was 1,000,000*f.*, something more than £40,000. The funeral of the general alarmed the ultra-royalists. It seemed as if all Paris flocked to his grave, over which Casimir Perrier pronounced an animated oration. For the first time, the secret advisers of Charles seemed to feel that, notwithstanding the outward calm, there was an under-current at work, and that nearly all the population of the capital was opposed to them.

Two days after the death of Foy, on the 1st of December, a much greater man was taken away—Alexander, emperor of Russia. He died at Taganrog, in the Crimea; and his death—a loss to his own country—was a relief to France. Russian councils and Russian intrigue had had great weight and influence in the French cabinets since the Restoration; and M. de Villèle was not sorry that the link which bound Paris to St. Petersburg was broken. The deceased monarch had many good qualities; he was, next to England, the principal means of freeing Europe from the domination of Bonaparte; but he never ceased to aim at the extension of Russian influence and Russian dominion; and he left an empire greatly enlarged, and occupying a much more important place in the European commonwealth, than when he ascended the throne. The younger brother of Alexander (Nicholas) succeeded him; Constantine (the eldest) having resigned his birthright in his favour. The friends of the elder brother, however, raised an insurrection against the new emperor, which was soon put down; and one of the first acts of Nicholas, when established on his throne, was to write an autograph letter to Charles X., telling him that he should walk in the footsteps of his august deceased brother. He should observe, with the same fidelity, all

the engagements entered into by Russia; pay the same respect to the rights contracted by existing treaties; and display the same attachment to the preservation of the general peace, and to the maintenance of those ties of amity which now existed between the great powers.

The legislative session of 1826 opened on the 30th of January. The first measure of the prime minister was, to obtain from the chambers an approval of that convention by which the independence of St. Domingo was recognised. In this he succeeded, though it certainly must have been with reluctance that an ultra-royalist chamber of deputies consented to acknowledge the independence of a revolutionary colony, and recognise its government. The majority, however, was large—245 to 70. The peers agreed to sanction the convention by 135 to 16. The next government measure was not so successful.

It had long been the desire of the ultra-royalists, to establish the *droit-d'aînesse*, or the right of primogeniture. By the existing law, a man was obliged to divide three-fourths of his property equally amongst his children; the other fourth he could dispose of as he pleased. It was contended, that the subdivision of property, under this law, produced great evils, and would, ultimately, destroy the monarchy. A law of entail, or *majorats*, had, indeed, been passed during the empire, but it had not been generally acted upon; and it appeared perfectly obvious, unless the eldest son of a peer could be insured property of a sufficient amount to support his dignity, that, if the peerage was maintained, its independence must suffer. M. de Peyronnet proposed a law to remedy this evil in the council. M. de Villèle was opposed to it; but, as he usually did, he gave way; and M. de Peyronnet introduced his measure to the peers on the 10th of February. It is difficult to imagine why that measure should have excited such a storm of opposition as it did. It was proposed to alter the existing law, by providing, that in all properties which stood destined to the next descending line, and which paid 300*f.* per annum, or upwards, in direct taxes, the one-fourth, which the deceased had at his own disposal, should, if he had not so disposed of it—or any part of that fourth, which he might not have bequeathed—go to the eldest son, in addition to his share of the divisible estate.

As this law did not take from the owner the right to bequeath the fourth part of his property as, and to whom, he pleased—and, as any man could, as the law stood, bequeath it to his eldest son, if he thought proper—this *projet*, if adopted, would really have altered the law only in the very slightest degree. Yet it caused an immense excitement against the government, both in and out of the chambers. It was opposed, not only by the “extreme left,” but by such men as M. Pasquier and count Molé, who contended,

amongst other reasons for opposing it, that it would not benefit the fathers of families, augment their authority, or increase their influence: on the contrary, it would compel them, by the most immoral of all combinations, to disinherit a part of their offspring. As little would it benefit the eldest sons. Their right, which injured nature, which was founded on feudal ideas and ancient customs, would alienate from them their brothers and sisters, without bestowing any countervailing advantage on themselves. The project was denounced as impolitic as well as unjust; as professing to establish an aristocracy of elder sons—a circumstance that would convert the younger ones into a redoubtable democracy, interested to overturn institutions from which they had received injustice; and as a proposal which shocked feelings, contravened customs, disunited families, multiplied law-suits, and overturned legislation. It was also contended, that no country could be pointed out in which agriculture had suffered from the excessive division of properties; whilst Italy, under the Roman empire, in its later days, and Spain, Sicily, and the Campagna, in modern times, had been ruined from the accumulation of estates in a few hands. The supporters of the law were also called upon to reflect upon the peaceable disbanding of the French army, in the midst of foreign hosts, in 1815; and to say whether such an event could have occurred but for the restraining influence of property.

The supporters of the law do not appear to have shown the limited operation of the project, or to have pointed out the irrelevance of many of the foregoing arguments to the measure; but they took a ground which rendered it still more unpopular. "The right of primogeniture," they said, "arose at a period when the obligations of military fiefs rendered it necessary for the eldest son to be in a situation to wield the united forces of the family. The head of a family, in a monarchy, represented that family; and he did so, not less effectually in the legislature than his ancestors did in the field of battle. But how was he to find an entrance—how maintain his place there, if the fortune of the family was dissipated and divided on every decease? It was evident that the thing was impossible; and the only effect of rejecting the project would be, to prevent anything like an hereditary succession of statesmen." Much more was said to this effect, by M. de Peyronnet and others; M. de Montalembert alone appearing to take more reasonable grounds. He observed, "that the division of property had brought the landed estates of France into the condition of a rabbit-warren. The existing law, no doubt, established equality, but it was the equality of immense misery and destitution. It had a twofold tendency—to bring the poor to a democracy, by the poverty it entailed upon them; and the

upper classes to a despotism, because it made functionaries of them all." He advocated the law, because it would give rise to a middle-class, which would be the most effectual bulwark of freedom.

As the debate proceeded, M. de Villèle perceived that the success of the measure was more than doubtful, and he proposed to limit the effect of the law to properties paying 1,000*fr.* per annum and upwards, of direct taxes, which it was estimated would have brought about 8,000 families under its operation. The peers, however, rejected the provision establishing the qualified primogeniture, by 120 votes to 94. They passed the remainder of the project, which established the power of substitution within certain limits; and this mitigated and emasculated measure M. de Villèle carried through the chamber of deputies without much trouble.—This result was considered a defeat of the ministry, and was made the occasion of rejoicing all through the kingdom.

M. de Villèle introduced his budget soon after this matter was disposed of. The financial state of affairs was favourable. The revenue of 1825 had produced 985,000,000*fr.*; and the expenditure was 981,972,609*fr.* The proposed expenditure for the current year was 915,773,042*fr.*; and the receipts, it was estimated, would not be more than 916,608,000*fr.* The expense of the army of occupation in Spain was 37,000,000*fr.*; and the ecclesiastical budget was considerably increased. M. Agier, one of the royalist opposition, attacked the ministerial propositions; contending, that the prime minister, extravagant in many things, practised a beggarly economy with respect to the army and navy. He described the army as in a state of discontent and dissolution, arising from the soldiers' duties being directed to attendance on the confessional, and to joining processions, rather than to the acquirement of military discipline, and the performance of military duties. This had caused more than 900 officers to send in their resignations within the last two or three years. He brought the subject of the "Congregation" before the chamber; and, whilst he declared that he had no objection to the priesthood, and did not wish to deprive them of their wealth—he had no abhorrence even of the Jesuits in their proper places—he declaimed against the Jesuits, who were seen in court-dresses and in office; who forced a retrograde policy on the government; whose unpopular measures alienated the hearts of the people from devotion to their religion and attachment to their king; who carried the Inquisition into every house; and who sought to bring into discredit every virtue, and discourage every duty, that clashed with the interests of the "Congregation."

M. de Villèle said little in reply to these charges and accusations; he had too little regard for the "Congregation" to defend it. But the

bishop of Hermopolis spoke in behalf of the Jesuits. He denied that they exerted their influence in the way stated by M. Agier; said that out of 180 seminaries in France, they possessed only seven, four of which originated during the empire; it was impossible, therefore, that they could, even if they wished, corrupt the minds of youth, and conform them to their doctrines; besides, they were in complete subjection to the bishops. The good they did, he said, was in proportion to the terrors they excited; the power they possessed was in its inverse ratio. As to the "Congregation," the bishop avowed its existence, but maintained that it was only an humble association of pious persons, anxious to propagate their principles; that they had not, and would not, attempt to do so by violent or political means. M. Lainé replied to the bishop, contending, that there were not so many scholars in the thirty-eight royal colleges as there were in the seven Jesuit schools, one of which was a normal college, where professors for the university were reared, and the doctrine of the supremacy of the spiritual over the civil authority was taught. Nor was this all, he observed: measures were suggested and enforced, patronage administered, and laws set aside, at the suggestion of a society which every sovereign in Europe had declared to be illegal, and which was expelled from every country in Europe.

These violent discussions did not prevent the financial proposals of M. de Villèle from being carried; nor were attacks made upon the foreign policy of the government (the foreign minister being especially accused of entirely withdrawing the influence of France from the councils of Europe), nor those on the prevalent system of centralisation, which enabled the administration in Paris to exercise a despotic tyranny in the provinces—more effectual in disturbing the ministers at that time. In the course of the discussion on foreign affairs, a proposal was made, that France should interfere in behalf of Greece, where a brave struggle had been kept up against the superior force of the Turks, whose success in again annihilating Hellenic independence seemed to be foreshadowed by the fall of Missolonghi and Athens, both of which were taken, after a gallant defence, by the Ottoman forces. The debate on this subject led to several speeches, in which the necessity of establishing a power able to check not only the aggressions of Turks, but of Russians, was insisted upon. Ministers, however, proposed no motion on the subject, and the chambers adjourned on the 6th of July, without any measures being adopted, either to extend the influence of France abroad, or to lessen that of the government at home.

Though the ministers—with the exception of the law of entail—had been tolerably successful with their measures in the chambers, they found that they had much to contend against in public

opinion. It was impossible to convince the people that the "Congregation" and the Jesuits were not working together, for the purpose of making the spiritual authority supreme, and of placing the direction of the affairs of state, as well as those of families, in the hands of the priests. In April, the bishops, on the proposal of M. Frayssinous, the bishop of Hermopolis, had made a declaration, in which the independence of the king, of the spiritual authority in all temporal matters, was recognised. But this could not counteract the public acts and private intrigues of the *Camarilla* and its agents, which it was evident had for their object, the establishment of a complete theocracy in France. With the principal men about the court, ecclesiastical subjects were the chief topics of conversation; whilst papal bulls were constantly received; and episcopal mandates and pastoral letters were issued upon the most unimportant questions. With a view to attract the public attention, and impress the people of France with the due sense of the pomp and ceremony of the church, to a display of which they had long been unaccustomed, a general jubilee, or religious revival—a celebration which was formerly observed every hundred years, but which it was now proposed to observe at the end of every twenty-five—was organised for the summer. It extended to all France; and commencing in the middle of June, continued till the end of July. It was opened in Paris with the greatest solemnity, the ceremonies and processions being attended by all the royal family (except the duke of Orleans); by the great officers of state, the members of the court, and the dukes, marshals, and peers of France, with many members of the chamber of deputies. During the continuance of this jubilee, four grand processions traversed the streets of Paris, in which such men as Talleyrand and Soult were seen clothed as penitents, and bearing wax candles in their hands. M. Dumas, the war minister, also ordered the troops, both in Paris and the departments, to join in these processions; and the result was, that, instead of a religious feeling being introduced into the army, the reverse was the case. The populace were similarly influenced; and these measures had the effect of causing both civilians and soldiers to ridicule the services of the church, instead of treating them with reverence; whilst the feeling of loyalty to the Bourbons was greatly weakened amongst the troops, in consequence of their being ordered to join in displays which they considered to have nothing to do with their military duties.

Whilst "the jubilee" had a decidedly opposite effect from that contemplated, two appointments, made about that time, were much commented upon. The duke de Montmorency, who had been tutor to the duke de Bordeaux, died

early in the year, and the person nominated to succeed him was, the abbé Tharin, bishop of Strasburg, who had recently published an episcopal mandate couched in the most intolerant terms, in which the members of the liberal opposition, and what was termed the impious and sacrilegious philosophy of the age, were alike denounced. At the same time, the duke de Rivière, one of the most ardent, and probably one of the most sincere, of the ultra-royalists, was appointed comptroller of the duke's household. These appointments were made by the king, by the advice of his almoner, his confessor, and the duchess d'Angoulême. They strengthened the hands of the enemies of the government, as they afforded fresh proofs of the tendency which the direction of public affairs was taking; and count Montlosier, who had already been prosecuted as the proprietor of the *Drapeau Blanc*, again came before the world in his *Mémoire à Consulter*, in which he collected all the known facts, and many which were enveloped in the veil of secrecy, connected with the "Congregation" and the Jesuits; whose organization and influence, acts and aims, he developed with a precision and a force that had a great effect upon the public. He also published, at a somewhat later period, the *Dénunciation aux Cours Royales*, which was intended to expose the connection of the Jesuits with the courts of justice, and to point out the illegality of their presence in the kingdom. These denunciations had the more effect, as they came from a known royalist—one who had always been a strenuous supporter of the "right" side of the chamber, and who was known to be a sincere friend of the Bourbons. But though a friend to royalty and religion, he was opposed to the authority of the clergy being exerted in civil matters; and entertained that dread, which has been, more or less, participated in by all statesmen, since the days of Ignatius Loyola, of the secret influence of the Jesuits in affairs of state. Simultaneously with his last pamphlet, Molière's *Tartuffe* was revived at the theatres, and the people eagerly flocked to its representation, and were not slow in applying its characters and allusions to what was passing around them. The government stopped its performance; but the *exposé* of count Montlosier had produced an effect which the judges of the *Cours Royales* thought they could not disregard. They were desirous of enquiring into the facts adduced by the count; and contrary to the advice of M. Peyronnet, the judges met, when fifty-three out of fifty-five were for enquiry and deliberation. The result was, that they gave their judgment to the effect, that the re-establishment of the Jesuits in France was prohibited by several express laws; of that prohibition they declared their approval, as the principles of the disciples of Loyola were destructive of the independence of the civil government, and in-

compatible with the terms of the constitutional charter. This judgment of the court called forth fresh *mandates* from the bishops, which were replied to by the liberal press; and the latter certainly very often passed the bound which separates freedom of discussion from licentiousness.

In the autumn, Mr. Canning (then the English secretary of state for foreign affairs) visited Paris, and was received with great cordiality both by the king and his ministers. He was invited to the royal table, and had several conferences with M. de Villèle, and the French foreign minister. The affairs of Greece and Portugal formed the subject of discussion. With respect to the former, Mr. Canning's idea, that a Christian power should be raised in the Levant, as a check both upon Russia and the Porte (which had already been mooted in the French chambers), was assented to; and M. Villèle acceded to the English policy with respect to the latter. The death of John VI., king of Portugal, on the 18th of February, had led to a disputed succession. His eldest son, Don Pedro, was in Brazil; and the king, before his death, appointed a council of regency, with his sister, the infanta Isabella, at its head—an arrangement which Pedro confirmed, and granted a charter to the Portuguese in the following April. During his residence in Brazil, he had become attached to that country; and, conscious that he could not effectively govern two countries situated at such a distance from each other, and divided by two wide oceans, on the 3rd of May he resigned the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Maria da Gloria, then only seven years of age. The king contemplated a marriage between her and his brother Don Miguel—an incestuous connection, which the court of Rome sanctioned, and the royal couple were absolutely betrothed on the 29th of October; the prince having previously taken the oath of allegiance to his infant niece. A party was formed, however, in Portugal, composed of the absolutists, and the enemies of the charter, headed by the marquis of Chaves and the marquis of Abrantes, which aimed at the overthrow of the constitution granted by Pedro, and proclaimed Don Miguel as king. The insurgents obtained some successes, and were supported by a Spanish army, which Ferdinand sent to the frontiers, proposing to interfere in behalf of Don Miguel, as France had done, to restore his authority, in 1823. Chateaubriand, however, had now no influence in the French councils; and M. de Villèle was highly dissatisfied with the results of the French expedition to Spain, which had drawn a large sum from the finances, and it was now found had not advanced French interests in the peninsula; whilst it had led to the re-establishment of a despotism which the French minister really

disliked, and had no wish to see transferred to Portugal. The Portuguese regency had applied for the aid of England, to repel the Spanish invasion, should it be attempted; and Mr. Canning had threatened the government of Ferdinand to dispatch a British army to Lisbon, if his troops were not withdrawn. M. de Villèle supported the policy and the views of England. The French ambassador at Madrid was instructed to remonstrate against the course which Ferdinand was pursuing; and, as he was not listened to, he was withdrawn. On the 3rd of December, the Portuguese regency again pressed England to aid them in defending the charter which Don Pedro had granted against the insurgents, aided, as they were, by Spain; and, in that month, 15,000 British troops were sent to Lisbon, and the constitutionalists were, for the time, successful. M. de Villèle's conduct in this matter greatly offended the ultra-royalist opposition; who, led by the *Camarilla* and Chateaubriand, were, as we learn from La Fayette's correspondence, eager for a war with England, rather than that a constitutional régime should be established at Lisbon.

The chambers assembled on the 12th of December, when M. de Villèle was at the height of his popularity. His position, at that period, appears to be so fairly stated by an English historian, that we adopt his words to describe it. "In domestic matters, he had made himself the mere instrument of the least intelligent of the priesthood, and the least capable, as well as the least wealthy, of the aristocracy. Forced, years back, into a foreign policy not his own, it had triumphed in his despite; and he sacrificed the colleague who had wrought that triumph, to sink back, certainly into a more liberal policy abroad, at least so far as regarded the peninsula; but it was inglorious, ineffective, and, moreover, unsatisfactory to the ultra-royalist party. His colonial policy, exemplified in the final abandonment of St. Domingo, might be equally wise, but it was also inglorious, and lowering to royalist pride. Ample as was his majority, and great as had been his efforts to gratify the religious party, he had not rendered it triumphant. Both the aristocracy and the clergy felt themselves resisted by a popular force, which had grown up and displayed itself, apparently owing to neglect and want of skill on the part of the government. If the liberals were furious at the confiscation of the public liberties and of electoral rights, the ultra-royalists were no less discontented that so little profit or stability had been drawn from so much power. The moderate royalists thought they would do better by trying their way back to constitutionalism; but the court, the king, and the clergy would never permit this; and they already craved a minister after their own heart, and a statesman for the country analogous to the preceptor they had

given the royal heir."* Previous to the meeting of the chambers, the minister had given way, on some points, to the ultra-royalists. He had agreed, once more, to enter the lists with the press; and M. de Peyronnet was employed, for several weeks before the session opened, in preparing a *projet-de-loi*, for effectually putting an end to those outrages of which the *Camarilla* and the clergy complained; and some of which certainly could not be defended, as they were an abuse of, and a disgrace to, that liberty which the opposition claimed; and which the king, and his secret advisers, alike wished to subvert.

The royal speech, upon the opening of the chamber, was brief and tame. His majesty observed, that a good understanding existed with all the European powers; and stated, that the chambers were convened earlier than had been usual of late years, because several important measures had been prepared. The first were a *Code Forestier* and a *Code Militaire*. A new law on the press would also be presented, the repeated abuses of which it was proposed to repress by more extensive and more efficient measures than those then in force. Other measures were, a project for the organisation of juries, and one for the repression of the slave-trade, to all of which his majesty solicited the attention of the chambers.—Little was done for the first few days after the session was opened; the law on the press not being introduced till the 29th of December. It was most stringent and severe. It proposed to re-establish the censorship; and ordered that all writings of twenty pages and under should be deposited with the censors five days, and, in some cases, ten days before the publication; that if any were published before the expiration of the specified time, a fine of 3,000f. should be imposed on the publisher; that a duty of one sous for the first sheet, and of ten sous for each subsequent sheet, should be imposed on all publications of less than twenty pages; that the printer should declare how many sheets a work would contain, and if that number were exceeded, the work to be seized and confiscated; that every book under five sheets should pay a duty of one franc for the first sheet, and of one sous for every other; that the speeches of members in either chamber, the memoirs of literary societies, the pastoral letters of bishops, and journals appearing only once in two months, which were by the existing law under "caution," should be exempt from these provisions and penalties. That proprietors of journals should be subject to actions, founded on offences against the state or individuals; that no company for conducting a journal should be legal if consisting of more than five persons; that there should not be more than three proprietor-editors, who must possess at least one-third of the property; that each journal should be subject to a duty of one

* Crowe.

sous; that all articles provoking to crimes or misdemeanors should be liable to fines, varying according to the enormity of the offence; that an allusion to occurrences in private life should be subject to a fine of 500f.; and that any article outraging the royal dignity, the order of succession to the throne, the religion of the state, or the ministers, should be liable to a fine of 30,000f. The other fines proposed to be established varied from 2,000f. to 20,000f.

Such was the project of "love and justice," as it was termed in the *Moniteur* by M. de Peyronnet, which that minister brought in, under the express sanction of the *Camarilla* and the clergy. It excited the greatest indignation in every class; the literary men, whether ultra or moderate, royalists or liberals, were unanimous in their opposition to it; and the Academy, as soon as its provisions were known, instigated by Chateaubriand, took the lead in petitioning against it. When the subject was first mooted, M. Quelan, the archbishop of Paris, remonstrated, and said it might lead to the suppression of the Academy. A petition, however, which Chateaubriand had assisted to prepare, was proposed and seconded by MM. Villemain and Lacretelle, and unanimously adopted. The king refused to receive it; and, as a consequence, the former was removed from his post as master of requests to the council of state, and the latter from that of dramatic censor. M. Michaud, who took part in promoting the petition, and was reader to the king, was also dismissed. In the chamber of deputies, where the project was introduced, M. Benjamin Constant, M. Royer-Collard, and M. Casimir Perrier, were the great speakers against it; the latter saying that it would be tantamount to suppressing printing in France for the benefit of Belgium. The defence of the law was very feeble; one of the ministerial champions, M. de Salaberry, justifying it because it was agreeable to the Jewish, and to all ancient legislation. He described the liberty of the press as having produced revolutionists, protestants, and anti-legitimatists, and said, it was the only plague which Moses forgot to inflict upon Egypt. The discussion in this chamber extended over January, and into February, 1827; and the project, having undergone considerable modifications, was at length adopted by 233 votes to 134—numbers which showed that the ministerial majority was greatly reduced.

It was opposed as stoutly in the peers. The venerable duke de Rochefoucauld, eighty years of age, who had already been deprived of several of the offices he held, for opposing the measures of government connected with prisons, having spoken against it, was deprived of his remaining offices and honorary distinctions, most of the former being connected with charities, and the latter being the rewards of a long and active life, devoted to the promotion of the best interests of humanity. The good old nobleman took this

disgrace so much to heart, that he died a few days afterwards. His funeral took place on the 30th of March, being borne from his own house to the church of the Assumption, at their own request, by some young men who had been students in a college of engineers which the duke had founded at Chalons. After the service had been performed in the church, the young men again took the body on their shoulders to convey it to the grave. On the way, they were stopped by the police, who ordered the body to be placed on the funeral car which followed. The bearers refused to comply; and as the son of the deceased wished that they should continue to carry it, the police applied to the soldiers, who formed the guard of honour, to interfere. In the attempt to take the coffin forcibly from the bearers, it fell to the ground, and was much broken. It was then placed on the car, conveyed to the grave, and the ceremony concluded. This affair created a great sensation in Paris, as it did throughout France, when it became known. The journals made warm and angry comments on the conduct of the police, and the peers ordered their grand referendary, M. de Semonville, to inquire into it. His report was made on the 2nd of April; and it appeared that the police had only enforced an order which existed, prohibiting the carrying of a corpse on men's shoulders. The grand referendary, however, blamed the resort to violence, as, shortly before, the remains of the abbé Emery had been carried to the grave by his scholars. The result was, that the order was renewed; but the affair, no doubt greatly magnified in all its details, added to the unpopularity of the authorities.

The peers had referred the project of law on the press to a committee, of which counts Portalis, Portal, and Bastard, and the duke de Broglie were members. It became known, soon after this affair of the funeral took place, that this committee had prepared its report, which was very unfavourable. A great many amendments were proposed. Although it had been considerably mitigated and modified, in the deputies, from the original, the amendments of the peers abated its severity still more; and it was understood that even the ultra-royalists on the committee had agreed to the report. The ministers looked upon this as the forerunner of defeat; and to avoid that humiliating catastrophe, M. de Peyronnet, on the 17th of April, withdrew the project, before the report could be brought up. The greatest victory France ever gained never gave rise to more general and hearty rejoicings than were called forth by this event. Every mode of displaying feeling and evincing joy common to the people, was adopted on the occasion; Paris, and all the great cities, were illuminated; and it was some days before the public mind appeared to be sobered down into its usual equanimity.

The withdrawal of the projected law on the press, was followed by another important event of a different character. The king, on his entry into Paris on the 12th of April, 1825, having been honourably received by the national guards, it had been ordered, that that force alone should do duty at the palace on the anniversary of that day. This year [1827], Thursday, in Passion week, fell on the 12th of April, and the guards were ordered not to come on duty till the 16th. On that day the officers paid their respects to the king, and offered him their felicitations as usual, and the men repeatedly shouted "*Vive le Roi!*" The king was pleased with what he thought was the loyalty of the guards; and the officers told him the feeling was general amongst that body. With a view to afford an opportunity for its display, and to divert the public, if possible, from dwelling upon the recent events in the chambers, Charles, at the suggestion of the officers, ordered a grand review of the national guard of Paris to take place on the 29th. Accordingly, the guard, numbering from 20,000 to 30,000 of the middle-class citizens of the capital, assembled in the *Champ-de-Mars*, and it was known, amongst their friends, that some demonstration against the ministers would be made. It is said that this was concerted with the leaders of the opposition in the chambers, who had, however, strongly recommended that no cries should be used but those of "*Vive le Roi!*" and "*Vive la Charte!*" The king arrived on horseback; other members of the royal family were present; and the duchess d'Angoulême and the duchess de Berri followed in an open carriage. When the king appeared on the field, he was received with gratifying cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" But, as he advanced further, "*Vive la Charte!*" only was heard. The king's countenance fell; and one of the officers near him ventured to ask, if the manifestations in favour of the charter were displeasing to him? "I came to receive homage, and not a lesson," was the reply. Almost immediately, a shout of "*Vive le Roi!*" rose up from the entire corps, and, after that demonstration, the review passed off satisfactorily. It would seem that the carriage with the princesses had not been observed; at any rate, no notice was taken of them till the review was over, and the king had left the ground. Then they were saluted with cries of "*A bas les Jesuites!*" "*A bas les Ministres!*" The shouts were repeated, as the guards passed to their homes, under the windows of M. de Villèle and M. de Peyronnet; and those ministers were as much enraged as they were annoyed. The king appears to have been unaware of the later demonstrations; and, on arriving at the palace, attended by marshal Oudinot, the commander of the guards, his majesty said—"My dear marshal, we have had some grumblers, but the mass is well disposed; say to the national

guard that I am satisfied with their appearance, and bring me the evening order to sign." Soon after the marshal had departed, the duchess d'Angoulême and the duchess de Berri arrived in tears, and they were speedily followed by the ministers who had been annoyed. The representations of his daughters, and of his advisers, induced the king to summon a cabinet council, which assembled that evening at the Tuileries. It did not break up till a late hour. The result of their deliberations was, an *ordonnance*, announcing, without any preamble, that "the national guard of Paris was disbanded!" A copy of the *ordonnance* was sent, that night, to the commander-in-chief of the national guard; the next morning it appeared in the *Moniteur*; and all the posts of the national guard were occupied by the troops of the line. Apparently this measure produced no effect upon the citizens of Paris; and the ultra-royalists exulted in the success of the firmness and determination which had been evinced. "We have a king—a great king, now," they said; "there will be no more 14ths of July."—"The king can do everything; Paris is tranquil; France is tired of revolutions and of revolutionists," said the tutor to the duke de Bordeaux. "True, Paris has not moved," observed a liberal peer in reply, "but it is because the king has not exceeded his power. He was entitled, if he chose, to dissolve the national guard; but let the time come when he may need the support of his good city of Paris, and you will then see what you have done." One immediate effect of the *ordonnance* was, the resignation of the duke de Doudeauville, minister of the household, who disapproved of it. The *Camarilla* thought that this would be a good opportunity to get one of their own more decided friends into office, and they proposed to send for the prince de Polignac from London, to take the place of the duke. M. de Villèle appears to have foreseen their aim, and he opposed their proposal: for the time, therefore, the ministry of the household was not filled up.

The other measures of the session excited little interest, after the failure of the project of law respecting the press. Laws were passed, establishing fresh regulations for the forests; and some alterations in the military code. Also one to increase the postage on journals and periodical writings, except "collections, annals, memoirs, and periodical bulletins, solely confined to the arts, to industry, and the sciences." The law for the organisation of juries was introduced by M. de Corbière, and passed by the deputies, but materially altered in the chamber of peers. The object of the law was to make jurors and electors of the same class. It began to be surmised that, favourable as the deputies had been to the government, a dissolution was contemplated; and the opposition in the peers introduced several important amendments for the

purpose of preventing the electoral lists from being tampered with, and very much reducing the arbitrary power of the prefects. The slave-trade was abolished by another law. On the 10th of February, a convention had been entered into with England for that purpose, which the legislature was asked to sanction. The law submitted to them, and which was carried through both chambers by large majorities, declared that the slave-trade was abolished; that vessels engaging in it should be seized, and the cargo confiscated; that the promoters and heads of any expedition for the purchase of slaves should be banished; and all other parties engaged in such expeditions subjected to imprisonment, for not less than three, nor more than five, years.—The budget, one of the last measures of the session, was the occasion of some angry discussion: the falling-off in the revenue in the early months of the year being ascribed to Villèle's misgovernment. The expenditure was fixed at 929,104,161*l.*; the receipts at 931,302,698*l.*—an estimate scarcely warranted by the actual receipts up to the time the financial statements were made. However, the minister carried his propositions; and the session was terminated by a royal *ordonnance* on the 22nd of June.—Two days after, on the 24th, an *ordonnance*, signed by MM. Villèle, Corbière, and Peyronnet, appeared, re-establishing the censorship of the press. This was followed by the establishment of a society, with Chateaubriand for its president, to defend the liberty of the press. The members were nearly all literary men, and they deluged France with pamphlets which tended to make the ministry still more unpopular.

Soon after the chambers were adjourned, the celebrated treaty between England, France, and Russia, according to its title, for "the reconciliation of the Greeks and Turks," was concluded. An agreement, with a view to the settlement of the Greek question, and to put an end to the internecine war which had been so long raging in the Grecian territory, had been entered into between England and Russia, in the previous April. It was one of the stipulations of that agreement, that the other powers of Europe should be invited to accede to it; and, in consequence of that invitation, the treaty between the three powers was signed on the 6th of July. The motives which induced them to enter into this treaty, were stated, in the preamble, to be "the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which, by delivering up the Greek provinces, and the isles of the Archipelago, to the disorders of anarchy, produced daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gave occasion to piracy, which not only exposed the subjects of the contracting parties to considerable losses, but rendered necessary burdensome measures of suppression and protection." It was agreed, by the three powers, that they

should offer their mediation to the sultan, in a note, signed by all the ministers at Constantinople, proposing that he should retain his suzerainty over Greece; but that the Greeks should be allowed to govern themselves, on paying an annual tribute; that tribute to be collected by the Greek authorities, in the nomination of whom the sultan should have a voice. All the property of Mohammedans in Greece was to be abandoned, the owners receiving an indemnity; and the fortresses to be given up to the Greek troops. One month was to be allowed the Porte to decide upon the acceptance of the terms; if the sultan refused, then the powers would, for their own security, come to an approximation with the Greeks, and send consular agents to the Greek ports; which would, in fact, be an acknowledgment of their independence.

When the first agreement between England and Russia was made known to the sultan, he refused to accede to its terms, and published a long manifesto (dated the 9th of June), for the purpose of justifying his conduct. "The Greeks," it was said, "whose country had been conquered ages ago by the Ottoman arms, had always enjoyed perfect repose and tranquillity under the ægis of Turkish legislation, being treated like the Mohammedans in every respect. A Greek government was spoken of, and it had even been proposed to conclude a treaty with the rebels: history offered no example of conduct in all respects so opposite to the principles and duties of government. The Sublime Porte, therefore, could never listen to such propositions, which it would neither hear nor understand, so long as Greece continued a part of the Ottoman dominions. The Greeks were tributary subjects of the Porte, which would never renounce its rights." The treaty between the three powers was made known to the sultan early in August; and, on the 16th of that month, a final note was presented to his imperial highness from their ambassadors. As a decided refusal was still persisted in, the allies resolved to take more active measures. An English, French, and Russian squadron had been collected in the Levant, consisting of ten ships of the line—viz., the *Sirène* (the flag-ship of admiral de Rigny), the *Scipio*, and the *Breslau*, French; the *Asia* (the flag-ship of admiral Sir Edward Codrington), the *Albion*, and the *Genoa*, English; and four Russian ships of the line, under admiral Heyden, whose flag-ship was the *Azoff*. There were also ten frigates, and six smaller vessels—in all, twenty six sail, mounting 1,324 guns.—Ibrahim Pacha—the son of Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt—commanded for the Porte in the Morea. This chief was guilty of great excesses, and committed many acts of barbarity on the miserable Christians. Some of the atrocities said to have been committed, are almost beyond belief. The allies, in consequence, determined to call upon him to

desist from hostilities, and if he refused, to resort to force. The demand was made on the 18th of October; the Egyptian chief replied in the spirit of his superior at Constantinople, and the allied commanders resolved to attack and destroy the Turkish and Egyptian fleets—consisting of four sail of the line, nineteen frigates, twenty-nine corvettes, and twenty-seven smaller vessels; making a total of seventy-nine, mounting 2,240 guns—which were collected in the bay of Navarino. This force was protected by formidable batteries on shore, presenting upwards of 1,000 guns—altogether, more than there were on board the attacking fleet.

The allied squadrons entered the bay of Navarino in the afternoon of the 20th of October, the English leading the van; the French followed; the Russians forming the last division, and placing their large ships abreast of the batteries at the entrance. Not a shot was fired on either side; but, as the English and French ships were passing into the bay, the capitan Bey is said to have remarked to his comrades—"The die is now cast; I told you the English were not to be trifled with." When the allies had taken up their positions, a boat was dispatched from the *Dartmouth*, an English frigate, towards one of the Turkish fire-ships; and, at the same time, an officer, bearing a flag of truce, was sent by Sir Edward Codrington, to the Turkish admiral's ship. A fire was opened both on the boat and the flag of truce, the officer bearing which was slain. This brought on a return from the *Dartmouth*, the *Asia*, and the *Sirène*, and the action soon became general. It continued four hours, and ended in the defeat of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets. During the battle, all the crews engaged—English, French, Russian, Turkish, and Egyptian—fought with the most determined bravery; but, although the latter had a great superiority in the number of cannon and of men, they could not successfully compete with the heavy armaments of the allies. Fifty-one of their vessels, including their line-of-battle ships, were totally destroyed; of the other twenty-eight, some were run ashore; and the remainder, considered too insignificant to be destroyed, were left unharmed, except as they were struck by, here and there, a stray shot.

The Turks—admitting that the first shot was discharged from the fire-ship, of which they say the English frigate was about to take possession—represent the entrance of a hostile fleet into their waters as unjustifiable; Ibrahim Pacha, in his despatch, giving an account of the battle, declares, that "he was ignorant of the motive which gave occasion for the unaccountable conduct;" and the duke of Wellington, when he heard of the engagement, termed it "an untoward event;" which is the general opinion entertained of it. It, however, led to the evacuation of Greece by the Egyptians; and as the sultan

still refused to receive any proposition with respect to the settlement of the question, short of the subjugation of the territory where the insurrection was raging, the French ambassador, and those of the other two powers, left Constantinople on the 8th of December. Count Capo d'Istria, who had been elected president of the Grecian republic, issued a proclamation soon after, declaring the independence of Greece; and although some time occurred before that independence was considered to be finally established, the authority of the Porte was at an end.—About this period, there was a difference with the dey of Algiers, respecting the conduct of Algerine vessels of war towards French merchant vessels; and the ships employed against the Turkish fleet were sent to blockade Algiers till the dey gave satisfaction.

The treaty of July 6th was the last act of Mr. Canning's political life, to which a European interest and importance attached. He died on the 8th of August: his death was regretted by the liberal party in France, whose pamphleteers were warm in their expressions of admiration for the English statesman, as the friend of civil and religious liberty. There was, however, remarks a contemporary writer, "probably less real respect for Canning than a design to express, even in this form, hostility to Villèle and his colleagues." About a fortnight after, M. Manuel died at the house of his friend Lafitte. His funeral took place on the 24th of August, and it was too important an occasion to be suffered to pass over without an expression of feeling on the part of the opposition. The deceased was interred in the cemetery of Père Lachaise; a large concourse of people attended; Lafitte, Lafayette, Beranger, and others, pronounced orations over his grave; and in the eulogium upon the public and private virtues of the deceased, that violence and injustice which had terminated his career as a senator were vehemently rebuked. The death of this distinguished orator removed one impediment from the path of the ultra-royalist administration; but soon others, even more formidable, sprung up.

The king, about this time, resolved to make a tour in the north of France, for the purpose of testing his popularity. He left St. Cloud on the 3rd of September, and first visited a camp at St. Omer, which had been formed at the instigation of the *Camarilla*; from whence he proceeded to several of the neighbouring departments. His reception at every place he passed through was of the most gratifying description. The clergy, as might be expected, met him with all the pomp and ceremony which the church of Rome throws into its public displays, and saluted the monarch as he passed, by the ringing of bells and other demonstrations of joy. The laity erected triumphal arches, decorated their houses with flowers and banners, and gave every other sign

of delight at the royal visit. So imposing were these demonstrations, that Charles returned to Paris fully impressed with the idea that he was very popular, and that it "was only the newspapers" which were the opponents of his government. During his absence, M. de Villèle, in a spirit of what appears fatuity, had been completing his arrangements for a creation of peers, and for making an appeal to the people by a dissolution of the chamber of deputies. We can only term this conduct fatuous; for although his majority in that chamber had visibly decreased during the last session, any close observer of the French people must have been convinced, that there was not the slightest prospect, at that time, of improving his position by an appeal to them. The friends of the minister tell us, that this step was not taken "in consequence of any hasty conclusion, but from the result of long and anxious deliberation. He expected to find more moderate men returned, and he would then be enabled to remodel the ministry, and get rid of those men who were most obnoxious to the public." He was greatly disappointed in the result.

On the 5th of November, three *ordonnances* appeared in the *Moniteur*, all being without any preamble or explanation of the motives which caused them to be issued. By the first, the chamber of deputies was declared to be dissolved; the electoral colleges were convoked for the 17th and 24th of the month; and the peers and deputies were to assemble for the session of 1828 on the 5th of February. The second *ordonnance* created seventy-six new peers. That measure was opposed by Chabrol and Frayssinous; but Villèle warmly advocated it, and the king supported him. "The revolution," he said, "had made its way into the chamber of peers, and it was necessary to drive it out." Amongst the new creations were five archbishops and thirty-six large landholders, from the dissolved chamber of deputies. Some of the names excited surprise. By the side of the count de Vieuville and the count de Tocqueville, were those of Soult and the prince Hohenlohe. But the list was so framed as to give the ministry the complete command of the upper chamber. The third *ordonnance* abolished the censorship of the press. This was the signal for renewed violence on the part of the journals—the conductors appearing determined to give vent to all the ill-humour which had been restrained since the censors had the power of drawing their pens through any article of which they disapproved. All the acts of the ministry were brought before the public and reviewed—sometimes with fairness and liberality, but frequently without regard to anything but to promote the success of the opposition in the elections. In this opposition moderate royalists and liberals united, so eager were both to get rid of the *Camarilla* and the *Parti-prêtre*.

The *Doctrinaires*, who had remained for some time in the background, now came forward with the view of advancing their interests. They formed a public association, under the motto, *Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera*—"Help thyself, and heaven will aid thee." The members of this association acted in concert, to bring about, legally, a change of the majority in the chamber of deputies, and the fall of the cabinet. M. Guizot and his friends were members. "We had openly opposed," he says, "the policy of the cabinet; it now challenged us to the electoral field to decide the quarrel. We entered that field with the same frankness that we did the chamber, resolved to look for nothing beyond fair elections, and to accept the difficulties and chances at first of the combat, and afterwards of the success, if success should attend our efforts." The late M. Beranger mentions this association with approval in his *Biography*. Disapproving of secret societies, which, he says, "are in reality permanent conspiracies, uselessly compromising many persons, creating a host of inferior rival ambitions, and rendering questions of principle subordinate to private passions;" he adds—"The society *Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera*, which acted openly, has alone rendered true service to *our* cause." To this assertion M. Guizot refuses assent; *the cause* of M. Beranger and that of the *Doctrinaires*, he says, "were totally distinct."

The elections were contested with the utmost earnestness and determination by the partisans on each side; and the result was, that although the chamber of deputies was still royalist, it was no longer ministerial. In the *arrondissements*, the ministerial candidates were generally rejected, the opposition obtaining two-thirds of the seats. In the departments, the former were a little more successful; but it was quite evident, from the violent character of many of the candidates returned, that the chamber would not be friendly to M. de Villèle. Whilst the elections were going on, a pamphlet appeared in the shape of a letter, addressed to the duke d'Orleans, who was called upon to come forward, and, by the display of a little courage, as the head of the revolution, exclude the present incapable and unpopular monarch from the throne, and seat himself upon it as the constitutional king of a free people. The people, it was alleged, had done their duty; the duke was therefore called upon to do his, and not to hesitate when standing at the edge of the precipice. The duke d'Orleans disavowed, personally, to the sovereign, all participation in the sentiments of this letter, the author of which, Cauchois Lemaire, was prosecuted, and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment and a heavy fine. On the letter and the prosecution, M. de Lafayette expressed, in a letter to a friend, "regret that Cauchois Lemaire should have indulged in such a *plaisanterie*. We are too different,"

he continued, "from the English aristocracy, to have even a duke of Sussex in opposition, or to have any weight. But the prosecution and the sentence are greater faults than the letter. One would be inclined to prosecute the government for having put into every head the idea, that the duke d'Orleans might, by any possibility, make himself king of France."

There was no place in which the opposition was stronger than in Paris; few in which it was so powerful. All the liberal candidates—MM. Dupont de l'Eure, Lafitte, Casimir-Perrier, Benjamin Constant, de Schonen, Ternaux, Royer-Collard, and Baron Louis—were returned; obtaining 6,690 votes, whilst only 1,110 were given for their opponents. The Parisians were wild with joy. On the 20th of November they celebrated the triumph by illuminations and other rejoicings; and, as the mob broke the windows of the houses which were not illuminated, besides flinging squibs and petards about the streets, the police were ordered to clear the latter. Then began the WAR OF THE BARRICADES—a year or two after so successfully prosecuted in Paris. The first materials used, were the *débris* of houses which were in the course of rebuilding or of destruction—processes at that time going on in many of the streets of the capital. Three of these barricades, constructed of planks and paving-stones, were thrown up near the churches of St. Laurent and St. Leu, and at the Passage du Grand Cerf. When the police attempted to clear away these obstructions, they were repulsed, and had to return with fire-arms. The same scenes were renewed the following evening: the regular troops were called out to suppress them; and the government was confounded at finding that they hesitated to act against the people. No lives were lost in these riots; but they showed the temper of the Parisians, who learnt a lesson which they kept in their minds, and improved upon it at the next opportunity.

The elections produced violent recriminations between the ministers and the *Camarilla*, each blaming the other for events which were the result of their united and anti-national policy. M. de Villèle, when severely censured by the leaders of the secret council of the palace, who attributed the return of so many liberals and moderate royalists to his mismanagement, is reported to have said—"What would you have? Have I not, this year, satisfied all your wishes? The severe restrictions on the press—the censorship of the journals—the creation of seventy-six peers—the disbanding the national guard—the camp at St. Omer—are they not sufficient? I have said it a hundred times—your march is too rapid: you think only of violence, when management is what is required." To which the duke de Rivière replied—"Let us hear no more of concessions; let us openly advance

under the banners of a king who has the blood of Louis XIV. in his veins. These cursed elections, which occasion so much annoyance, are entirely to be ascribed to your own want of foresight, perhaps of your perfidy;"*—an unjust rebuke from one of a party, to promote whose views M. de Villèle had sacrificed his own principles; but it was a fitting moral punishment for his want, as a minister, of firmness and consistency.

The ministers were not more agreed amongst themselves. The king was at Compiègne, and he wished M. de Villèle to adjust his differences with his colleagues in his absence. The premier was willing to sacrifice Peyronnet and Corbière: he made overtures to Martignac, Pastoret, and Talurie; and he refused the peerage to the minister of justice, now without a seat, having been defeated in two places where he offered himself as a candidate. He could not, however, find any one willing to join him; and when the king returned to Paris, his task was as far from completion as it was when he first began his negotiations. His majesty was annoyed; and, when M. Villèle asked for a little longer delay—till the 25th of December—Charles said, he wished to make the new announcements on the 1st of January, and the appointments should be made before that period. Then M. de Villèle tendered his own resignation, declaring that he despaired of uniting, under his supremacy, any of the persons in whose hands it was desirable to place the management of affairs. He suggested a union of the different shades of royalists in the cabinet; and mentioned MM. de Chateaubriand, de la Ferronais, de Fitz-james, and de la Bourdonnaye, as statesmen from whom a suitable head of the cabinet might be selected. The king, however, objected to all these personages; and, as M. de Villèle found himself quite unable to stem the torrent which was running so violently against him, he surrendered his office into the hands of the king, and his ministry was dissolved.—While these negotiations were going on, the *Doctrinaires* were not unobservant of events. The duke de Broglie, who was confined in the country from ill health, wrote to M. Guizot in December; observing—"It will be difficult for the general sound sense which presided at the elections not to react, to a certain extent, on the parties elected. The ministry which will be formed during the first conflict will be poor enough; but we must support it, and endeavour to suppress all alarm. It has already reached me here that the elections have produced great apprehensions. If I am not deceived, this terror is nothing more than a danger of the moment. If, after the fall of the present ministry, we are able to get through the year [1828] quietly, we shall have won the victory."

* Lacretelle.

CHAPTER XI.

FORMATION OF THE MARTIGNAC MINISTRY; CHARACTER OF M. DE MARTIGNAC; FIRST ACTS OF THE NEW MINISTRY; OPENING OF THE SESSION, 1828; LAW OF ELECTIONS; LAW OF THE PRESS; ITS EFFECTS; ORDONNANCES CONNECTED WITH EDUCATION AND THE JESUITS; AFFAIRS OF THE EAST; CLOSE OF THE SESSION; STATE OF PARTIES; INTRIGUES AGAINST M. DE MARTIGNAC; MEMORIALS TO THE KING; HIS MAJESTY'S EXCURSION TO LORRAINE AND ALSACE; ILLNESS OF COUNT DE FERRONNAIS; MODIFICATION OF THE MINISTRY; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1829; REMARKABLE SPEECH OF PRINCE POLIGNAC; THE MUNICIPAL LAW; DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY; END OF THE SESSION; DISMISSAL OF M. DE MARTIGNAC; THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY; ITS UNPOPULARITY; TACTICS OF THE OPPOSITION; DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLIGNAC AND LABOURDONNAYE; PROSECUTION OF THE "JOURNAL DES DEBATS;" CLOSE OF 1829.

M. DE VILLELE having resigned, the king consulted M. de Chabrol upon the reconstruction of the cabinet. There was great difficulty in finding men willing to act together; but, at length, the following arrangements were made:—M. de Martignac, a popular advocate, as minister of the interior, was considered the premier; M. Portalis, peer of France, keeper of the seals, and minister of justice; the count de la Ferronais, formerly ambassador to Russia, minister of foreign affairs; M. de Caux, of war; M. de Roy, of finance; M. de Vatesmenil, of public instruction (an office which had been offered to M. de Chateaubriand, but refused, by the advice of his friends, who said he ought not to take any place in the ministry, except that of foreign affairs); M. de Chabrol continued in the ministry, till the session commenced, as minister of marine, but was then succeeded by M. Hyde de Neuville; the bishop of Hermopolis also retained office, as minister of public worship—his functions being confined to the offices of his own religion; but when Hyde de Neuville went to the marine, he was replaced by M. de Feutrier, bishop of Beauvais. The retiring ministers were named councillors of state; and Villèle, Peyronnet, and Corbière, were created peers; M. de Martignac making that a condition of his taking office: he had no wish to have Villèle in the chamber of deputies, intriguing against him, as he felt would be the case if the ex-minister remained in that chamber. M. Guizot was also restored to his office of councillor of state.

With a view to conciliate parties, a better choice of a minister could not have been made than that of M. de Martignac. He has left, writes M. Guizot, "on the minds of all who were acquainted with him, either in public or private life, whether friends or adversaries, a strong impression of esteem and goodwill. His disposition was easy, amiable, and generous: his mind just, quick, and refined, at once calm and liberal; he was endowed with natural, persuasive, clear, and graceful eloquence; he pleased even those from whom he differed." He was young, and the very opposite of M. de Villèle, in everything except moderation. M. de Lainé had introduced him to the duke de Richelieu; and when the French expedition was sent to Spain, he accom-

panied the army as civil commissioner, on the appointment of M. de Villèle. He acted, during the campaign, as secretary to the duke d'Angoulême; and most of the proclamations and orders issued by the duke while in Spain, were not only written, but drawn up, by M. de Martignac. It was unfortunate that he never possessed the confidence of the king, who sanctioned the new appointment because he felt it was a matter of compulsion; and whilst he did not believe the new ministry could maintain itself, he was determined not to continue it in office any longer than absolute necessity required. He appointed the meetings of the ministers, which he presided over himself; and, on his first taking the chair, he said—"I tell you frankly, gentlemen, it is with reluctance I have parted with M. de Villèle. Opinion has been quite mistaken about him; his system was mine."

The list of the new ministry appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 1st of January, 1828. A few days after, a commission was appointed to inquire into the existence of the Jesuits in the kingdom, and into the manner in which their influence was exercised. This was a very popular act. The members of the commission were M. de Quelan, archbishop of Paris; M. de Feutrier, bishop of Beauvais; MM. Sequier and Dupin, advocates; MM. Lainé and Mounier, ex-ministers; MM. de Noailles and de Labourdonnaye, members of the chamber of peers; and M. Courville, councillor of the university. Whilst the appointment of this commission was expected to conciliate a numerous class of persons who were opposed to the Jesuits, another measure was intended to operate upon the press, and somewhat mitigate the opposition of literary men. Pensions were restored to several members of that class, who had been deprived of them for their attacks on the government; and a committee was appointed to receive, consider, and report upon, all applications for pensions to *savans*, and also those which related to subscriptions, or assistance of any kind, which was required for the purposes of literature, science, or art. MM. Cuvier, Fourier, Andrieux, Michaud, Abel Remusat, Gerard, and La Fontaine, formed the committee—all distinguished men, taken from the five academies which composed the Institute.

The session opened on the 5th of February. There were several divisions for the choice of president; and Charles, from the members returned to him, selected M. Royer-Collard. In his opening speech, his majesty announced the speedy evacuation of Spain by the French troops; and that the blockade of Algiers would be raised as soon as the dey gave the satisfaction demanded of him. He then alluded to the internal affairs of France as follows:—"Wishing to strengthen, more and more, in my states, the charter which was granted by my brother, and which I have sworn to maintain, I shall be vigilant in seeing that all prudent and well-matured measures are taken to put our legislation in harmony with it. Certain high questions of public administration have been pointed out to my solicitude. Convinced that the real strength of thrones, next to the divine protection, lies in the due observance of the laws, I have given instructions that these questions be thoroughly examined, that their discussion may bring out the truth in all its brilliancy—the first necessity of princes and of people."—It has been remarked, that "it is scarcely possible to express in English the vague and unmeaning phraseology of this speech," which the contemporary French historian describes, as being "couched in noble and sincere language, which fully responded to the wishes and the hopes of France;" adding, that it made a most "profound impression on the assembly."*

The address, in reply to this speech, was unmistakable in its expression of hostility to the late ministry, "whose deplorable system, which rendered illusory all the promises of his majesty, had," it was stated, only been "put an end to by the remonstrances of France." There were warm debates as to retaining this passage in the address; a majority of thirty-three, including all the friends and adherents of M. de Chateaubriand, decided in its favour. It greatly annoyed the king, who, when the address was presented, refused to receive any of the deputies, except the president and the two secretaries. His majesty returned the following answer, after the address had been read to him:—"In calling you, gentlemen, to labour with me for the happiness of France, I reckoned on the concurrence of your sentiments, as well as the light of your intelligence. My words were addressed to the entire chamber; it would have been agreeable to me if the answer had been unanimous. You will not forget, I feel assured, that you are the natural guardians of the majesty of the throne—the first and most noble of your guarantees. Your labours will prove to France your profound respect for the memory of the sovereign who gave you the charter, and your just confidence in him whom you call the son of Henry IV. and St. Louis." The king, however, though he at first threatened to dismiss and dissolve the chamber, found it

best to suffer the two members of Villèle's cabinet, who still remained in the ministry, to retire, and then M. Hyde de Neuville and M. de Feutrier received their appointments. They were two friends of Chateaubriand; and the hostility of the viscount was bought off by his appointment as ambassador to Rome. A sum of money was also advanced to him to pay his debts; and a subvention given to the *Journal des Débats* secured the silence or the advocacy of that paper, completely stopping its opposition.

One of the first measures brought forward by ministers in the chambers was well received by the public, as it bespoke their intention to grapple with a notorious abuse. It was the project of a law to regulate the electoral lists; to prevent those abuses which were attributed to the late ministry, for the purpose of influencing the elections; and to take away the electoral suffrage from all persons employed under government, whose number, of late years, as prefects, sub-prefects, councillors of prefectships, of municipalities, of arrondissements, and of departments, receivers of contributions, and judges of the peace, had enormously increased—all being the creatures of power, and removable at pleasure. The deputies were thirteen days discussing this project, which greatly diminished the influence of the crown. It was adopted by a majority of 152:—257 votes to 165. In introducing this project to the chamber of peers, M. de Martignac spoke ably in its favour, describing it as a measure which would "tend to secure the regularity of the lists, to prevent mistakes, to guarantee real rights, to reject ill-founded claims, to free the administration from suspicions which degraded it, and preserve it from those violent attacks which exhaust and damage it." In that house it was opposed by M. de Villèle, and several of the peers of his creation, but four or five amendments were rejected, though by narrow majorities, and the project was adopted as it left the deputies, by 83 votes to 76.—The next measure was another concession to the liberals. It proposed to allow any Frenchman to publish a newspaper or other periodical publication, without any previous authorisation, the proprietors giving securities, the amount of which depended on circumstances set forth in the law; journals which appeared once a month, those devoted to science, and some others, were exempted from this regulation. Prosecutions for mere tendency were also proposed to be done away with. This law—which Chateaubriand described "as an immense improvement, though imperfect"—was debated for twenty days in the deputies, who adopted it by 266 votes to 116; and the peers sanctioned it by 139 to 81.

The passing of this law had an immediate effect. New journals were started in every corner of the kingdom. There was not a department but had its opposition paper and its "Paris

* *Annuaire Historique*, 1828.

correspondent," whilst the government journals were only to be found here and there. As has been the case in England, to a very great extent, since the abolition of the newspaper stamp, except for postal purposes, the liberal press received its news and information from Paris as a centre, and great efforts were made to circulate in the more quiet and remote villages papers advocating the principles of the liberal party. In Paris, the two great organs of that party were the *Courrier* and the *Constitutionnel*; opposed to them, besides the *Moniteur* and the subsidised *Journal des Débats*, there was the *Gazette de France*, which advocated the opinions of Villèle, and was generally read by the king; and the ultra-royalist *Quotidienne*, which recommended Polignac for minister, as being alone able to promote the interests of religion and the crown: it was the organ of the "Congregation," and was, it is said, "constantly found on the work-table, or near the *prie-dieu*, of the duchess d'Angoulême." The *Globe* was especially the organ of the *Doctrinaires*; and the *Temps* took the independent line pursued by the *Journal des Débats* before it was subsidised. M. de Martignac established *Le Messager*, to defend his own measures and opinions. It was almost the only journal in the interest of the ministry, started in consequence of the new law, which, well-meant by the minister, was not very gratefully received by the liberal party, who turned it into a weapon against him. A second prosecution of M. Beranger, for a third volume of his songs, which was condemned as containing offences against the religion of the state and the person of the king, and which ended in his being condemned to nine months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 10,000*f.*, increased the violence of the liberal party.

After this law had passed the chamber of deputies, and while it was before the peers, M. Vatesmenil published an *ordonnance*, regulating primary instruction. It ordered the establishment, in every commune or parish, of a school committee, consisting of nine members—the curate, the mayor, and the justice of peace serving *ex-officio*, and each appointing two other members, to make up the nine from amongst the laity, no particular qualification being required. This measure, which gave the clergy only one-third of the influence of the committees, is said to have "laid the foundation of popular education in France." It was followed, on the 16th of June, by two *ordonnances*, connected with education, of much greater importance.

The commission that had been appointed to examine the position which the Jesuits occupied in the kingdom, gave in their report early in June. It stated, that the followers of Loyola had possession of seminaries, in which civil and ecclesiastical education was imparted, at St. Acheul, Dôle, Bordeaux, St. Anne d'Auray, Aix, Forcalquier, Montmorillon, and Billon.

These seminaries were independent of their establishment of Montrouge, in Paris, which was not alluded to in the report. The decisions of the royal courts, and of both the chambers, were against the Jesuits having any control over places of education. Yet the majority of the commission, influenced, it was understood, by the archbishop of Paris, came to the conclusion that they could not be interfered with. The bishops, under the *ordonnance* of the 5th of October, 1814, could place any individual they pleased in charge of schools, who were subject to their authority; and the Jesuits, who had the direction of the schools, had the permission of the bishops of the dioceses to preach and teach in the districts where they resided. This, the majority contended, was strictly in conformity with the *ordonnance*. The minority thought otherwise. They were of opinion, that the presence of the Jesuits, prohibited by an express law, and the decision of the courts, could not be legalised by the fiat of the bishops. The ministry adopted this opinion; and as the report, when made public, excited great indignation, they determined to act upon it. When, however, M. Martignac proposed to the king that they should do so, his majesty was very unwilling to interfere. "This is a very serious matter," he said, "and I cannot decide upon it without consulting my council." He found the council unanimous in recommending a compliance with the ministerial proposition. He then advised with his confessor, who, knowing how violent the popular feeling was on the subject, recommended that it should be yielded to for the present, and steps might be taken, if possible, to counteract the concession hereafter. Such was also the advice of the duke d'Angoulême. Charles, therefore, yielded, and agreed to sign two *ordonnances*, in the drawing-up of which the bishop of Beauvais had had the chief hand; but, in doing so, he said to that prelate—"My dear minister, I cannot disguise from you that this signature has cost me more than anything else in my life. I am thus putting myself into hostility with my most faithful servants, with those whom I esteem and love the most. Fatal situation of princes, in which a sense of duty overrules the heart. Do you not think we are doing wrong?" The bishop emphatically replied—"No, sire; you are saving religion from irreparable ruin!"*

The first of the two *ordonnances* decreed, that the eight seminaries named in the report of the commissioners should, from the following 1st of October, be subjected to the university *régime*; from which day no person was to be invested with the direction of, or be a teacher in, any place of education under the control of the university, or of any secondary ecclesiastical school, till he had made a declaration in writing, that he did not belong to any religious congregation not

* *Annuaire Historique*: Lamartine.

legally established in France.—The second *ordonnance* decreed, that, in the *petits séminaires*, or secondary schools, the number of persons training for the ecclesiastical profession should in no case exceed 20,000. The archbishops or bishops were to name the superiors of these schools, who were to be approved by the king; and the secondary schools, not conforming to the terms of the *ordonnance*, were to be placed under the *régime* of the university.—The clergy denounced these *ordonnances* in the most unmeasured terms, and some refused to observe them; but the minister of justice had sent a confidential agent to the pope, who returned with a brief from his holiness, addressed to M. de Latil, one of the most moderate of the bishops; in which, considering the *ordonnances* as measures of internal policy, his holiness said, he “did not see in them any violation of episcopal rights;” and he disclaimed “any desire to impose on the French government the congregations, which its legislature did not acknowledge.” This brief, if it did not extinguish discontent amongst the clergy, prevented all open manifestation; and the Jesuits retired to Switzerland, from whence they kept up an uninterrupted intercourse with the families and persons who were under their influence.

During the session, the ministers had to ask for a vote of credit, to defray the expenses of the expedition to Greece, and also to cover the expenses of a second expedition, which it was proposed to send to the same quarter. England, France, and Russia having, *de facto*, acknowledged the independence of Greece, it was resolved, in compliance with the wish for “protection” expressed by the Greek government, that the Hellenic territory should be taken under the ægis of the three powers, and that one of them should send a body of troops there. As Russia objected to English troops going to the Levant, and as both that power and England were willing that France should send an army there—14,000 men being the number agreed upon—the government was anxious to obtain the means to dispatch these troops. A vote of credit of 80,000,000*f.* was therefore applied for. This proposition caused a discussion to be opened upon those questions which have agitated Europe since the time of Catharine of Russia—how the independence of Turkey was to be maintained? and how the balance of European power in the Levant was to be established? On the 14th of April previously, Russia had declared war against Turkey; and, in the manifesto which accompanied the declaration, Turkish aggressions in the Caucasus were more dwelt upon than the condition of Greece. The aim of the great northern power was evident—to take advantage of the then state of Turkey, considerably weakened by the defection of several of its finest provinces, to push its conquests in the direction of the Danube, thus approaching

nearer to Constantinople. The government of England—the duke of Wellington being premier—had vainly endeavoured to instil a spirit of moderation into the councils of St. Petersburg; so had Austria; and if those two powers could have relied on France, they would have insisted that the integrity of the Turkish dominions, as they then existed, should not be violated. But the councils of France were too much divided to expect that she would join in any energetic demonstration against the policy of the czar. M. de Martignac was not indisposed to do so; but, while M. de Villèle and his friends were averse to any foreign alliances which were likely to involve active measures, Chateaubriand and his followers would have let Russia act as she pleased in the East, if she would permit France again to advance to the Rhine. However, it turned out that they had not many friends in the chamber.

The demand for the vote of credit was referred to a committee, of which general Sebastiani was chosen reporter. The report which that committee presented was most ably drawn up, and enunciated very correct views of the policy which ought to influence and guide France and Europe on the question. It declared, that “justice and moderation should be the rule of all the European governments, as aggrandisement of every kind was a danger. It should not be permitted that ancient nations should become the prey of their greedy neighbours, or be made to disappear as the victims of treaties and wars of partition, provoked by iniquitous and brutal violence.” The ambition of Russia was denounced; and it was recommended that the vote of credit should be granted.

The vote, however, was opposed in the chamber on various grounds. There were those who, though they wished to see the liberation of Greece established, had no desire that Russia should advance her territory further to the east; but they mistrusted the government, and feared, that if the liberal sum asked for were granted, it would be used rather to advance and strengthen ministerial power at home than to extend French influence abroad. This was the line taken by Benjamin Constant and his friends. M. Bignon, who shared the opinions and wishes of Chateaubriand, asked, if “the movement of Russia towards Asia would not be an advantage, as it would incline the Colossus to lean from Europe instead of leaning towards it, to crush it with its weight?” Besides, “the extension of the Russian empire would cause it to split into fractions; and though the possession of the Bosphorus might hurt English trade, it would in no way interfere with France.” General Sebastiani replied, that “a power half Asiatic, half European, would weigh upon Europe with all its Asiatic strength and barbarism. States had never split into fractions while they were in the

ascendant and in course of conquest—that took place during their decline; and the march to Constantinople would be no symptom of the decline of Russia. That power, master of Turkey, would have the German powers and Prussia for its servants and vassals, and all the isolated continental powers in the west would be swallowed up, as those of Greece were by Macedon, because resistance to Philip was not begun in time.”

These arguments—though directed against a power with which France was in alliance, and in conjunction with which her ships had joined in the destruction of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets in the previous October—had weight with the chamber. The vote of credit was granted; and the expedition, under general Maison, dispatched. It sailed about the middle of August, and landed in the Morea at the close of the month. Ibrahim Pasha offered no opposition; he evinced from the first a desire to be friendly, and on good terms with the “protectors” of Greece, though his aim had been to subjugate the country. Resistance was made at the castle of the Morea, which the French bombarded and took; and this was the only time shot were fired in anger. The expedition, however, procured for general Maison the field-marshal’s baton.

The budget was not brought forward till a short time before the session closed. It was presented in a new form. The expenditure was specified under its distinct branches; and the necessary regulations and accompaniments connected with the revenue and the expenditure were each made the subject of a separate law. M. Roy, the minister of finance, in his statement, startled the chambers with his estimate of the deficiencies in the revenue; which had been accumulating, he said, ever since the revolution, till, after the payment of the expenses of the current year (1828), they would amount to 200,000,000*f*. In the discussion of this subject, it appears that the parties of M. de Villèle and M. de Labourdonnaye acted together; and the leaders contended, that the real deficit was not more than 21,000,000*f*. But, though differing on this point, all the speakers agreed upon the propriety and necessity of making retrenchments, and of equalising the income and the outgoings of the state. The budget carried, the session was closed on the 18th of August; and, in commenting upon the measures which had been brought forward, and the acts of the ministers, the *Gazette de France* (which, our readers will recollect, was the favourite journal of the king) closed its article with the following stringent passage:—“If the ministry continue in the same path, there will remain little to do in the next session to consummate the re-establishment of the republic, and the erection of altars to the goddess of Reason; or, the faction may prefer to substitute, immediately, usurpation for legiti-

macy, and the reformed religion for the religion of the state.”

The session had, apparently, ended much better for M. de Martignac, than at first he had any reason to expect it would. During its progress, the peers and deputies were found to be split up into numerous parties. “There were the priestly royalists, and the Labourdonnaye ultras, who did not wish to burthen themselves with the church; there were the friends of Villèle, the followers of Chateaubriand, and the remnant of the old ministerial fraction of Richelieu and Decazes; there were the *Doctrinaires* of the ‘right centre,’ and the moderate liberals of the ‘left centre;’”* with the violent liberals—whose real aim was a republic—of whom Lafayette had again become the leader. Against all the elements of opposition—and, perhaps, with the more success, because they were so numerous—M. de Martignac had struggled. He had also the ill-concealed dislike of the king to encounter; yet he had brought the session to a conclusion without any signal defeat; whilst he had given liberty to the press, done much towards establishing freedom of election, and had banished the Jesuits. Many of his administrative measures had been popular, and none was more so than his abolition of the *Cabinet Noir*, a secret committee, of twenty members, who were charged with the examination of letters in the post-office. He also made many changes in the diplomatic, and in the various branches of the executive, services—all tending to promote the public interests, and to secure a better performance of public duties. In making most of these changes, he had frequent struggles with the king, his majesty being much influenced by the secret advice and information supplied to him by M. Franchet, who, under the Villèle ministry, had been a director of police.†

When the session was over, M. de Martignac employed himself in making more changes in the various government departments, his object being to replace the partisans of the “Congregation,” and the ultra-royalists, by the friends of a constitutional system. But his opponents were not disposed to remain quiet whilst these changes were going on. The leaders of the ultra-royalists had frequent interviews with the king, and that party and Villèle’s discovered symptoms of an approaching union. At the time, the king displayed no hostile disposition openly to the minister; but where he could quietly thwart his moderate views, he had no hesitation in doing so; whilst the court, in all its habits and connections, continued the firm ally of the *Parti-prêtre*. The post of governor of the duke of Bordeaux becoming vacant, the king conferred it on the baron Dumas, the friend of Villèle, but much more devoted to the priests than that statesman. This appointment was

* Crowe.

† Lamartine.

equally offensive to the minister and to the public, and injurious to the interests of the young duke.

By these and similar acts on the part of the king, MM. Ravez and Chataulauze were emboldened to present him with memorials on the state of public affairs, and strongly urging a reactionary, or, as they called it, a royalist policy, which they deemed essential to the interests of the church and the monarchy. Probably M. de Martignac obtained some information of what was going on in these secret intrigues, for he also addressed a memorial to his majesty, which was ably drawn up. He gave a *résumé* of the measures of the session, and pointed out others which he and his colleagues considered essential, if the good understanding between the legislature and the people was to be preserved. He urged the propriety and the necessity of conciliating the chamber, and the advantages which must accrue to the monarchy, if, by more constitutional measures, a reconciliation with the men of the "left centre" could be achieved; and concluded with a prophetic anticipation of evils which must befall the monarchy, if ultra-councils were suffered to prevail, and to overrule the advice tendered by ministers to the king.

Shortly after the session closed, the count de la Ferronais, minister of foreign affairs, was obliged to ask for temporary leave of absence, to recruit his health, which had suffered from his attention to the duties of his office. If an adequate successor could have been agreed upon, he would have gladly retired; but two parties in the ministry advocated respectively the appointment of M. Pasquier and the viscount de Chateaubriand; whilst the king wished to appoint the prince de Polignac, who was ambassador at London, and with whom his majesty is understood to have kept up a secret correspondence. To give a turn to the king's mind from these subjects, the ministers recommended, what was very agreeable to Charles, an excursion into some of the departments of the interior. Those formed out of the former province of Lorraine and Alsace were selected; and the duke d'Angoulême, with M. de Martignac, accompanied his majesty. This journey was remarkable for the manifestations of loyalty made by the people. Everywhere his majesty was received with the most joyful acclamations; the liberals being especially demonstrative—desirous, it was said, of attaching the king to their party. During the royal progress, MM. Benjamin Constant and Casimir-Perrier showed themselves at the head of the people collected to welcome the monarch, who, with his own hand, decorated Perrier with the ribbon of the legion of honour. MM. Kœchlin and d'Argenson, and other great manufacturers, also displayed their loyalty on the occasion; and it is scarcely to be wondered at, that the king returned to Paris, for the second time, deeply impressed with his personal popularity.

Notwithstanding the dislike shown by the king, M. de Martignac continued his constitutional "innovations." By two *ordonnances*, of the 5th and 12th of November, he remodelled the council of state, and distributed the members of the ordinary service into four committees. Every law, or *ordonnance*, in which the public were interested, was to be deliberated upon at a general meeting; and the *ordonnances* were to have, as a preamble, the following words:—"After hearing our council of state." Shortly after, two important commissions (appointed on the 12th of August and the 5th of October)—the first, to examine into the state of the roads and canals of France; the second, to propose any changes that might seem advantageous in the commercial *régime*—made their reports. The budget appropriated various sums for the repair of the canals and roads, and for keeping up a good communication throughout France; but the commissioners found, that much more would be required. The second commission made particular inquiries into the state of the wine, the iron, and the cotton trades. Numerous witnesses, deputed by the large towns, were examined; and there appeared to be a great strife of contending interests. The witnesses from the wine-producing departments called for a diminution of custom-house duties; the iron-masters and cotton manufacturers were for protection. The commissioners themselves appear to have been impressed with the necessity of protecting certain branches of industry; but, with that proviso, they were friendly to the freeing of the operations of commerce from all unnecessary restrictions.

When the king returned to Paris, the count de la Ferronais was still indisposed, and M. de Portalis was acting as minister of foreign affairs, *ad interim*. But he had, at the time, little to attract his attention. The troops which had occupied Cadiz since 1823, had returned home, having evacuated the port on the 21st of September; and Ibrahim Pacha had agreed to evacuate Greece. Thus the year closed tranquilly, as regarded foreign affairs; but ominously with respect to those at home, where the various parties were anxiously regarding every event, and striving which could get the better of the other—the ministry being far from established either in the confidence of the king, or in that of the country. There had been nearly fifty deputies elected during the year, to fill seats vacated by deaths or resignation. Of this number, the liberals returned four-fifths—thus placing the ministry in a worse position with the legislature than it had occupied in the last session.

With the new year (1829), the count de la Ferronais returned to his post, to reject, on the part of France, a proposal made by prince Metternich, that the four powers—France, England, Austria, and Prussia—should present a joint

remonstrance to Russia, against the encroachments that power was making in the East. The evacuation of Greece by the Egyptians was the only event in which France, in the opinion of the minister of foreign affairs, was interested; that achieved, he was willing to let Russia pursue her own course, in other directions, unchecked. Like Villèle, M. de la Ferronais wished to keep France free from any active interference abroad; and, therefore, he promptly advised, that the proposal of Austria should not be assented to. His majesty and his colleagues accepted his advice; and the count had scarcely arranged this question, when he was again obliged to retire from office. He fainted, one day, during an interview with the king, on business connected with the foreign relations. His physician announced that he must retire from public life; and it became imperative, therefore, to name his successor. The king ordered M. Portalis again to take the seals, *ad interim*, and to summon prince de Polignac from London, intending that he should take M. de la Ferronais' office. On the arrival of the prince, who was immediately made the subject of very severe diatribes by the press, the ministry refused to act with him; and said, if he was appointed, they should resign. The prince then endeavoured to form a ministry himself, but could not succeed, to his great mortification, as he had announced, in London, that he quitted the embassy to take part in the government at home. The ministers, though they would not act with prince Polignac, were not in a position which made any statesman very anxious to join them; and there was some difficulty in filling up the vacant office, with an adherent to their policy. At length, the cabinet was arranged, by M. Portalis taking the foreign portfolio, and M. Bourdeau succeeding him as minister of justice. M. de Portalis—feeling that the ministerial tenor of office could not be of very long duration—refused to accede to this arrangement, till he obtained from the king a promise of the reversion of the presidentship of the court of cassation.

The legislative session was opened on the 27th of January. Royer-Collard, Perrier, and Sebastiani, were the candidates for the presidency; and, although he had not the majority of votes, the first-named was again selected by the king. His majesty opened the session with a long speech, in which the allusion to foreign affairs was very brief. Mention was made of the war between Russia and Turkey; but peace, it was stated, would not be disturbed in the rest of Europe. With respect to domestic affairs, his majesty announced, that the project of a law for municipal and provincial government would be presented, which would give communes and departments that influence they required upon all questions affecting their interest, whilst preserv-

ing to the crown its protecting and moderating power. Alluding to some of the measures of the past year, including that affecting the press, the king said—"The emancipated press now enjoys entire liberty. If its pernicious foe, licentiousness, still shows itself under the shelter of a generous and confiding law, the public reason will justly appreciate its extravagance; and the judges, faithful to noble tradition, know their duty, and will fearlessly perform it." The speech concluded as follows:—"Experience has destroyed the *prestige* of insensate theories. France knows, as you do, on what base her prosperity and happiness repose; and those who seek them elsewhere than in the sincere union of the royal authority, with the liberties consecrated by the charter, will find themselves speedily disavowed by her to their shame."

In the vote for the president, the different fractions of the "right," in the chamber of deputies, united, as did the sections of the "centre" and the "left." The same course was pursued in the debate on the address. When that document was put to the vote, the members of the "right," finding they had no chance of altering or amending it, rose and left the assembly, thus making a decided protest against the policy of the government. There were no speeches of general interest made in that chamber; almost the only remark that attracted attention was an admission of Lafitte's, "that the position of France was better than ever it was; he saw nothing in it but satisfaction and hope." In the peers, the only speech that attracted any notoriety was prince Polignac's, which was evidently intended as a confession of political faith, made with a view to mitigate the severity with which he had been attacked. He said—"The public journals have, since my return to Paris, directed against me attacks of the most violent nature. They have been made without provocation on my part; without any foundation in truth; without even probability, or a single fact to adduce, that could furnish the authors with any reasonable motive or pretext. They have dared to hold me up to entire France as nourishing in my heart a secret repugnance to our representative institutions—institutions which have now acquired an additional title to veneration, as the king, who bestowed them, reposes in an honoured tomb. Could the authors of these calumnies penetrate into the interior of my house, they would find the best, the most decisive refutation of them. They would find me surrounded with the fruits of my constant study—all having one object and end—to consolidate and defend our institutions, and to aid in causing them to descend to our children. Yes! our institutions appear to me to reconcile all that can be required on one side by the power of the throne, and, on the other, by the just independence of the people. It is there, in entire

accordance with my conscience and my conviction, that I have taken the solemn engagement to concur in and maintain them. What right has any one now to say that I mean to recede from that engagement? What right have they to suppose that I entertain any intention of sacrificing my legitimately acquired liberties? Have they seen in me the servile adorer of power? Has my political faith wavered in the presence of danger? If it were possible to investigate the consciences and lives of my accusers, it would be found, that they bent the knee before idols, whom—more independent than them—I braved in chains, danger, and death.” He concluded with describing the press, though he had suffered from its attacks, as “a sentinel set to observe the enemy; whose every movement it should watch and give warning of, without exciting needless alarm, or firing a useless shot.” He expressed the regret he felt at witnessing the zeal with which some parties sought to misrepresent and disfigure the institutions of the country, and warmly deprecated those who “were striving to found, upon some abuses in those institutions, doctrines which could only scatter the brands of discord through the kingdom.”

The address was carried; but the speech of Polignac, to use the words of M. Lamartine, “fell like a thunderbolt on M. de Martignac,” who saw in it only an appeal to the country, which he regarded as the forerunner of his own downfall. The prince, however, after the debate, immediately left Paris, on his return to England, and the minister applied himself to the projects of law mentioned in the king’s speech, relative to the organisation of communes and departments. The first project, regulating the municipal *régime*, passed without difficulty. The second referred to the councils of arrondissements. Under the existing system, which originated in the time of the empire, those councils, municipal and provincial, were nominated by the crown or the prefect. It was now proposed that they should be of three kinds:—1. Of communes, to be chosen by the highest tax-payers—a population of 500 to have thirty councillors; 2. Councillors of districts to be chosen by the highest tax-payers of the canton, in the proportion of one councillor to every 100 persons; 3. Councillors of departments to be elected by the assemblies of districts. Functionaries, graduates, and professional “notables” were also to have votes. M. Dupin was chosen the reporter of the committee appointed to examine this project, which the liberals ought to have supported, as it considerably lessened the influence of the crown, and extended that of the people. Unfortunately, both the sections of the opposition saw before them an opportunity of defeating the ministry—an event which, it was expected, would lead to De Martignac’s resignation, when both ultra-royalists and liberals equally calculated upon being able to work their

way to the possession of office and power. The union which had existed between the “left” and the “centre,” upon the election of president, and upon the address, was dissolved; and the committee, by a different union—one of the “left,” the “left-centre,” and the “right”—agreed to a report, in which several important amendments to the ministerial project were proposed. The word “notable,” as “indicating inequality,” was struck out; and the committee recommended that there should be no district councillors; that the right of voting for the councillors of communes and of departments should be vested in those who were entitled to vote for deputies; and that the clergy and other functionaries should only vote if they paid the required amount of direct taxes—300*f.* per annum, and not by virtue of their office.

There were long discussions upon the project, and upon these amendments—M. Dupin speaking ably in support of the latter, and M. Etienne exposing the absurdity of an attempt to form an aristocracy in a country where it did not exist, or to endow men, in all respects like their brethren, with aristocratic privileges. In England, the classes of landlords and tenants, of employers and employed, were distinct, and each class was numerous. In France, the proprietors formed the great bulk of the population, and the employers and employed in other classes were insignificant in number. In fact, the country was, in every point of view, democratic, and only democratic institutions should be introduced. The ministers refused to give way on any of the points; and M. de Martignac questioned the right of the chamber thus to alter and destroy a project of law proposed by the ministry. “It was,” he said, “superseding the ministerial functions by the authority of a committee of the chamber.” When the vote was taken, on the 1st of April, the ultra-royalists kept their seats—the amendments were too liberal and democratic for them to support openly; yet they would not vote against them, as then the ministers would have had a majority. The “left” and “left-centre” numbered 124 ayes to 103 noes; and the report was thus adopted by a majority of 21. De Martignac and Portalis immediately left their seats to acquaint the king of the result, and the sitting was suspended.

The ministers found Charles X. in his closet, and announced to his majesty their defeat. “I told you how it would be, gentlemen,” said the king; “you cannot deal with these people. It is time to stop. You see where they have wished to drag me; you see where you have yourselves been dragged by your system of concessions. I have repeatedly smiled at your confidence in the chambers, with whom you will gain nothing but by acts of vigour. Return, and announce that I withdraw my laws.” Charles had been prepared for this result, and had made up his mind how

to meet it. He drew up an *ordonnance* in the presence of his ministers; which he placed in the hands of De Martignac, who, with his colleagues, returned to the Luxembourg, and the sitting was resumed. The *ordonnance* was read: it declared the project withdrawn; and the ministers immediately left their seats, undecided what further course to take. They were not prepared for the promptitude with which Charles acted; neither were the opposition. The liberal section, which had joined the ultra-royalists, felt they had gone too far: if they could have recalled the last few days, they would, to a great degree, have retraced their steps. But the bolt was shot; they could not recall it; they could only regret their precipitancy. The party of the *Camarilla* and the "Congregation" alone rejoiced, for they expected the speedy downfall of the ministry, and fancied they saw the reins of power in their grasp.

The session was prolonged till the 1st of August, but very little business was transacted in the interval. The principal law passed was one respecting the peers, securing to them a dotation for their legislative services. The budget occasioned long and angry debates. M. Roy, in bringing it forward, said, that the receipts would exceed the expenditure by 1,000,000*f.*, notwithstanding the condition of the working clergy had been improved, primary instruction encouraged, and the endowment of the peers provided for. But the expenses of the army were loudly complained of; and the war minister, in consequence of the ground taken by the opposition, had an audience of the king, to request his majesty to reduce the number of his aide-de-camps. The king was not inclined to take that step; and his conversation with M. de Caux plainly intimated, that, if he thought the army would stand by him, he was prepared to do without the chambers. Unable to obtain any concession from the king, the budget was pressed and carried; 131 deputies voting for it. The chambers were then prorogued.

From the time of the withdrawal of the municipal law, the king and his secret advisers were organising a new ministry. Prince de Polignac was recalled from London, and arrived on the 27th of July. Every night, meetings were held at the Tuileries, at which the ministerial arrangements were discussed, and appointments to the various offices made, without a word being said to M. de Martignac or his colleagues. At length, all being settled, on the 6th of August the king sent for M. Portalis, and informed him that the ministry was dismissed. The reason alleged was, that they had made concessions which, while they had not satisfied the enemies of the crown, had injured its dignity; and that it was necessary to take some decided steps to uphold the monarchy. The other ministers shortly after attended the king in his cabinet,

to deliver up their portfolios; and, on the 9th of August, the following list of the new ministry appeared in the *Moniteur*:—*Minister of Foreign Affairs*, prince de Polignac, who was considered premier; *Minister of the Interior*, M. de Labourdonnaye; *Minister of War*, M. de Bourmont; *Minister of Public Instruction*, M. de Montbel; *Minister of Justice*, M. de Courvoisier; *Minister of Finance*, M. de Chabrol; *Minister of Marine*, M. de Rigny. When the latter heard of his appointment, he refused to accept it, and M. d'Haussez was nominated in his place. The dismissed ministers received honorary marks of distinction; and five out of the seven, one of them being M. de Martignac, were further gratified with pensions of 12,000*f.* The king, however, did not keep his pledged word to M. Portalis. He had been promised the presidency of the court of cassation, which was withheld from him.

It is difficult to imagine the astonishment with which the announcement of this ministry was received, or the concentrated indignation of the liberals. It contained three names peculiarly obnoxious to that party—those of MM. de Polignac, de Labourdonnaye, and de Bourmont. The prince was amiable in disposition, and possessed of many good qualities; he was also honest and sincere; but, wedded as he was to the principles of the *Parti-prêtre*, this very honesty made him more objectionable to the opposition. The godson of the unfortunate Marie-Antoinette, he had never deviated from his royalist predilections, for which he had endured persecution and exile; and he now hoped to see them triumphant. His manners were graceful and courteous, and he could devote himself to business, as far as administrative details were concerned; but he wanted the genius of a statesman. "I never could have believed," said Chateaubriand, "that I should see M. de Polignac invested with supreme power. His limited intellect, fixed yet ardent; his fatal and unpopular name; his religious opinions, strained to enthusiasm—were sufficient causes for his eternal exclusion."—M. de Labourdonnaye—a Vendean deputy of 1815—was considered as embodying in himself all the violent and objectionable principles of the unpopular chamber of that year. He was more deficient in political talent than even De Polignac; and, though he was an impressive speaker, and figured very well at the tribune, it was soon found that, in the cabinet, he was worse than useless.—De Bourmont, a gallant officer, whose bravery had won him great distinction and deserved honour in the Vendean war, had sullied his character by his treachery previous to the battle of Waterloo. A more unfortunate appointment to the important office of war minister, than that of an officer who, at a moment of great peril to the chief he served, had deserted his colours, could not well be imagined.—The other members of the cabinet were less objectionable than these

three; but regarded as the inaugurators of a violent reactionary policy, the entire ministry was more decidedly unpopular than any that had held power since the Restoration.

The opposition did not wait for the acts of the new cabinet. Its members were condemned before they had scarcely entered upon the duties of their offices. Besides the papers we have already mentioned, as devoted to the liberals and the *Doctrinaires*, MM. Thiers, Mignet, and Carrel established the *National*, which soon rivalled the reputation of the *Débats*. The latter journal—now again in opposition, the men from whom it received the subvention being displaced—was vehement in its attacks on the prince de Polignac and his colleagues. An article which appeared in that paper as soon as the ministers were announced, after giving their names, contained the following tirade:—"Coblentz, Waterloo, 1815: the emigration in M. de Polignac; desertion to the enemy in M. de Bourmont; the fury of proscription in M. de Labourdonnaye: such are the three principles in the three leading personages of the administration. Press upon it. Nothing but humiliation, misfortune, and danger, will drive it from power. Unhappy France! Unhappy king!" The activity of societies was also called in to aid that of the press. The old central committee of Paris, with Lafayette at its head, recommenced its sittings, and reorganised its connection with the departments. The new society, *Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera*, also established corresponding committees in the interior; and, as it was believed that the government meant so far to violate the charter as to dispense with the chambers, other societies were formed, to procure a general resistance to the payment of taxes, in the event of such a step being taken.

In the autumn, Lafayette, with a view to give additional fervour to the popular feeling, made an excursion to the south, where he was hailed with enthusiasm; his every move being a triumph. "At Grenoble he was escorted by a cavalcade; at Vizille, he was presented with a silver crown; at Lyons, his reception was still more enthusiastic." There, on entering the city in an open chariot drawn by four white horses, he was met by the municipality and the inhabitants, whom he addressed rather as if he were a foreign prince, than one of the people like themselves. After a few complimentary words, gracefully delivered, he continued—"To-day, after a long diversion of brilliant despotism, which has almost extinguished constitutional hopes, I find myself in the midst of you, at a moment which I should call critical, had I not perceived everywhere on my journey—and if I did not see in this great and powerful city—the calm, and even disdainful firmness of a great people, which knows its rights, feels its strength, and will be faithful to its duties. It is, above all, at this very moment that I love to express to you a

devotion, to which your appeal will never, to my latest hour, be made in vain." After his address, he was escorted to the hôtel of the municipality; and all Lyons appeared ready to take any step which he might have indicated. Such was the impression made by the accounts received in Paris of the popularity of M. de Lafayette, that it was proposed in the cabinet, that the king should make a tour in Normandy, in the hope of eliciting some demonstrations of loyalty, to counteract the effects of those made in behalf of the leader of the opposition. Inquiry into the state of public opinion, and the fear that the presence of Charles would produce a different effect from that wished for, caused this proposal to be abandoned.

The first administrative measures of the new ministry do not appear to have been of a nature to excite alarm, or to call forth opposition; but a difference soon arose amongst the ministers themselves. Under the Martignac administration, the presidency of the council (which was considered to give the holder the same rank as the post of first lord of the treasury confers in England) had been suppressed. Prince de Polignac was desirous of re-establishing it. He considered that its suppression obstructed the march and the unity of government; and urged its revival upon his colleagues—especially upon Labourdonnaye. He particularly enforced the advantage of having, not a chief, but a central point, from which a homogeneous impulse might be given to all parts of the administration. The prince pressed M. Labourdonnaye to accept the office; but he refused, and said, if a president of the council were appointed, he should resign. The other ministers fell in with the views of De Polignac; and one day, in his absence, M. Courvoisier proposed that the presidency of the council should be re-established. His colleagues (Labourdonnaye excepted) all agreed; and that minister immediately carried his resignation to the king. His majesty accepted it, confirmed the decision of the cabinet, and, by an *ordonnance* of the 17th of November, named De Polignac president of the council; transferred M. Montbel from the ministry of public instruction to that of the interior, vacated by the resignation of Labourdonnaye; and appointed count Guernon de Ranville successor to M. Montbel. The new minister was a young magistrate, who had distinguished himself as procureur-general at Limoges, Grenoble, and Lyons. He had no wish for office, but accepted it, "when doing so was an act of devotedness, and a refusal might appear to be one of cowardice."*

M. Guernon de Ranville, as soon as he entered upon office, employed himself assiduously in promoting primary education; whilst his

* Lamartine; and letter from prince de Polignac, in his *Etudes*.

colleagues were endeavouring to abate the licentiousness of the press, not only through the medium of their own journals, but by selecting one of the most daring of the opposition journalists for prosecution. This was M. Bertin, editor of the *Journal des Débats*; who, in an article in that paper, contended, that "the bond of confidence which united the people and the monarch, was once more broken;" and that "the court, with its old rancours, the emigration with its prejudices, and the priesthood, with its hatred of liberty," had again "come to throw themselves between France and the king. All that the country had acquired by forty years of labour and misfortune, was to be taken from it. The attempt was made to force upon it whatever it rejected with all the energy of its will." Moderation, the glory of the reign of Charles X., was described as "no longer possible;" for the new ministers could "not be moderate, even if they desired to be so." They would "have to seek support in the power of bayonets but bayonets, in those days, were intelligent; they knew and respected the law;" and if ministers attempted to tear the charter, they would find it "had a solid foundation, on which despotism would go to pieces." It was suspected, continued the journalist, that ministers meant to impose taxes without the charter: "but the people, who paid ten hundred millions to the law, would not pay two to the *ordonnance* of a minister. Illegal taxes would raise up a Hampden to break them."—For

this article M. Bertin was arraigned before the *Cour Royale*: he defended himself—was acquitted by the judges; and greater boldness on the part of the press, with more discontent on that of the people, was the result.

Thus closed the year 1829, with France in a state of great prosperity, as regarded trade and industry; but with disaffection to the government, working to the very heart of society. There was calm on the surface; but the careful observer saw that all below was turbulence. And how to repress it? On that question the cabinet was divided. Some were for prompt and violent measures—a *coup-d'état*: which others—amongst them the new minister of public instruction—opposed. In a memoir to the president of the council, M. Guernon de Ranville urged the inutility and danger of such a step, even if it succeeded. "But," he said, "it will not be successful. I admit that the masses are tranquil, and take no part in political quarrels; but how little would suffice to rouse them! Does not the middle class communicate with and teach the lower on a thousand points, so as to be able, at need, to raise up a tempest, of which the boldest cannot foresee the issue." Perhaps in consequence of these representations, it was resolved to take no steps for the present, but to await the meeting of the chambers—an event, however, which neither ministers nor king showed any desire to hasten; having no reliance upon receiving much support from that quarter.

CHAPTER XII.

NEW-YEAR'S DAY, 1830; PRINCE POLIGNAC'S MEMOIR; MM. GUIZOT AND BERRYER; OPENING OF THE SESSION; THE KING'S SPEECH; THE ADDRESS; PROROGATION OF THE CHAMBERS; DISMISSAL OF EMPLOYES; DISPLAY OF PUBLIC FEELING; THE EXPEDITION TO ALGIERS; MINISTERIAL POLICY; REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF FINANCE; DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER; THE ELECTIONS; SUCCESS OF THE ALGERINE EXPEDITION; THE ORDONNANCES OF JULY; REVOLUTION OF JULY; CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE ARMY; ABDICATION OF CHARLES X.; THE DUKE OF ORLEANS ACCEPTS THE CROWN; CHARLES RETIRES TO ENGLAND.

THE year 1830 opened brightly. New-year's day was observed in the usual manner by all the public officers, and the *corps diplomatique*, presenting themselves at the Tuileries. When the judges passed before the throne, they experienced the consequences of having acquitted M. Bertin. The king frowned upon them, and warned them not to forget their duties for the future; and the duchess d'Angoulême, when they approached her, told them harshly, "to move on." They left the palace disgusted, and repaired to the Palais Royal. There they were most graciously received by the duke of Orleans; and, no doubt, the contrast between the two receptions found a place in their memory.

The month of January passed without anything material occurring to indicate what would be the permanent direction of either ministerial policy or of public opinion. In February, however, a memoir on the state of the country was submitted to the king by prince de Polignac, and that pretty clearly indicated the line which the government was prepared to take. The president of the council drew a favourable picture of the material state of the kingdom; and then, alluding to the distrust which prevailed in many quarters, he disclaimed any intention on the part of ministers to overturn the institutions of the country, though "a concurrence of unforeseen circumstances, and events which no human

prudence could avert, might render some deviations from them unavoidable." The chief cause of the existing difficulties was attributed to the "license of the public press, and the bad spirit which pervaded a part of the electoral body," instigated by the directing committee of the metropolis, and the electoral committees of the departments; who "exercised a permanent inquisition over the electoral lists," using "every effort to get enrolled all of democratic, and to exclude such as were suspected of entertaining royalist principles." Rich merchants and manufacturers, attorneys, notaries, and legal men cut of office, were described as exercising a powerful control over the voters; and "the representation had thus become entirely subjected to external influences of the most dangerous kind." The president of the council admitted, that "an alarming agitation undoubtedly prevailed in the public mind;" but "the mass of the people were entire strangers to it. They remained in that state of impassibility which excluded alike applause or murmuring. Everywhere, in the country as in the town, those masses were occupied only with their material prosperity. All interests found a sufficient guarantee in the institutions accorded by the crown; they connected with them speculations for the present, and projects for the future: the overthrow of the order of things established by the Restoration, would overturn all means of existence to the great majority; and, despite the declamations of the journals, no one seriously regarded as possible the accomplishment of their sinister predictions."—"For the ministers, they could do nothing but remove all cause of discontent or fear for the future, by causing the agitation excited by the press and the committees to be deprived of any real foundation."

In the same month two elections took place to supply vacancies for the communes of Lisieux and Pont-l'Evêque, and the Higher Loire. The candidates returned were M. Guizot and M. Berryer, two remarkable men, whose names will frequently occur in the future history. The former has already been mentioned, as he was several times connected with the administration, after his mission to Louis XVIII. at Ghent, in 1815. He was the son of an advocate at Nîmes, where he was born, in October, 1787. He was educated at Geneva, and went to Paris during the time of the empire, where he commenced his literary career as conductor of *The Publicist*, a magazine belonging to, and edited by, a lady—mademoiselle Pauline de Meulan, whose ill health at the time of Guizot's arrival in Paris, rendered her glad of his assistance. In 1812 that lady became his wife, and in the same year he obtained the chair of modern history in the university of Paris. As a politician, he was a *Doctrinaire*.—M. Berryer, who was a member of the Society of Advocates, and had acquired great fame by his defence of

Ney, was bred a legitimist, and always evinced himself a sincere, able, and zealous advocate of that party. He is, therefore, entitled to our respect, whatever we may think of the principles and the party he espoused.

The chambers opened on the 2nd of March. The ceremony took place, with more than usual pomp and ceremony, in the great room of the Louvre—all the members of the royal family and the *corps diplomatique* being present. The king, when he entered, in passing on to the throne, dropped his hat; the duke of Orleans instantly rose, picked it from the ground, and presented it to his majesty, on bended knee. Before many months elapsed, the situation of the two royal personages presented very different aspects.—When the king had taken his seat on the throne, and the peers and deputies had approached, he addressed to them his last speech. It commenced with an allusion to the foreign relations of France, which was, at that time, at peace and amity with all powers, Algiers excepted: that barbarous state had offered insults to the French flag, for which adequate reparation would be exacted. The finances were represented as in a prosperous state, which would enable him to gratify his desire of alleviating the burthens that pressed upon his people. "The first wish of my heart," said his majesty, "is to see France happy and respected—developing all the riches of its territory, and its cultivation; and enjoying in peace the benefits of those institutions which it is my firm determination to maintain. The charter has placed the public liberties and the rights of the crown under the same safeguard. Those duties are sacred; and my duty is to transmit them uninjured to my descendants. Peers of France—deputies of departments," continued his majesty, "I do not doubt of your support and concurrence in effecting the good which it is my object to accomplish. You will reject with disdain the perfidious insinuations which malevolence seeks to propagate. If guilty machinations should raise obstacles to my government—which I cannot, or rather, which I will not, anticipate—I shall find means to overcome them in my resolution to maintain the public peace, in my just confidence in the French people, and in the love which they have always shown to their king."

"This speech, pronounced with a firm voice, was heard with general satisfaction, up to the last paragraph; that caused, in the greater part of the assembly, a movement of surprise, of stupefaction, and discontent, which was perceptible in the midst of acclamations usual on such occasions."* So writes the contemporary historian. That paragraph confirmed the liberals and *Doctrinaires*, if they wanted anything to do so, in their resolution to adopt a determined, prearranged opposition to the ministry; and it afforded ample

* *Annuaire Historique*, 1830.

topics for invectives in the press. The opposition in the deputies made their first demonstration in the choice of president. The two ministerial candidates, MM. de Berbes and Delatot, had, respectively, 131 and 125 votes. M. Royer-Collard had 225; Casimir-Perrier, 190; and general Sebastiani, 177. The king chose Royer-Collard. The next business was the address. A committee was appointed to prepare it. M. Etienne, editor of the *Constitutionnel*, and M. Guizot, were members; and those deputies had the greatest share in drawing up the document which produced such serious results. It was long, and somewhat verbose: the paragraphs which referred to the passages in the royal speech, considered so objectionable by the opposition, were, however, forcibly worded. They were as follows. We take M. Guizot's version.*

"Sire,—In the midst of these unanimous sentiments of respect and affection with which your people surround you, there has become manifest in the general mind a feeling of inquietude, which disturbs the security France had begun to enjoy, affects the source of her prosperity, and might, if prolonged, prove fatal to her repose. Our conscience, our honour, the fidelity we have pledged, and which we shall ever maintain, impose on us the duty of unveiling to you the cause. Sire, the charter which we owe to the wisdom of your august predecessor, and the benefits of which your majesty has shown a firm determination to consolidate, consecrate, as a right, the intervention of the country in the deliberation of public interests. This intervention ought to be, and is, in fact, indirect, wisely regulated, circumscribed within limits minutely defined, and which we shall never suffer any one to exceed. But it is, also, positive in its result; for it establishes a permanent concurrence between the political views of your government and the wishes of your people, as an indispensable condition of the regular progress of public affairs. Sire, our loyalty and devotion compel us to declare, that this concurrence does not exist. An unjust suspicion of the sentiments and ideas of France forms the fundamental conviction of the present ministry. Your people look on this with sorrow, as injurious to the government itself; and with uneasiness, as it appears to menace public liberty. This suspicion could find no entrance in your own noble heart. No, sire: *'France is not more desirous of anarchy than you are of despotism.'*† She is worthy your having faith in her loyalty, as she relies implicitly on your promises. Between those who misrepresent a nation so calm and loyal, and we, who, with a deep conviction, deposit in your bosom the complaints of an entire people, jealous of the esteem and confidence of their king, let the

exalted wisdom of your majesty decide! Your royal prerogatives have placed in your hands the means of establishing between the authorities of the state that constitutional harmony, the first and most essential condition for the security of the throne, and the greatness of the country."

The committee employed five days in considering this address. During that time the peers had agreed to theirs, and it had been presented to the king. That document has been described as servile. It did not deserve that character, although it wanted the force and energy of the address prepared by MM. Etienne and Guizot. "It recommended respect for institutions and national liberties; protested equally against despotism and anarchy;" stated the belief of the peers that the people were as little likely to be guilty of one as the king was of the other, but expressed no dissatisfaction with the ministers—no disapprobation of their policy. "Had the chamber of peers spoken out more distinctly, it might have arrested the king on the brink of the abyss, and have prevented the decrees," was the remark of M. Royer-Collard, at a subsequent period. As, however, the peers did not speak out boldly, "the whole weight of the situation fell on the chamber of deputies." The debate in that chamber was brief. Two ministers, MM. de Montbel and d'Haussez, took part in it; but the only two speeches of note were those of M. Berryer against, and M. Guizot in support of, the passage we have quoted. The principle that passage really involved was, whether the chamber of deputies should, as the House of Commons does in England, exercise an effective control over the ministry, by rendering it necessary for the sovereign to dismiss any administration against which that house records a vote of "no confidence." M. Berryer defined the formation of a ministry to be, "an act emanating from the royal will; the sole act of the executive power, which could not be the object of any responsibility; which was clearly a discharge of the king's duty, and within his prerogative."—"If," he said, "the ministers of the crown inspire distrust—if the deputies are informed of their secret projects—let them remain at their posts, watch over those projects, and thwart them. What does it signify, when the rights of the crown are invaded—when the king is outraged—that your address is filled with protestations of devotion, of respect, and of love? What signifies it that you say—'the rights of the king are sacred,' if at the same time you control him in the exercise of the powers you have entrusted to him? What effect can such a sad contrast have, but to recall the mind to times of fatal memory—to remind us by what steps an unhappy king was conducted, in the midst of protestations of fidelity and love, to exchange, for the palm of martyrdom, the sceptre he had let fall from his hand?"—

* *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

† The words in *italic* were quoted from the peers' address.

"Have you any right to compel the king to dismiss his ministers? Do you not see that such a pretension menaces our whole institutions? If it be conceded, what becomes of the 13th and 14th articles of the charter? Where is the independence of the executive power? What will remain of the royal authority? The king will not consent to the concession now demanded. He cannot consent to it, because his rights are sacred—because he is bound to transmit them intact to his successors—because he has sworn to maintain our institutions; and he will abide by his oath."

M. Guizot, besides some remarks on the general policy of ministers, which he denounced, thus alluded to the real question involved in the address—the controlling power of the chamber:—"The fact is, that in the midst of universal protestations of devotion and fidelity, there exists a vague disquietude, which disturbs the security of the country; and that disquietude proceeds from the distrust which the country entertains of the present ministry, and the reciprocal distrust which the ministers entertain of the country. The fact is notorious; no one can deny it; it strikes every mind. So strong is this distrust on the part of the ministers of the crown, that it has even entered into the speech which they have composed for the king. Reciprocally, the country has no confidence in the ministers; and it is of the nature of such feelings naturally to inflame each other. It is impossible to conceal, in vain to disguise, the fact, that there is no sympathy whatever between the ministers of the crown and the country. But we are living under a constitutional monarchy, of which it is an indispensable condition that a concurrence should subsist between the king and a majority in both chambers. It is in vain to say that our attempts to restore such a concurrence are an invasion of the royal prerogative—a stripping the king of his legitimate power. Such is neither the language nor the object of the address. No attempt is made in it to dictate to the king what should be done. The existence of the evil is only indicated, leaving it to his majesty to apply the remedy which his wisdom may dictate. But when the ministers of the crown have spoken, in the speech from the throne, of *force*, it is surely permitted to the chamber to allude to the *law*."

M. Lorgèril moved, as an amendment to the address, to substitute the following for the passages we have quoted:—"Nevertheless, our honour, our conscience, the fidelity which we have sworn, and which we will always preserve, impose upon us the duty of making known to your majesty, that, in the midst of the unanimous sentiments of respect and affection which your people entertain for your majesty, a lively inquietude has manifested itself as the consequence of the changes which followed the last session. It is for the great wisdom of your majesty to

appreciate and to bring forward the remedy which they believe to be suitable. The prerogatives of the crown place in your august hands the means of securing that constitutional harmony which is necessary for the strength of the crown and the happiness of France."

The division was taken upon this amendment on the evening of the 16th of March. The numbers were, 181 ayes, and 221 noes; the entire left-centre, led by M. Agier, having joined the opposition. The 221 then adopted the address, which the *Quotidienne* of the next morning called "the first manifesto of the revolution of 1830." The 17th was the day for the regular meeting of the council, under the presidency of the king. At that meeting, the ministers, in a body, declared their willingness to resign. The king refused to permit them to take that step, which would be tantamount to an abdication; besides, what ministry, said his majesty, could govern with such a chamber? The question was not readily settled; three of the ministers, MM. de Polignac, Chabrol, and Courvoisier, were for modifying the ministry, by the admission of some members of the "left;" but the king was firm—obstinate would, perhaps, be the better term. Finally, it was resolved that the address should be received, a proper reply made, and the chambers adjourned.—The 18th was fixed as the day for receiving the address; and it was arranged that his majesty should be surrounded by all his court. On that day the deputation, twenty-five in number, were joined by twenty-one other deputies; and, with M. Royer-Collard at their head, they repaired to the Tuileries. When they arrived, the king was at mass; and they were detained in the *Salon de la Paix* till his majesty returned, being exposed, during the delay, to the scarcely concealed rudeness of the pages and other members of the royal establishment, who passed through the hall, or were amusing themselves in its recesses. Shortly after the sovereign had finished his devotions, the deputies were ushered into the *Salon de la Trône*, where they found Charles sitting in all the dignity of royalty, but displaying neither haughtiness nor ill-humour. M. Royer-Collard read the address, rather as if he were ashamed than proud of his position—both his voice and features betraying considerable emotion. When he had concluded, the king replied, with much dignity:—"Gentlemen, I have heard the address which you have presented to me in the name of the chamber of deputies. I had a right to reckon on the concurrence of both chambers to carry out the good I meditated. My heart is grieved to hear, from the deputies of departments, that such concurrence is not to be looked for. I have announced my resolution in my speech at the opening of the session. That resolution is unchangeable; the interests of my people forbid me to depart from it. My ministers will make

known to you my intentions."—The next day those intentions were partially announced: an *ordonnance* appeared, proroguing the chambers till the 3rd of September.

The prorogation of the chambers was followed by the dismissal from their posts of all the *employés* who were found amongst the 221. This step led several distinguished men—diplomats and others—to resign their offices, under the conviction that the charter was to be violated or dispensed with: amongst them, De Chateaubriand threw up his post as ambassador at Rome. The ministers had some difficulty in finding men to fill the vacant places. M. Marcellus, who had been *chargé d'affaires* at London, refused the post of under-secretary to prince de Polignac. M. de Lamartine also refused to join the ministry. He tells us, that the "*direction des affaires étrangères*" was offered to him. He begged to be excused accepting it, on account of his youth and inexperience. "Ah, well," replied the prince, with kindness, but in a reproachful tone, "you are of the number of those who calumniate me, by accusing me of wishing to reverse the institutions which sustain at once the throne and liberty." Lamartine replied—"No, my prince, I do not believe that the idea of a *coup-d'état* has entered your thoughts; but I believe that such a fatality is inevitable, from the position which the king and the ministers hold with regard to the country." The conversation continued for two hours, the prince protesting, with an energy evidently sincere, that he had no thought of attempting to subvert the charter; and continued to urge Lamartine to join him, but in vain. The member of an old royalist family, who thus declined office "on account of his youth," was in his fortieth year; had acquired great celebrity by his literary talents; had held several diplomatic appointments; and was destined to be still more distinguished in after years.

The king's speech, the prorogation of the chambers, and the dismissal of the officials, were of course fruitful themes for the opposition press, both in Paris and the departments. The journals of the metropolis urged the electors throughout the country, to receive the deputies who formed part of the majority with every honour, on their return to the places they represented; and, in Paris, a public dinner was given, on the 1st of April, to the metropolitan representatives. It was attended by between 600 and 700 electors; Odillon Barrot presided, and the most determined spirit was evinced. The chairman, in thanking the deputies for the firmness they had displayed in the defence of the public liberties, assured them that, "should the law be attacked, the courage of the citizens would not fail in defending them." Some of the ministers were not insensible to these displays of public feeling, and apprehended a fatal result. M. Courvoisier was

one of them. In a conversation with M. Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador, the state of the country, and the dangers that threatened the throne, were discussed. The ambassador appeared to be deeply impressed with the threatening aspect of affairs, and anxiously inquired what means there were of opening the eyes of the king, and of detaching him from a system which might again lead to renewed hostilities in Europe and France? Courvoisier replied, that he saw but one way; and that was, a warning letter from the emperor of Russia. "He shall write it—he shall write it from Warsaw, where he is just going," was the reply of the ambassador. The substance of the letter was arranged between the minister and the ambassador before they parted; the latter declaring then, as he did on other occasions, that the emperor Nicholas saw no security for the Bourbons but in the fulfilment of the charter.* Whether Nicholas did write to Charles is not known; but the former declared to the duke de Montemart, the French ambassador at St. Petersburg, his disapproval of the reactionary policy of the king and his ministers. "If they deviate from the charter," said his imperial majesty, "they will lead direct to a catastrophe; if the king attempts a *coup-d'état*, the responsibility will fall on himself alone." The duke of Wellington, at that time the English ambassador at Paris, entertained and expressed similar opinions to those held by the czar. His grace wished the French monarch to recall Villèle to his councils; but all prudent advice was unavailing, when met by the opposing influence of those to whom Charles, unfortunately for himself, had given up the guidance of his conscience, and whom he permitted to be the dictators of his acts.

Fortunately for them, as the ministers thought, there was a quarrel upon their hands, which promised to give excitement to the military spirit of the French people, and would, it was hoped, divert their attention from home affairs. The dey of Algiers was the sovereign with whom the differences had arisen; and there appeared no prospect of settling them, except by war. These differences were not of a recent growth, though their culminating point was a slight blow given by the dey to the French consul in 1827. There had been serious matters of dispute for the last thirteen years. In the 15th century, the French had acquired possessions on the north coast of Africa, which they lost in the wars of the revolution, but purchased them back in 1817. The sum paid, though large, did not satisfy the dey, and was the source of repeated complaints. Then the French government insisted, that not only vessels bearing their flag, but those of the papal states, should be free from all molestation by the Algerine corsairs. This was another cause of disagreement. A third arose out of demands made by Algerine dealers, for the repayment of

* Letter from M. Courvoisier to M. Guizot.



Alphonse De Lamartine

Lamartine

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certain sums expended in furnishing provisions to French merchants for the supply of the French army, under the consulate and the empire. It was in July, 1827, that the dey, irritated by the language and manner of the French consul, when enforcing the views of his government with respect to the national vessels, and complaining of some insults offered to the French flag, first adverted to the unsettled demand upon the French merchants of 2,000,000*fr.*, for corn and provisions, and then struck the official with the fan which he carried in his hand for the purpose of keeping off from his person the insects with which the air in Africa is so frequently filled. This was followed, after the battle of Navarino, by a blockade of the port of Algiers, which led to nothing. In 1829, a vessel was sent to that port with a flag of truce, to reopen amicable negotiations; but it was fired upon; and no means appeared left to adjust the differences, and secure respect to the French flag, except by force. At first, prince de Polignac conceived the idea of enlisting Mehemet Ali in the service of France, and sending him to Algiers, as lieutenant of the French monarch, to drive out the dey. But his colleagues opposed this measure, as did the ambassadors of foreign powers. The sultan also protested against it.* It was then resolved to dispatch a French expedition to Algiers, for the purpose of obtaining atonement for past insults, and to secure, for the future, respect to the French flag and to French officials.

The month of April was occupied in the military and naval preparations, which excited the attention of the allies of France; and most of them demanded explanations as to the intentions of the government. The demands pressed most energetically were those of England. They were not promptly replied to; but, after some delay, prince de Polignac assured the duke of Wellington, that France was merely following the example set by England, which, in 1816, had sent an expedition against Algiers, to demand reparation for injuries. This was all that the government of Charles X. contemplated: there was no intention of making any permanent settlement on the African coast, though it might be necessary to substitute some other government for the piratical regency; but that would not be done without an understanding with the other powers. The earl of Albemarle, at that time the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, was satisfied with this explanation, which was probably true at the time, though the intentions of the government afterwards changed. The result of the colonization of Algeria by the French, however, shows, that all the apprehensions entertained of such a step being injurious to English or to European interests, were without foundation.

The French preparations were carried on at

* This project of the French minister is recorded by himself, in his *Etudes*.

Toulon, Brest, Havre, and Cherbourg. Neither admirals nor generals were disposed to forward them, as most of those officers would fain not have taken part in any expedition planned by the existing government. The war minister, M. de Bourmont, however, pushed them on vigorously; and he solicited, and obtained from the king, the supreme command, being anxious at once to retrieve his own military reputation, which his conduct in 1815 had tarnished; and, by the success of the French arms, to divert the attention of the French people from the domestic policy of the government; the king and the majority of his ministers being still deaf to all remonstrance, and resolved to maintain the royal prerogative against what they deemed the revolutionary demands of the deputies. The duke d'Angoulême went to Toulon, to superintend the preparations at that port; and there the land and sea forces from the other three ports were collected. By the 3rd of May, these forces were ready to depart. The army, in three divisions, comprised 37,500 men, more than 4,000 horses, with 180 guns, the greater part of heavy calibre. The fleet consisted of 11 sail of the line, 23 frigates, 70 smaller vessels, 377 transports, and 230 boats for landing troops. By the 11th of May, the embarkation was completed; and the expedition sailed, amidst the cheering of thousands of spectators. The duke d'Angoulême then returned to Paris, highly satisfied with the troops, who appeared to be animated with the best spirit; and his royal highness expressed his conviction that, "with such an army, all was safe."

De Polignac, who took the office of war minister, *ad interim*, during the month of April, while De Bourmont was hastening and superintending the preparation of the expedition, was endeavouring to enlist partisans, and to organise the plans resolved upon by the court and the *Camarilla*, which still existed. As the liberal journals continued very violent in their attacks on the government, the *National*, the *Globe*, the *Nouveau Journal de Paris*, and the *Journal du Commerce* were prosecuted, convicted, and the proprietors and editors punished with considerable severity. To counteract the tendency of the articles in the opposition press, the *Moniteur* was at first instructed to disavow, on the part of the government, any intention to resort to those violent measures attributed to them by the liberals. As time passed, however, the ultra-royalist press became more bold; and, on the 29th of April, the following ominous article appeared in the *Quotidienne*:—"The king is the instrument, on earth, of that eternal sovereignty which is in the hands of God, in heaven. The king is *His* minister, for the conservation of society. In virtue of this right, anterior to all law, the king makes war and peace; and, in virtue of the same right, he also makes *ordonnances* for the safety of

the state. What people call *coups-d'état*, are something both usual and regular, when the king orders them in the general interest of his people, even though he go, in appearance, against the laws." To this, the *Temps*, the journal of the left-centre, replied, that any *coup-d'état* would be met by passive, not active, resistance—by a general refusal to pay taxes; by a struggle, not between the people and the army, but one between the tax-payers and the revenue officers.

Prince Polignac having arranged his plans, resolved, on the arrival of the duke d'Angoulême with the account of the excellent spirits of the army, immediately to carry them out. The dissolution of the chamber of deputies was to be the first step; others to depend upon the result of the elections. Before, however, the decree of dissolution appeared, a report on the state of the kingdom, upon which the minister of finance had been for some time engaged, was published. This report, which appeared on the 15th of May, was intended to show that France had made great progress under the government of the Restoration; and it was expected that it would have a considerable effect on the voters. The statistics collected in the document were certainly indicative of progress to no inconsiderable extent. The following figures, for instance, show the increase of population, and the value of house property, in the previous ten years:—

	Pop.	No. of Houses.	Average Rent.	Entire Value.
1821 . .	30,304,340	5,886,727	49½f. per house	303,832,734f.
1830 . .	31,657,429	6,396,008	66f. "	384,008,125f.

The increase of dwellings had taken place alike in town and country; and the minister pointed out the augmented value of house property, as "the evident consequence of the increase of population, of the general well-being of society, and of the numerous buildings which, since 1820, had been constructed on all points of the territory."—The receipts from direct taxation had increased more than it was estimated would be the case, from the new imposts which were laid upon property; and the indirect taxes, without any new ones being imposed, had risen from 163,000,000f., to 212,000,000f. The entire revenue, in 1829, was 1,030,782,656f. (£41,232,306); the expenditure, 1,026,617,152f. (£41,064,686.) This expenditure, as there was a large army of 200,000 men to maintain, and the interest of the national debt (3,949,553,337f., or £157,982,133) to pay, was not considered excessive; and the entire state of the revenue was pointed out, as indicating, "in the clearest manner, the general well-being and prosperity of the country."—The agricultural produce of the kingdom had risen to the annual value of 945,353,962f.; and the imports, exports, and shipping had increased very considerably, as shown by the following figures:—

	Imports.	Exports.	Tonnage.
1822	426,179,193f.	385,168,711f.	1,351,681, out and in.
1829	638,338,433f.	574,664,064f.	1,638,593 do.

It has been considered "remarkable," that discontent appeared to keep pace with prosperity; and that "the classes among whom the discontent was the greatest, were the very ones which had been most benefited by the government of the Bourbons." But we do not consider it strange, that, as men improved in material wealth, and found their intellectual powers developed by the fresh facilities for acquiring knowledge—which, though very inferior in France to those presented to all classes in England, are infinitely superior to those which existed in the last, and the early part of the present, century—that they should also wish to enjoy personal liberty, and not be the mere slaves and serfs of a bigoted king, influenced by a priesthood which has always created discontent and disaffection wherever it obtained influence. Charles X. had many excellent personal qualities; so had his minister; but all were borne down and overpowered by that Jesuitical influence which, though the Jesuits were obliged to leave France, and settle beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, never ceased to control the councils of the last king of the elder race of the Bourbons.

The day after the report of M. de Chabrol appeared, on the 16th of May, an *ordonnance* was published, dissolving the chamber of deputies; ordering the colleges of departments to meet on the 23rd of June—those of arrondissements on the 6th of July; and the chamber to assemble on the 3rd of August. The appearance of the *ordonnance* was the cause of a modification of the ministry. As soon as the step was taken beyond recall, MM. de Chabrol, de Courvoisier, and Guernon de Ranville, brought the subject before the council, with the view of ascertaining what would be the next measure, should the elections prove unfavourable. It was admitted by M. de Polignac, that, in such a case, the king would, under the authority of the 14th article of the charter, issue such additional *ordonnances* as might be necessary to meet the evil. The three ministers considered that the article did not sanction such a course, which they deemed a violation of the charter; and they resigned. M. de Montbel also wished to retire from office; but the personal entreaties of the king prevailed upon him to remain: those of prince de Polignac had the same effect upon Guernon de Ranville. As the keeper of the seals and the minister of finance could not be prevailed upon to retain their offices, M. Chantelauze, president of the royal court of Grenoble, was appointed to succeed M. de Courvoisier; and M. de Montbel was removed from the ministry of the interior to that of finance. The office vacated by M. de Montbel was conferred on M. de Peyronnet.

The ministers left no means untried to influence the elections. Circulars were sent,

from the office of the minister of the interior, to the prefects, calling upon them to notice, and report upon, the conduct of all public functionaries. A royal proclamation was also issued to the electors, signed by the king, and countersigned by Polignac, as president of the council; which was an unconstitutional act, though not without precedent; Louis XVIII. having adopted the same course. It was a well-worded document, and calculated to have effect upon those who did not consider the real tendency of the ministerial policy. "The last chamber of deputies," said the king, "mistook my intentions. I had a right to reckon upon its support for the good that I meditated. It refused me that support. As father of my people, my heart was afflicted. As king, I was offended; and I pronounced its dissolution. Your prosperity, Frenchmen, constitutes my glory; your happiness is mine. As the electoral colleges open, you will listen to the voice of your king. It shall ever be the aim of my efforts to maintain the constitutional charter, and the institutions founded upon it; but to accomplish this, I must freely exercise, and cause to be respected, the sacred rights which are the appanage of my crown. In this consist the guarantee of your liberties and of public tranquillity. The nature of the government would be changed, if culpable efforts should weaken my prerogatives; and I should betray my oath were I to suffer it. Under the protection of this government, France has become flourishing and free. She owes to it her franchises, her credit, and her industry. France has no need to envy other countries, and need only to aspire to retain the advantages she has. Be assured of your rights. I connect them with mine, and will protect them with equal solicitude. Do not be led away by the insidious language of the enemies of your repose; but repel unworthy suspicions, and false fears, which shake the public confidence, and may occasion serious disorders. The aim of those who propagate such fears will be baffled by my unchangeable resolution. Your security and your interest will not be more compromised than your liberties. I watch over the one as over the other. Electors, hasten to your colleges, and do not absent yourselves. Let the same sentiments animate you—the same flag direct: your king demands it. I will fulfil my duties: do you accomplish yours."

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the ministers, they found that public opinion was running against them. The first elections for the departments were so decidedly adverse, that the remainder were postponed, by a royal decree, from the 24th of June to the 12th of July. The same results in the returns for the arrondissements on the 3rd, led to an adjournment of those elections, also, to the 19th of July. This course was taken in hopes that the news from Algiers, or some other events, might have a favourable effect.

But it was all in vain. The final results were more decidedly in favour of the liberals, than the most sanguine of them had expected. Out of the 221 members who voted for the address, 202 were re-elected; and of the entire number of deputies, 270 were ranged under the liberal, and only 145 under the ministerial banner: the other fifteen were doubtful. As soon as the result of the elections was known, the liberal leaders in Paris immediately set about arranging their plans of opposition. Instructions were sent to the departments to organise a general resistance to the payment of taxes, should such a measure become necessary; and preparations were made for a quiet resistance to all government measures which were considered in the least degree objectionable.

The intelligence of the success of the Algerine expedition was received when the election contests were at their height. After sailing from Toulon, the fleet encountered adverse winds, and was detained in the bay of Palma till the 10th of June. The admiral, Duperré, was enabled, after that time, to proceed; and, on the 14th of June, the fleet cast anchor in the bay of Sidi Ferruc, about five leagues to the west of Algiers. There the troops disembarked, occupying only two days in the operation. They had scarcely got on shore, when 15,000 horsemen came up, and commenced a series of incessant attacks, which, although the French repulsed them with considerable loss, were a source of great annoyance. Water was also wanting when the troops landed; but a severe storm came on, on the 16th, and after that, there appears to have been no difficulty: "water was found everywhere," says one historian of the expedition, "by digging a few feet beneath the sand."—Algiers is situated on the slope of a hill, facing the sea, and crowned by a citadel, erected on ground which the emperor Charles had occupied 300 years before, and, from that circumstance, called "The Emperor's Fort." This fort, though strong, was not capable of making any long resistance to a besieging force. The fortifications next the sea were very formidable, having been repaired, and rendered almost impregnable, since the bombardment by lord Exmouth in 1816. The dey had an army of 40,000 men, of which more than one-half were horse—a splendid body, well mounted; and constituting an active and efficient cavalry force. This army was encamped in a strong position, in front of that taken up by the French, and within cannon-shot of their outposts; thus completely barring their march into the interior.

De Bourmont, after the landing and the skirmishes of the 16th and 17th, and deducting the sick, had upwards of 30,000 effective men under his banners. They had no time to intrench their position, except by throwing up a few earthworks; but, to impede the attacks of

cavalry, they had planted stakes in front of their lines, with their points projecting outwards, towards the enemy. The dey's army was not long idle. On the morning of the 19th, the French found that the Turkish cavalry was again coming down upon them. The infantry had barely time to draw up, three deep, behind their slight intrenchments, when they were charged with such fury, that, in many instances, the stakes were cleared, and the ranks of infantry broken. The men, however, defended the ground they occupied gallantly; their rolling fire doing great execution amongst the masses of the enemy. But the latter had bravery, as well as numbers; and the battle raged for several hours, with a doubtful result.

Bourmont, however, had some corps in reserve, which were brought out of the camp, and charged the enemy in flank; whilst the infantry that had been broken, rallied, and re-formed in the rear of the advancing Turks. Attacked thus on all sides, the Osmanlis gave way, and commenced a retreat, at first in good order; but a division of the French made a rush at their camp, which they entered with some of the fugitives; and tents, guns, ammunition, and baggage, were soon in their possession. When the Turks saw that their camp was lost, they broke up in utter confusion, and their retreat became a complete rout. Besides their camp, they lost about 3,000 men in killed and wounded; whilst the French had not more than 500 put *hors de combat*.—On the 24th, another attack was made by 20,000 men (nearly all cavalry), and a fierce encounter ensued, ending in a second repulse.—On the 30th, the French became the assailants; directing their attacks, in the first instance, upon the Emperor's Fort. The fire was extended to the town, and the artillery on shore was supported by that from the ships at sea. The Arabs returned the fire from 300 guns; and the effect of the cannonade was tremendous. That of the French did decidedly the most execution; silencing the Algerine guns one after the other. On the fourth day, the fort was so much damaged, that it was deemed an assault might be made. The French were eagerly rushing to the breaches, when a terrible explosion took place. The Arabs had blown up the fort, and nothing but ruins remained. The town was now entirely exposed to the cannonade of the besiegers, and in two hours the dey hung out a flag of truce; the firing ceased, and terms of capitulation were agreed upon; by which it was stipulated, that life and property should be respected, and that the dey himself, with his harem and family, should have liberty to retire where he pleased.—On the 5th of July, the French entered Algiers. The entry was made—artillery in front—in the manner most likely to impose upon the natives; and then the conquest was found to be of much more intrinsic value

than was anticipated. Gold and silver—the accumulated spoil of many years—were found, amounting to 48,500,000*f.* (£1,940,000); 1,542 guns were mounted on the walls and other defences; and there were a number of houses which, belonging to the government, came into the hands of the conquerors. But, what was better still, the crews of two vessels, captured and doomed to slavery by the Algerines, were liberated, to their intense joy. The entire loss of the French, in completing their conquest, was under 2,000 men.

As the success of the French arms at Algiers had no effect in checking the prevalence of liberal feeling in opposition to the government, so the decided expression of that feeling, manifested in the elections, had no influence upon the king and his advisers, to cause them to pause in that career which every disinterested friend cautioned them must end in destruction. The king, as a constitutional monarch—the country having pronounced against them—ought to have dismissed his ministers. At the moment, “public feeling loudly repudiated all idea of a new revolution. Never was the situation of those who sincerely wished to support the king and the charter, more favourable or powerful; they had given evidence of persevering firmness by legitimate opposition; they had lately maintained, with reputation, the principles of representative government; they enjoyed the esteem, and even the favour, of the public; the more violent party, through necessity, and the country, with some hesitation, mingled with honest hope, followed in their rear. If, at this critical moment, they could have succeeded with the king as with the chamber and the country—if Charles X., after having by the dissolution pushed his royal authority to the extreme verge, had listened to the strongly expressed wishes of France, and selected his advisers from amongst those of the constitutional royalists who stood the highest in public consideration—there was every reasonable hope of surmounting the last decisive trial; and that the country, taking confidence at once in the king and the charter, the restoration and constitutional government would be established together.”* But the king was not to be changed; and long and earnest debates in the cabinet ended in the resolution to support him.

The great want of the government was money; and, before that step was taken which brought on the movement since known as the “Revolution of July, 1830,” it was resolved by Charles and his ministers to send for Royer-Collard, for the purpose of asking him whether, if the chamber met and the budget were presented, the members would reject it? When the question was put to him, he replied—“Possibly they might not; but, in any event, the discussions to which the law on

* Guizot.

the finances might lead, would shake the monarchy to its foundations." This answer appears to have decided the king to take the measures which had been suggested, the authority for doing so being founded on article 14 of the charter, which was as follows:—"The king is the supreme head of the state; he commands the forces by sea and land; declares war, makes treaties of peace, friendship, and commerce; names all the officers of the administration; and *makes the regulations and ordonnances which are necessary for the execution of the laws and the security of the state.*" Amidst several plans which had been proposed, one was, that the newly elected chamber should be dissolved before it met; that the law of elections should be altered; and that the liberty of the press should be suspended. This was the plan finally resolved upon; and, a few days before the *ordonnances* of July appeared, the Russian ambassador found Charles reading the 14th article of the charter, and attentively considering it. In Guizot's opinion—disinterested, as he was opposed to the policy of Charles—both the king and Polignac thought the charter conferred the power they required for carrying out those measures, for neither were men likely to break the obligation of an oath.

Before the *ordonnances* decreeing the three measures above-mentioned were drawn up, the keeper of the seals, M. de Chantelauze, who was a strenuous advocate for a determined course, which he strongly recommended to the king, drew up a memoir on the subject, ably written, but very unsound in principle and weak in argument. He commenced by depicting the growing anarchy and disorganisation of the country; asserting, that the very springs which sustained the monarchical government, and enabled it to act, were broken. The king and his officers had lost all authority alike in the capital and the departments, where the most subversive doctrines were propagated through the press, and general anxiety prevailed. Malevolence, active, ardent, indefatigable, was sapping the foundations of order; whilst distrust of, and hostility to authority were sown amongst the people. The press was described as the great cause of all these evils. By its violent and ceaseless action, the frequent changes that had taken place, and the violence displayed, could alone be explained. "It had not permitted France to establish a regular or stable government, nor to turn its attention to the numerous reforms called for in its internal administration. Every ministry formed since 1814 had been the object, and had soon become the victim, of the incessant and often groundless attacks of the press." The conduct of the opposition, it was asserted, could not be described in too strong terms. They had proclaimed it as a sacred principle, that the 221 supporters of that address which was derogatory to the honour,

and destructive of the rights of the crown, should be re-elected, and their offensive dogmas forced upon the sovereign. And the press had made no attempt to soften the offensive doctrines put forth in the address, but had renewed and aggravated the offence. "It had, also, in a not less envenomed spirit, persecuted religion and its ministers;" and "could it be doubted, that in attacking the foundations of the faith, in drying up the fountains of morality, and turning into ridicule the ministers at the altars, the object was to overturn the throne?" It was represented that, "from all parts of the kingdom—from all persons of property, intelligence, and wisdom"—the cry of indignation and terror arose; that by the acts of a turbulent democracy, which "disposed of the majority of elections by the means of journals and election committees," the constitution was shaken, and would be overturned; that his majesty alone had the power of preventing such a catastrophe: he was invested with that power by the 14th article of the charter, and he was imperatively called upon to exercise it.

We learn, from what was disclosed on the subsequent trial of the ministers, that the *ordonnances* were prepared between the 10th and 15th of July. Two councils were held for their discussion; and they were presented to the king on the 21st, together with the report of M. de Chantelauze. The king accepted the proposals of the ministers—approved of the *ordonnances* and the report, declaring his intention to stand by his advisers, who, however, were not so much attacked as the crown: it was the cause of the throne against revolution, which was at issue; and one or other must succumb. "I have lived longer than you, gentlemen," said the king; "your age does not permit you to recollect, as I do, how revolutions and the revolutionists proceeded. I have over you the unenvied advantage of years; I recollect what occurred in 1789. The first step which my unhappy brother made before the revolutionists of that day, was the signal of his ruin. They, too, made protestations of their fidelity to the crown. They, too, limited their open demand to the dismissal of the ministers. He yielded, and all was lost. They pretend now to aim at nothing but your dismissal. Their language to me is, 'Dismiss your ministers, and we shall soon come to an understanding.' Gentlemen, I will not dismiss you. In the first place, because I am attached to, and have confidence in you; in the next, because, if I dismissed you, they would end in treating you as they have done my son, and myself, and us all; and as they treated my brother. No! let them conduct us, if they please, to the scaffold; but let us fight for our rights; and, if we are to fall, fall sword in hand. I would rather be led to execution on horseback than in a cart."*

On the 24th of July, the cabinet again met, to

* Lamartine.

consider the *ordonnances*. In the interval, there were many rumours and reports as to what was in contemplation; and someone in the secret must have divulged it; for several persons—the baron de Lamoignon, M. Mauguin, a member of the chamber of deputies, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, amongst others—had a knowledge that a *coup-d'état* was to take place: the latter is even reported to have sought an interview with prince Polignac, and to have earnestly remonstrated with him on the subject. The rumours also reached St. Petersburg and Vienna. The emperor Nicholas requested M. de Mortemart, the French ambassador, to go express to Paris, for the purpose of conveying to Charles and his ministers his majesty's earnest warning against the proposed measures. Remonstrances were sent from the Austrian court; and not a few of the oldest friends of royalty in Paris, M. de Vitrolles amongst them, presented themselves at the Tuileries, to entreat the king to pause! All was in vain. M. Peyronnet, the minister of the interior, and Mangin, the prefect of police, both were of opinion that, whatever was done, Paris would be quiescent; whilst the prince de Polignac was of opinion, as war minister *ad interim*, that the number of troops in the metropolis, 17,000, was sufficient to put down disturbance, should any be attempted. Marshal Marmont was not so certain of the temper of the soldiers. Applied to while the *ordonnances* were under discussion, as to what he thought would be the conduct of the army, should they be employed upon any pretence whatever, against those who should refuse to pay taxes—he replied that, in the first instance, the soldiers would obey; but, in no long time after mixing with the peasantry, they would perceive that the interests of themselves and the people were identical, and their military principles would be corrupted.

It would appear, that, on the 24th, all the documents were duly prepared for signature: M. de Chantelauze's memoir bears date that day. The next day, Sunday, a solemn council was held at the Tuileries, over which the king presided. There had been, in the various discussions of the measures, differences of opinion in the cabinet. De Peyronnet and De Ranville both opposed the *coup-d'état* at first; and M. de Montbel did not approve of the election law; but, on the 25th, all were united, though they are said to have displayed "rather the resignation of martyrs, than the spirit of conquerors."* When they were assembled in council, prince de Polignac read the documents, six in number; and the memoir of the keeper of the seals, which was to appear as a preamble. He then presented them to the king for signature; who is described, after he took the pen, as resting his head on his hand, and remaining for some time in reflection. At length he said—

* Lamartine.

"The more I reflect, the more I am convinced of the impossibility of acting otherwise." He then affixed his signature, and all the ministers countersigned the fatal documents. It was late in the evening before all was concluded; and then M. Sauvo, the chief editor of the *Moniteur*, was sent for, in whose hands the *ordonnances* were placed. He glanced over their contents; and when De Chantelauze requested that he would give his acknowledgment of having received them, it was observed that he trembled, apparently alarmed at what he had read. M. de Montbel made a remark to him to that effect. He replied, that "it would have been extraordinary had he evinced less emotion." "*Eh bien!*" ejaculated De Montbel; to which Sauvo rejoined, that he "had but a few words to say—God save the king! God save France!" De Montbel and De Chantelauze replied together, they "hoped He would." As he left the room, Sauvo said, "He was fifty-seven years of age; he had witnessed all the days of the revolution; and he had a deep apprehension of new troubles." In half-an-hour after, the *ordonnances* were in the printer's hands; and the *Moniteur* of Monday, the 26th of July, made them known to the people of Paris: it was not long before all France and Europe became familiar with them.

They were six in number.—1. Suspended the liberty of the press. It decreed, that, from that date, no newspaper or periodical, whether then published or to be established thereafter, nor any volume of less than twenty sheets of letter-press, should appear, either in Paris or the departments, without the permission of the king, to be specified in a licence, duly stamped: the licence was to be renewed every three months, and might be suspended at pleasure: all works subject to the licence, and published without one, to be seized; and the types used in the printing to be destroyed, or placed in some public dépôt.—2. This *ordonnance*, dissolving the chamber of deputies, is so important, that we give it *verbatim*. "Charles X., by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre. Having resolved to prevent the return of such manoeuvres as have exercised a pernicious influence on the last operations of the electoral colleges; desiring, consequently, to reform, according to the principles of the constitutional charter, the rules as to elections, of which experience has shown the inconvenience; and having seen the necessity of making use of the right which belongs to us, to provide, by acts emanating from ourselves, for the security of the state, and the repression of every attempt against the dignity of our crown; do decree as follows:—That the chamber of deputies from the departments and arrondissements is dissolved."—3. The first article of this *ordonnance* declared, that, "conformably to articles 15, 36, and 50, of the constitutional charter, the chamber of deputies

shall henceforth only consist of deputies of departments"—thus reducing the number of members from 430 to 258. The ballot was abolished, and the electoral franchise limited to the possession of property paying the requisite amount of direct taxes, by the abolition of the suffrage founded on patents. The prefects were also reinvested with the authority they possessed previous to 1828, which gave them, in fact, absolute power over the preparation of the electoral lists.—4. By this decree, the 6th and 13th of September were appointed for the meeting of the two classes of the electoral colleges (the members of both having to vote for the same candidates); and the 28th of the same month was fixed for the meeting of the newly elected chamber.—5 and 6 nominated to the dignity of councillor of state, a number of those adherents of the old Villèle administration, who had shown the greatest attachment to ultra-royalist principles; all those named were most unpopular persons; and, whether it was intended or not, certainly they were men "whose only recommendation to royal favour seemed to be the large share they had secured to themselves of the hatred of their fellow-subjects."

It was a proof of prince de Polignac's great incapacity—his singular unfitness for the duties he took upon himself—that, when he and his colleagues resolved to counsel the king to adopt such violent measures, he did not provide for the safety of the capital. As minister of war *ad interim*, the direction of the military force rested with him; and he ought to have known, that the number of troops then at Paris was quite inadequate to the task of putting down any decided popular tumult. There were about 12,000 men in the various cantonments and quarters round Paris; but not more than 5,000, composing the royal guard, could be relied upon as sincere adherents to the crown. They had twelve pieces of cannon, with six rounds of ammunition to each. This was the entire force, which it was expected could maintain order in a city whose adult population numbered 200,000 males, of whom 40,000 had been members of that national guard which the king had disbanded in the previous year, leaving them in possession of their arms. If the cause of royalty and the king were to be defended, it was the more reprehensible to leave the capital in this state, because, at the time, there were at Caen, Rouen, Versailles, St. Denis, Vincennes, and Orleans, seventeen battalions of infantry, and thirty-four squadrons of cavalry; amounting, in all, to near 20,000 men, who could have been summoned to Paris, and posted there when the *ordonnances* were issued. It was the opinion of prince de Polignac, expressed to his colleagues, that "no popular movement was to be apprehended; but if any did take place, at all events Paris was sufficiently garrisoned to crush any

rebellion, and guarantee the public tranquillity." He was wrong on both points; and it is very difficult to conceive how any men in the position of ministers, who *ought* to have been in possession of authentic information, both as to the state of public feeling, and of the amount of public resistance which could be brought into action against any government measures—could sanction either one or the other.

The morning of the 26th of July, 1830, was as fine a one as ever shone upon Paris; [and many people were in the streets, either for purposes of labour, business, or amusement. At first the *ordonnances*, which were posted on the walls, appeared to surprise and astonish; but there were no symptoms of indignation evinced. After a time, however, crowds began to collect round the journal offices; and a rumour spread, that several deputies had assembled at the house of M. Casimir-Perrier. There were just six, besides the host, who met to consult what steps they should take—viz., MM. Alexander de Laborde, Odillon Barrot, Dupin *ainé*, Mauguin, Barthè, and Merithon. They were all at a loss what course to adopt; most of them seemed afraid to incur any responsibility; and nothing was resolved upon. In the meantime, a number of literary men met at the office of the *National*; and whilst the journeymen employed upon that paper, in their caps and aprons, were reading the *ordonnances* to the people as they kept gathering in groups in the Palais Royal, M. Thiers was engaged in drawing up a protest against the ministerial measures, which forty-five journalists immediately signed. They had scarcely affixed their names, when a number of the electors assembled at the same office, and various plans of resistance were discussed, but nothing concluded. A second meeting of deputies was subsequently held, with as little result as the first: but they resolved to meet again the next day. They were, in fact, taken by surprise, and without any prearranged plan, as they did not expect a demonstration on the part of the government quite so soon. The *ouvriers* of Paris, however, appear to have been prepared for action, as it is scarcely possible they could have taken the steps they did without previous arrangement. In the course of the day they pelted a carriage, which they thought was prince de Polignac's, and broke his windows; they also passed through the streets in groups, shouting "*Vive la Charte!*" "*A bas les Ministres!*" and, before the day closed, most employers had given their workmen a holiday for the week; but they were to receive their wages as if they continued to pursue their daily avocations. One employer, M. Ternaux, paid his workmen, 150 in number, a week's wages in advance.

The king—who during the discussion of the *ordonnances* had entertained the king of Naples at his court, giving him a grand ball at the

Tuileries a few days before they were signed—amused himself, on the 26th, with hunting in the forest of Rambouillet: he did not return to St. Cloud till a late hour. During the day, the ministers assembled at the hôtel of the keeper of the seals, to confer on the state of affairs, and on the measures it might be necessary to adopt. They continued in deliberation till night came on, when they were informed, that a crowd had assembled, and were breaking the windows of the Hôtel de Finance, in the Rue de Rivoli. They also broke those of several other public buildings; and destroyed the lamps, and put out the lights in several of the streets in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries. M. Montbel, who, in his *Protestation*, informs us of these facts, does not say what steps were adopted in consequence.

The next morning much anxiety was expressed as to the course which would be pursued with respect to the public journals. M. Mangin, the prefect of police, had issued his mandate on the previous day, warning the journalists not to continue their publications unless they took out a licence, as required by the *ordonnance*. Of the papers thus authorised, the *Moniteur*, the *Universel*, and the *Quotidienne*, were the only ones seen in the pavilions or the *cafés* of the Palais Royal. The *Constitutionnel*, the *National*, the *Temps*, and the *Figaro*, were published without licence. Numbers of these last-named journals were distributed gratuitously in the gardens of the Palais Royal; and groups collected to hear their articles read, running from one reader to another, in order to be gratified by listening to the bold and daring language of the different editors. The *National* published the protest, which the forty-five journalists had signed on the previous day. It was very firm and decided in its language. Having described the *ordonnances* as an interruption of the reign of law, and the commencement of that of force, the protesters say—"In the situation in which we are placed, obedience ceases to be a duty. The citizens who have first been called upon to obey, are the writers of the journals; they ought first to give the example of resistance to authority, now that it has stripped itself of the character of law." They then showed that the course taken by the crown was alike opposed to the charter and the decisions of the courts of law; and continued—"This day, therefore, the government has violated legality. We are set free from obedience. We mean to attempt to publish our journals, without demanding the authorisation which is imposed upon us. We will use our endeavours that, for one day more, at least, they may be circulated over all France. Such is the conduct which our duty, as citizens, demands from us, and we fearlessly follow it." The *ordonnance* dissolving the chamber of deputies was thus shown to be illegal. "The charter (Art. 50)

says, that the king may dissolve the chamber of deputies; but, for that power to be exercised, the chamber must have met, and been constituted; nay, must surely have done something to warrant its dissolution. Before the chamber has met and been constituted, there is no chamber to be dissolved—there are only elections to annul. Now, no passage of the charter gives the king the right of doing this. The *ordonnances* which have this day appeared, do only, in fact, annul the elections, and are, therefore, illegal, as doing that which the charter does not authorise. The deputies, then, who have been elected, and convoked for the 3rd of August, remain still well and truly elected and convoked. Their right is the same to-day as it was yesterday. France implores them not to forget that right. Whatever they can do to assert it, they ought."

During the day, two printers, who were employed by the owners of the *Journal du Commerce*, and the *Nouveau Journal de Paris*, to print those papers, and who refused to do so because licences were not taken out for them, were cited before the *Tribunal de Première Instance*, to answer to a charge of breach of contract. The president of the tribunal, after a brief examination into the facts—without going into the question as to how far the royal prerogative extended, and whether it had been exceeded by the *ordonnance*—decided that the printing must be executed, as the decree on which the refusal to print was based, had not been promulgated according to the regular forms. The first-named paper was, therefore, printed; but the second did not appear; only a notice, informing the public why it was suspended. M. Mangin, the prefect of police, however, took steps to enforce the *ordonnance* against the printers who had violated it. He sent for the viscount de Foucauld, colonel of *gendarmes*—to whom he had, on the previous evening, expressed his opinion that there was no cause for uneasiness—to require that officer to furnish him with 200 men from his corps, to support the commissaries who were to seize the presses of the rebellious journalists. The men were supplied; the presses were seized, and taken to pieces; and though crowds gathered before the offices of each paper, in pursuance of the advice of the proprietors, no opposition was offered; the workmen, whose bread the authorities were taking away, looked quietly on; and those who had to execute the obnoxious law, performed their unpleasant duty as leniently as possible.

Whilst the police and *gendarmes* were seizing the presses of the offending journalists, the recently elected deputies, who were in Paris, again met at M. Casimir-Perrier's, in the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg. There was a much more numerous attendance than on the 26th, the following being present:—MM. Casimir-

Perrier, Auguste St. Aignan, Baillot, Bavoux, Bérard, Chardel, Delessert, Maréchal Duchaffant, Mathieu Dumas, Dupin *ainé*, Charles Dupin, Voisin de Gartempe, Gerard, Guizot, Lefebvre, De Lobau, Louis, Mauguin, Mechin, Milleret, Odier, Persil, Labbey de Pompieres, Audry de Puyraveau, Salverte, De Schonen, Sebastiani, Vassal, Bertin de Vaux, and Villemain.* There was a long discussion—opinion being divided. All agreed that the *ordonnances* were illegal, and a violation of the charter; but whilst some were for open and prompt resistance, the more cautious—as the documents were promulgated by the regularly constituted authorities, who evidently meant to support them by force—hesitated what course to recommend. Whilst they were deliberating, the electors of Paris also met, and sent a deputation to the deputies, with the resolution they had adopted—to resist force by force, and to meet, by armed insurrection, the troops sent by the government to compel obedience to the *ordonnances*. This deputation was followed by others from various bodies of young men, who had organised themselves for open revolt, and wanted the deputies to place themselves at their head. This, however, they were not prepared to do; and, after some further discussion, they appointed MM. Dupin *ainé*, Guizot, and Villemain, a committee, to draw up a protest against the *ordonnances*; and separated, to meet the next morning at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau.

Before the meeting broke up, discharges of musketry, and the clank of cavalry, were heard in the streets. It was not till that morning that the king had sent for marshal Marmont, who had the military command of Paris; and who, the previous day, had expressed to his friend, M. Arago, his regret that, “as a general, he might be called upon to act for a policy which he abhorred, and for men from whom he had received nothing but insult.” Reluctant as he was to undertake the duties which devolved upon him, the marshal did not hesitate, when told by the king he must preserve order in Paris, to make as effective dispositions as the scanty means at his disposal allowed. Deducting the men necessary to do duty at St. Cloud, where the king remained, he had not 11,000 troops at his disposal; and of those, it was soon evident that the soldiers of the line would not act decidedly against the people. The marshal established his head-quarters at the Tuileries about the middle of the day, and placed bodies of infantry and cavalry in the Place Louis XV., the Boulevards, and the Palais Royal. We have mentioned the manifestation of the people early in the morning, in the gardens of the Palais Royal; other crowds gathered round the newspaper offi-

ces when the presses were seized. These bodies were, in appearance, peaceable; but, about 10 A.M., a rumour spread, that the men of the Faubourg St. Antoine—one of the most populous quarters of Paris, and where many of the most dangerous characters resided—were collecting together, with the intent to march into the heart of the city. The Boulevards were soon afterwards crowded with thousands of men, most of whom had thrown off their coats; and who are said, by a Frenchman, to have “been well enough dressed, and all of prepossessing appearance.” There did not seem to be any person with them above their own condition, exciting or leading them; but they appeared to be waiting in expectation of an event in which other parties were the actors. Till eleven o’clock, the only cries they uttered, were “The Charter for ever!” “Down with Polignac!” “Down with the Ministers!”† While they were thus “biding their time,” stirring events were taking place in other quarters.

Though a detachment of troops was placed in the Palais Royal, the crowds of people there did not decrease—they augmented; and the commanding officer sent to marshal Marmont to say, that his men must be reinforced or withdrawn. The reinforcement was sent; and then the cavalry were employed to drive the people, not only out of the gardens of the Palais Royal, the gates of which were shut, but out of the neighbouring streets. This led to many more of the populace rushing to the scene of strife; the Boulevards, so crowded shortly before, were soon left empty, not an individual remaining. Then voices were heard in the streets, calling for arms and leaders: the shops of the gunsmiths were attacked, some broken open, and the arms seized by the people, who collected in great numbers in the Place de la Bastille, the Place du Palais Royal, and the Rue St. Honoré; some armed with muskets and rusty sabres; others with pistols, swords, spits, pikes, and pitchforks; the cries being “*Vive la Charte!*” “*A bas les gendarmes!*” “*A bas Polignac!*” “*Vive la Liberté!*”‡ The first actual aggression committed by the people on the troops, was in the Place du Palais Royal, where they assailed the *gendarmes* stationed in platoons at two corners of the open space, with volleys of stones. Most of the shops were then shut about the Place du Palais and the Rue St. Honoré, where the people were collected round the soldiers in dense groups; when, as appears without any warning, the cavalry charged the crowd, knocking many over, and freely using the flat part of their sabres [upon all that came within reach. One old man was thrown down, severely wounded, and then run through the body by the officer in command of the *gendarmes*. A loud cry of indignation burst from the people, who, gaining possession of the corpse, carried it through the

* *Annuaire Historique*, 1830.

† *La Dernière Semaine de Juillet*, 1830. Par M. Leonard Gallois.

‡ M. Gallois.

streets, calling upon all to join in avenging the murder of their fellow-citizen.*

The congregating of the populace rendered the position of the soldiers such, that they were compelled either to retreat, or to take violent measures to disperse the crowds. About four o'clock P.M., some regiments which had been kept in barracks by the private orders of their colonels, in consequence of squabbles which had occurred the day before on the Boulevards and in the Rue de Rivoli, were ordered under arms, and, with four pieces of cannon, they were soon in motion. They were stationed in front of the prince de Polignac's hôtel, in the Boulevard des Capucins, and in the Place Vendôme. The Boulevards, from the Porte St. Martin to the Place de la Bastille, were also occupied by detachments from regiments of the line. In most of these localities there were encounters with the populace, the first firing by the soldiers taking place in the Rue de Valois (Palais Royal), the Rue Croix des Petits Champs, and the Rue St. Honoré. They first fired in the air; but from one of those discharges, a boy, looking out of an upper window in the Rue St. Honoré, was killed. From this time there were many street encounters. In most instances the troops appear to have behaved with great forbearance, and not to have resorted to the use of arms till their efforts to clear the streets were resisted by blows or volleys of stones; in others, their conduct—being armed, and their opponents having only sticks or stones—is described as brutal. This applies only to the guards and the *gendarmes*; the troops of the line appear, from the first, to have shown a reluctance to use violence, or to fire on the people. As evening came on, barricades were raised, principally in the Rue St. Honoré, and the streets connected with it. In that direction, and all along the line from the Rue du Coq, in the east, to the Rue du Dauphin, in the west, and in most of the cross-streets between them, leading to the Louvre, the Tuileries, and the Rue de Rivoli, as well as round the Palais Royal, the troops and the people kept up an almost uninterrupted contest, from five or six in the afternoon, till between ten and eleven o'clock at night. It ended in the dispersion of the insurgents, who were driven from the streets and the barricades; when hundreds of them took refuge in the houses and on the roofs, from whence they showered down missiles on the troops who passed underneath.

In the evening there was another meeting of deputies at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau. Lafayette—who had only heard of the

ordonnances that morning, when breakfasting at his residence at Lagrange, and instantly repaired to Paris—was present; and one of the deputies, M. Caffin d'Orsigny, announcing that it was proposed to call out the national guard, asked the general if he would accept the command of that body? "Yes," was the unhesitating reply; "if I am called to that dignity by the voice of my fellow-citizens." A few of the deputies (M. Bérard being one of them) accompanied M. d'Orsigny to his own house, after the meeting at De Puyraveau's separated; and there, at the suggestion of Bérard, they "resolved to save the cause of the people, which they saw would be exposed to the danger of being lost, if it should be left, as it had been, to itself. The people, it was felt, wanted leaders; and these it was proposed to give them, by establishing a provisional government."†

The ministers appear to have begun the day in a state of unconsciousness of the real danger which threatened them. Early in the morning, M. Bayeux, the advocate-general, had an interview with M. de Chantelauze, the keeper of the seals; and, being greatly alarmed himself, he endeavoured to awaken the minister to a due sense of what was passing around them. "I related to him," said M. Bayeux, "all that had been told me, and what I had myself observed. He replied, that I was alarming myself very needlessly; that it was not to be doubted that the smallest demonstration of force would restore everything to order; that the people would confine their opposition to the cry of 'Down with the ministers!' which it was resolved to allow them to utter without molestation." In reply to an observation, that if the effervescence was calmed then, it would rise again when the elections came on, and all France would be in motion, M. de Chantelauze also observed, that "the government had foreseen all that, and was perfectly informed of the state in which things were."‡ As there was a numerous military force round and in the Hôtel de Polignac, the ministers assembled there during the day; and the first resolution they adopted was, to issue an order to arrest M. Thiers, and all the other journalists who had signed the protest against the *ordonnances*. The warrants of arrest were made out by M. Billot, the king's procurator; but the successful insurrection prevented any attempt to execute them. As intelligence of the popular movements was brought to the hôtel, the ministers began to look at the position more seriously; and it was resolved, that, if the same state of things continued, Paris must be declared in a state of seige, as the military authority appeared to be the only power which could arrest the sedition.§ About eleven o'clock, they received the intelligence from marshal Marmont, that the streets were cleared, and the troops were about to withdraw

* *Procès des Ex-Ministres.*

† Letter of M. Caffin d'Orsigny, to the duke de Choiseul.

‡ *Procès des Ex-Ministres.*

§ *Ibid.*

to their quarters. The ministers then separated; having first drawn up an *ordonnance* respecting the state of siege; and it was agreed that the president of the council should wait upon the king—to whom Marmont sent an account of the events of the day—the next morning, to take his majesty's orders, according to the then existing state of things.

No sooner were the troops withdrawn, than the whole of the public and private street-lamps in Paris, which were not destroyed the former night, were broken, and the city was placed in entire darkness. Thus ended the 27th of July; and the events of the day placed the military men in great doubt for the future. "Almost the whole strength of the garrison had been already employed; and it was evident," writes a French officer, "that it would have to face, the next day, an increased force of from 60,000 to 80,000 men, of which a great portion would be armed. There were known to exist in Paris, 40,000 equipments of the old national guard; the attempts on the gunsmiths' shops had not altogether failed; at daybreak they might be expected to be renewed; and the several guard-houses, scattered through the town, which could offer no resistance, would, of course, afford a considerable number of muskets; and the arsenal was well supplied, both with arms and ammunition. The powder-magazine of the Deux-Moulins was also unguarded. All these points ought to have been considered and provided for. The night offered leisure to arrange, and opportunity to execute, every necessary precaution: the circumstances were urgent, the danger obvious and imminent; yet nothing at all was done."*

The insurgents were more active. During the events of the 27th there appears to have been no prominent leader—no acknowledged chief; and yet there was no want of order in their proceedings. Those of the night of the 27th of July, and of the morning of the 28th, also indicated organisation, and some guiding hand. After the breaking of the lamps, all was still for two or three hours; but, about four o'clock, large bodies of people assembled in various parts of Paris, whose first act was to remove all emblems and insignia of royalty from the shops and public offices. When the shopkeepers and officials discovered what was going on, many of them removed the royal arms, the lilies, &c., themselves. But wherever they were suffered to remain, the insurgents pursued the work of destruction. It is said, that not the slightest disposition to pillage was evinced; and that, in many instances, where the royal arms, or other emblems, were made of valuable materials, they were restored to their owners, after the insignia were defaced. This work completed, the insurgents—for such they undoubtedly were—began felling trees, unpaving the streets,

* *Military Events of the French Revolution of 1830.*

arresting the passage of the omnibuses where they attempted to run, taking out the horses, and overturning them, to form barricades; they employed carts, furniture from houses, and everything else at all applicable which fell in their way, for the same purpose. Many of the populace—amongst them women and children—were employed in carrying stones taken up from the streets, and not used in the barricades, to the tops of the houses, to throw down on the troops. The next step was to break open the gunsmiths' shops which had not been pillaged on the previous day; the arsenal was also plundered, as was the powder depôt of the Deux-Moulins. The guard-houses at the Exchange, the Châtelet, and the Halle aux Draps, were surrounded. The soldiers at those places showed great bravery; but, too few in number to offer an effectual resistance, they were soon overcome and disarmed, and the guard-houses were rifled of their contents. All these movements were made without any of the riotous demonstrations of a mere street mob; and the appearance of many members of the national guard, in their uniform, and with their arms, gave a military aspect to the insurrection. M. Caffin d'Orsigny was the cause of this reorganisation. After the meetings of deputies at MM. Audry de Puyraveau's and d'Orsigny's, the previous evening, the latter communicated with three gentlemen who had been formerly captains in the guard, and told them of his plan for calling out that body, under the command of Lafayette. They entered warmly into his views, set about communicating them to others, and the result was, that before 10 A.M. on the 29th, a large proportion of the old national guard was assembled, with several of their officers at their head. When the *maires* of some of the arrondissements saw what was going on, they, with difficulty, got access to marshal Marmont and the prince de Polignac, and requested that the national guard of their districts might be re-established, "for the protection of persons and property." This was refused, and these officials called out the guard on their own authority. Before night, nearly every corps was reorganised.

The Hôtel de Ville was considered an important position; yet, strange to say, a guard of twelve *gendarmes* was the only force placed there. Whilst masses of the people were employed, in all the principal thoroughfares of Paris, in the way we have described, it occurred to some who were taking a directing part, that it would be very desirable to seize that building; and, about ten o'clock, a party was dispatched for that purpose. They had no difficulty in capturing and disarming the guard; and before eleven, the white flag which floated over the roof, was pulled down, and replaced by the tricolour. About the same time another party went to Nôtre-Dame—mounted the tower, and

hoisted the national flag. Soon after, its enormous bell was set in motion, and was heard, sounding the *bourdon*, or tocsin, all over Paris; before noon, the tricolour was displayed from fifteen or twenty churches, and numerous barricades were erected in the streets.

And what were the ministers and the military about, while the populace were taking these strides in the path of insurrection? As early as six o'clock, the prince de Polignac had proceeded to St. Cloud, taking with him the *ordonnance* declaring Paris in a state of siege; which had been drawn up at the meeting of ministers the preceding evening, and the necessity for which appeared to be established by passing events. He found the viscount de Champagny, under-secretary of war, at the palace, making his report to the duke d'Angoulême; and, his majesty having signed the *ordonnance*, the viscount was requested to ascertain what was legally required in consequence of that step being taken, especially as to the establishing a council of war as soon as the state of siege was proclaimed. He examined the papers at the war-office, and made his report; but he says he never heard that a council of war was formed; and it was one of the charges subsequently made against the prince de Polignac and his colleagues, that they had never caused the establishment of the state of siege to be properly announced to the people. The *ordonnance* was communicated to marshal Marmont as soon as possible after it was signed: that officer had, not many minutes previously, sent off to the king the following despatch:—

"Sire,—I have already had the honour of giving an account to your majesty of the groups which troubled the tranquillity of Paris. This morning they are becoming more numerous and more threatening. It is no longer a riot; it is a revolution. It is urgent upon your majesty to take measures of pacification. The honour of the crown may still be saved; to-morrow it will be too late. I am taking the same measures to-day which I did yesterday: the troops will be ready by twelve o'clock; but I wait with impatience your majesty's orders.—Ragusa."

Before the receipt of the *ordonnance*, the troops at the marshal's disposal had been posted in the Place du Carrousel, in the barracks of the Celestins, near the Place de la Bastille, on the northern Boulevards, in the Place Vendôme, the Place du Panthéon, the Palais de Justice, and the Place de Grève. These stations were not taken up till nine o'clock, when the populace had been in the streets, and at work, for five hours;* indeed, when the detachment sent to the Place de Grève, arrived there, they found it filled by a multitude of people, with every description of weapon in their hands; and the soldiers had great difficulty in taking

up their position. The detachments sent to occupy the Panthéon and the Palais de Justice, also found those places in the hands of the insurgents. The soldiers at the above-named posts were at first intended to act on the defensive, rather than to take the initiative in attacking the people. But, almost simultaneously with the receipt of the *ordonnance* declaring Paris to be in a state of siege, marshal Marmont was reinforced by 500 men from Vincennes, and by three squadrons of *grenadiers-à-cheval* from Versailles; and as soon as the messengers could pass and repass, he received his majesty's reply to the despatch just quoted. It was to the effect, that the marshal was to take vigorous measures to put down the insurrection; and giving him full powers to act to the best of his discretion for that purpose. He had, therefore, no alternative but to adopt offensive operations, though the foot-soldiers had only twenty rounds of ball-cartridge each, and were, in one of the hottest days in summer, without provisions or water. The new arrivals were formed into three movable columns, which were to take different directions, with a view to disperse the insurgents, and to clear the streets. One was to proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, marching by the line of the quays. The second, taking the Boulevards, was to advance to the Place de la Bastille; and the two, uniting at the Faubourg St. Antoine, were to confine the inhabitants of that dangerous district to their own locality. The third, composed almost entirely of the Swiss guard, was to make its way to the Marché des Innocens, and then, debouching on the Rue St. Denis, to occupy that position, thus cutting off the communication between the eastern and western portions of the city. From the time these divisions were put in motion, till the approach of night, there was desperate fighting in almost every part of Paris, the minute details of which would now be of little interest. The success was varied—sometimes the insurgents, at others the soldiers, had the advantage during the day: as night drew on, however, the former were found to have decidedly improved their position. The first column of troops, under general Talon, which had two pieces of cannon attached, succeeded in clearing the Place de Grève of the insurgents, who crowded it, and rendered the small detachment sent there in the morning immovable; this column also retook the Hôtel de Ville. More might have been effected; but the 15th of the line refused to support the royal guards, who had to sustain a fierce attack from the insurgents, who returned to the Place de Grève, and were aided by the youths of the Polytechnic school. The guards, though greatly outnumbered, kept their assailants at bay, till, at nightfall, they were ordered to evacuate the hôtel, and fall back on the Tuileries. The second

* *Military Events of the French Revolution of 1830.*

column succeeded in dispersing the insurgents it encountered, till it entered the Faubourg St. Antoine. There the fire was so fierce from the barricades, and the showers of missiles from the houses so formidable, that, after carrying and clearing six of the defences, the troops were obliged to retire. Meeting a squadron of cuirassiers in the Place de la Bastille, the two bodies fought their way to the Place de Grève; and from that position, the 50th regiment, which constituted the infantry of the column, made its way to the interior court of the Hôtel de Ville. It took no part in the defence which general Talon was still making against the host of insurgents by whom he was assailed; but the men, giving up what cartridges they had left, to the royal guard, remained inactive. The third column stormed, one after the other, the barricades thrown up in the Rue St. Honoré, and, with difficulty, established itself in the square of the Marché des Innocens, so fierce was the fire kept up from the windows of the houses by which it is surrounded. Having at length silenced the insurgents in that quarter, general Quinsonnas, who commanded the column, sent a battalion to clear the Rue St. Denis. With difficulty this was accomplished, but many men were lost in the struggle, and the colonel was wounded. The battalion then advanced to the Porte St. Denis; but there it was met by such a mass of insurgents, that it was compelled to retire. In doing so, it was found that barricades had been thrown up again in its rear; and it was with great difficulty, and hard fighting, that this detachment, taking the route of the Boulevards, was enabled to reach the Place Vendôme. The remainder of this column was completely isolated in the Marché des Innocens from the rest of the troops; and the general was obliged to send a messenger, in disguise, to the Tuileries for assistance. Fortunately, the marshal was enabled to dispatch one battalion on this service; and by its aid general Quinsonnas succeeded in fighting his way to the Seine, and from thence to the Tuileries, where all the forces were concentrated at night. Thus, the results of the day were decidedly in favour of the insurgents, who had changed their cries to "Down with the Bourbons!" "Liberty for ever!" "Long live the Republic!" "Long live Napoleon the Second!" and, after the troops of the line had shown an indisposition to take part against them, "Long live the Line!" Cries for the "Charter!" were also frequently heard. They also called for leaders; and were encouraged by being told, that a provisional government was formed, with Lafayette at its head. This was a premature announcement—that government not being formed till the next day. In all these transactions, the conduct of the insurgents was not distinguished by any desire for plunder, or to do mischief: they destroyed no property but what

was necessary for the construction of the barricades, or in some way connected with royalty. Besides defacing and destroying all the royal arms and insignia, all the busts of the royal family, which formed part of an exhibition of wax-work in the Boulevard du Temple, were broken to pieces.

The ministers, either from fear of remaining in their hôtels, or for the better dispatch of business—marshal Marmont ascribed it to the former, M. Montbel to the latter cause—assembled at the Tuileries. The king remained at St. Cloud. Marshal Marmont continued his head-quarters at the Tuileries; and there, from time to time, officers brought him accounts of the state of affairs in the city. During the day, his friend, M. Arago, sought an interview with him, for the purpose of using his influence to obtain, if possible, concessions to the people, whose right to resort to force when the government attempted to despoil them of their liberties, he maintained to be incontestable. He made little impression on the marshal; who, as he heard of repeated failures of his soldiers, appeared to feel regret, even shame, "that the best troops in Europe should be beaten, in almost every quarter of Paris, by a population taken quite unprepared." When leaving the Tuileries, M. Arago told M. de la Rue, one of Marmont's aides-de-camp, that he should return the next day, "to renew his solicitations, if the troops of the line should not have taken part with the people." On hearing this, the aide-de-camp was very anxious that M. Arago should personally communicate to prince de Polignac what he had that day witnessed, of the fraternisation between the soldiers and the insurgents; but as the philosopher had said the dismissal of the ministers was an indispensable *sine qua non* of any arrangement, he did not wish to hold any communication with them. The aide-de-camp, however, anxious that the prince should be in possession of this information, detained Arago while he went to the marshal, who, at his suggestion, repaired to the room the minister occupied, and informed him of the facts stated by Arago. The interview was brief; and when M. de la Rue returned to the latter, he exclaimed—"We are lost! Our prime minister does not understand the French! When the marshal informed him that the troops were passing over to the side of the people, he replied—'Oh! then the troops must be fired upon!'" Arago then withdrew.*

During the day, the marshal and the minister also received communications from the deputies. Those gentlemen, who had assembled on the previous day, met, according to appointment, at M. Audry de Puyraveau's. There the committee presented the draft of a protest they had prepared, and which is understood to have

* Arago's deposition before the Commission of Peers.

been drawn up by M. Guizot. It stated, that "the undersigned felt themselves imperatively called upon, by their duty, as well as by their honour, to protest against the measures which the advisers of the crown had lately adopted for the overthrow of the legal system of election and the liberty of the press. Those measures, comprised in the decrees of the 25th instant, were," in the opinion of the deputies, "directly opposed to the constitutional privileges of the chamber of peers, the public rights of the French people, the functions and sentences of the courts of justice; and calculated to plunge the kingdom into a state of confusion, which would equally compromise the peace of the present, and the security of the future." The deputies, therefore, "inviolably faithful to their oaths, protested, with common accord, not only against the said measure, but against the acts which might consequently result." They also contended, that "the chamber, not having been legally constituted, could not be dissolved;" that "the attempt to form another chamber of deputies, in a new and arbitrary manner, was a formal contradiction to the constitutional charter, and the rights possessed by the electors;" that "they looked upon themselves as legally elected to the chamber;" and as "not liable to be replaced, except by a new election, carried on according to forms and principles in conformity with the law."—This protest was adopted; and obtained, from those present, and from the authority of others unable to attend, sixty-three signatures. The deputies present also resolved, that a deputation, consisting of MM. Lafitte, Casimir-Perrier, Gerard, Lobau, and Mauguin, should proceed to the Tuileries, and obtain an interview with Marmont, to bring about, if it were possible, a cessation of hostilities. The deputation reached the palace about half-past 2 P.M., and had no difficulty in obtaining access to the marshal, whom they found alone.* M. Lafitte was the principal spokesman of the party; and he pointed out the frightful state of the capital; the determination of the people not to submit to the *ordonnances*; and the dangers which threatened the throne itself, if they were not withdrawn. The language used by the marshal, in reply, convinced the deputation that he assented to the truth of the representation made to him; but, as a soldier, he felt it his duty to obey the orders he had received, "which were," he said, "imperative." In reply to a question, as to what the deputies required as the conditions of pacification? he was told—the dismissal of the ministers, and the withdrawal of the *ordonnances*. He replied—they were propositions with which

he had nothing to do; and the only means which he believed could be effectual to stop the effusion of blood, was, for the deputies to use their influence with the people, to induce them to return to their obedience. He manifested very honourable feelings when he spoke of the difficulty of his position, and of what he regarded as a fatality attendant upon his life. On being asked, if he could inform the king of the state of affairs, and of the steps which the deputies had taken? he replied—that he charged himself with that commission most cordially; but whilst he wished it success with all his heart, he did not conceal from the deputies his fear that no favourable result would follow. He added—that he would forward the answer from the king as soon as he received it. He asked if they had any objection to see the prince de Polignac? M. Lafitte replied in the negative; and the marshal left them for a short time. On his return, he said he had been to the prince, and had communicated all that had passed; and the latter, on hearing it, had said that an interview would be useless.—The deputies returned to M. Audry de Puyraveau's after the interview, where they remained till eleven o'clock at night—only six others having joined them there. They expected an answer from St. Cloud—the prince de Polignac writing to the king as well as marshal Marmont; but none arrived. "It was this circumstance," says M. Lafitte, "more than anything else, which determined me to throw myself into the movement."

There was a great want of union among the deputies who drew up the protest, and attended the meetings at M. Casimir-Perrier's and M. Audry de Puyraveau's. Some wished to carry resistance to the utmost limit of legal order, but not further. Some were determined on a change of dynasty. Others were anxious for all kinds of indefinite reforms; whilst a few sighed for a republic.† This diversity of opinion interrupted action. Whilst the deputies were attending the meeting at M. de Puyraveau's, in the afternoon, a rumour spread through the city, that an order had been given for their arrest. It brought "a crowd of labouring people—youths, children, and combatants of every kind—to the house; who surrounded it, filled the courtyard, obstructed the doors, and addressed the deputies through the windows; declaring they were ready to assist in their defence, if, as the report went, police-officers and soldiers were sent to take them into custody; but they demanded their instant adhesion to the revolutionary movement of the citizens;"‡ and were not impotent in threats as to what they would do if their demand were refused. It was refused, because Lafayette was not present, and not one of the other deputies was then prepared to take a decided part. The crowd was, with difficulty, got rid of; and the deputies, about midnight, went to their homes.

* The account of what passed at this interview, is abridged from the evidence of M. Lafitte, given on the trial of the ministers.

† M. Guizot.

‡ *Ibid.*

When the court at St. Cloud, in the course of the day, was informed of the state of things in Paris—that in many of the streets the royal troops had been repulsed by the insurgents, and that the tricolour was flying from the towers of Nôtre-Dame, and other churches—the king sent orders to Marmont “to concentrate his troops, and act in masses.” But his majesty did not appear to be at all impressed with the imminent dangers of his position. At night, he played cards, as usual, with the duke d’Angoulême and the duchess de Berri (the duchess d’Angoulême was not present), the former of whom violently abused prince de Polignac; whilst the latter appeared in high spirits, and anticipated the speedy success of the royal arms. The ministers, before they separated at the Tuileries, apprised the king of the events of the day, and of the visit of the deputies; and sent orders to the different bodies of the royal guard at Orleans, Rouen, and Caen, and to the troops encamped at St. Omer and Luneville, to concentrate on the capital. Till these arrived, it was resolved to limit the military operations to the defence of the Louvre, the Tuileries, and the communication with St. Cloud. The inmates of the palace then resigned themselves to a few hours’ repose; but under such circumstances, it could scarcely be expected that “Nature’s sweet restorer, balmy sleep,” would visit those to whom the next day might bring loss of honour, fortune, and life—all being involved in the struggle.

Paris was kept in a state of alarm all night by the ringing of the church bells, and by the operations carried on in the streets. Young and old were employed in throwing up barricades. “Men of every trade and calling,” says a writer in Galignani, “lent themselves, as by one common instinct, to that peculiar department, in this general division of labour, with which they had been rendered most conversant by their previous habits and pursuits;” whilst several scientific men and officers presided over, and directed, their work. On the morning of the 29th of July, the citizens appeared to be all ready for the combat. The *bourgeois*, the national guards, and the students, on that morning joined the working classes, with arms in their hands; and although 600 horse of the guard, and 1,500 infantry, joined Marmont the same morning, his force had been so much reduced by desertions and the street fights of the two previous days, that he had not above 5,000 men and eight effective guns at his disposal.

Early on that morning—the third of the contest—general Dubourg, who had just arrived from the country, was waited upon by M. Dumoulin, principal editor of the *Constitutionnel*, and solicited to take the command of the people. “I have no uniform here,” was the reply. His objection was soon obviated by M. Dumoulin, who procured a uniform, probably from the

Opera Comique, as the epaulettes and other insignia were furnished by an actor named Perlet, belonging to that establishment. The general soon after appeared in the Place de la Bourse, which was nearly filled by a body of several thousand men, most of them armed. On seeing an officer in a general’s uniform, they inquired who he was: “who is this general?” being the cry that resounded from all sides. His name was announced by some individual who accompanied him, and the announcement was responded to by shouts of “Long live general Dubourg!”* As the assembled masses displayed a desire to follow him, though he was entirely unknown to them, he immediately led a large party to the Hôtel de Ville, which was undefended. Having rehoisted the tricoloured flag upon that building, the Luxembourg was next attacked, and taken, there being no difficulty in disarming the guards placed there. This was followed by the plundering of the palace of the archbishop of Paris. Hitherto, the populace had refrained from acts of robbery and spoliation; and this rifling of the library, the cellar, and other apartments of the prelate, was justified by the assertion that shot had been fired from his windows upon the insurgents.

Marmont, with his small force, occupied the garden and the palace of the Tuileries; the Place de la Concorde; the Place de Carrousel, and the streets around it; the Champs Elysée, the Place Vendôme, and the Rues St. Honoré, de Rivoli, Castiglione, and de la Paix. The Carrousel, the Place de la Concorde, and the Champs Elysée, were held by the guard; the Place Vendôme by the 5th and 53rd regiments of the line. The positions thus occupied by the troops were the only portions of Paris that remained to the king. The rest of the capital was in the hands of the insurgents, who kept gradually pressing upon the parts occupied by the royalists, upon whom an almost continual fire was kept up. No decisive movement was, however, made for several hours; during which time [some members of the chamber of peers were endeavouring to influence the ministers of the king to make concessions to the people; and those who had resolved to assume the direction of the latter, were organising a government, that order might be established and preserved.

On the 27th and 28th of July, there was no government in Paris; but there is evident proof of an existing organisation. In the course of the insurrectionary movements of those days, prisoners fell into the hands of the royalist troops; and M. Montbel stated, in his *Protestation*, that on the persons of some of them, “were found incontrovertible proofs of a plot. There were cards of a revolutionary association, which indicated a vast organisation; and in

* Louis Blanc: *Histoire de dix Ans.*

which different rallying-places for the insurgents were pointed out; also printed orders of the day, stating, with precision, the different manœuvres necessary to be observed in engaging with the military, in surrounding them with barricades, in afterwards attacking them without danger, and in firing upon them from the doors and windows of the houses." But during the first two days, there were no signs of any executive authority, either civil or military. As early as six o'clock on the morning of the 29th, there was a meeting of deputies at M. Lafitte's, at which the necessity for an established government was insisted upon. Lafayette was for a republic; which Casimir-Perrier, Sebastiani, and most of the other deputies opposed. MM. Lafitte and Thiers showed themselves decided partisans of the duke of Orleans, who, they proposed, should succeed Charles X. on the throne. Without coming to any decision on this point, it was resolved that a provisional government should be nominated; and by that time, the Hôtel de Ville being again in possession of the insurgents, a municipal commission was established there. Soon after, a deputation from some of the people who were acting out of doors, arrived at M. Lafitte's, to offer to M. de Lafayette and general Gerard the military command of Paris. The first frankly and cordially accepted the offer; the latter hesitated, and declined, at the moment, from either accepting or refusing it. It was said, at the time, and has since been generally believed, that Lafayette aimed at becoming the dictator of the republic he wished to see established. However this may be, he took no hearty share, at any time, in the measures taken to bring the duke of Orleans to Paris; and during the "three days," he wished to give the movement another direction. He was, however, besides being invested with the military command, appointed a member of the provisional government. The other members were general Gerard and the duke de Choiseul; the latter being nominated without his consent. The members of the municipal commission were, MM. Lafitte, Casimir-Perrier, Mauguin, Lobau, Audrey de Puyraveau, Odier, and de Schonen.

The insurgents had established themselves at the Hôtel de Ville and the Luxembourg, and were taking steps to carry the Louvre and the Tuileries; while, "in the hope of checking the tide of anarchy, some enlightened royalists—the duke de Mortemart, MM. de Sémonville, d'Argout, de Vitrolles, and de Sussy—all members of the chamber of peers—attempted to give legal satisfaction to the country, and to bring about an arrangement between the inert royalty at St. Cloud, and the boiling revolution at Paris."* Two of these statesmen—MM. de

Sémonville and d'Argout—had first an interview with the ministers and marshal Marmont at the Tuileries, early in the morning, while the deputies were meeting at Lafitte's. In reply to their representations of the state of Paris, and of the progress which the insurrection had made, prince de Polignac said—"The question at issue is the authority of the king and his prerogative; in my opinion, the monarchy is lost the moment a concession is made." Marshal Marmont, however, had lost all hope of obtaining a victory for the government by force, and was inclined to hail as deliverers any one who came with terms of accommodation. There was rather a long discussion between M. de Sémonville and prince de Polignac; in which the former appears to have been somewhat excited and heated; and the latter much more cool and collected, and insensible to the difficulties of the situation. The other ministers, with marshal Marmont and M. de Girardin, subsequently took part in the conversation; "the attitude and expression of countenance" of prince de Polignac's colleagues, "still more than their reserved language, testified their affliction, and the existence of a power superior to their own." After much had been said on both sides, prince de Polignac and his colleagues retired, for the purpose of deliberation, MM. Sémonville and d'Argout being left alone with the marshal. The trio went aside to one of the windows, which happened to be open; there the two peers endeavoured to persuade Marmont "to determine to finish the catastrophe himself. He took his stand, for some moments, on the severity and rigour of the orders he had received, and which he deplored." Whilst the conversation was going on, "messages succeeded each other every minute. Twice, while they stood at the window, officers came, to request permission from Marmont to make a discharge with case-shot on the people, in order to resist a dangerous attack. The convulsive movement which preceded his reply, and the refusal with which he met the proposition, proved the horror with which he regarded it." Encouraged by these manifestations of feeling, MM. Sémonville and d'Argout urged him to arrest the ministers; and M. de Sémonville thought he was on the point of yielding, when they returned; and it was arranged, that both the members of the cabinet and the two peers should go to St. Cloud—the former, according to M. de Montbel, having, on the evening before, received his majesty's orders to attend a council on that day. The grand referendary and his colleague took the lead, and arrived at the palace time enough to have had the first interview with the king. They gave place, however, to the ministers; and the king. We abridge our narrative from the evidence given by the marquis de Sémonville, on the trial of the ministers, as likely to be the most authentic.

* Different accounts are given of the interviews of MM. Sémonville (who was the grand referendary of the chamber of peers) and d'Argout with the ministers

who, having explained their views and wishes to their royal master, retired, and the two peers were admitted to an audience. The ministers themselves differ in their account of what took place at this interview with the king. Prince de Polignac declared, that "he related to his majesty all that had come to his knowledge; told him who were waiting for an audience; and added, that it was important, necessary, indispensable, not only that the *ordonnances* should be withdrawn, but that the ministry should be changed. Nothing in the world, he said, could make him remain longer in the ministry."* M. de Montbel, on the contrary, says, the ministers did not advise concession; and that his majesty evinced his firm determination to continue the means of defence; for which purpose he named the duke d'Angoulême generalissimo of his forces; who was to prepare immediately for his departure to Paris, where M. de Montbel was to follow him, to give any orders that might be necessary in regard to matters of finance.†

When MM. Sémonville and d'Argout entered the royal closet, they found his majesty actuated by what appeared to be an immovable firmness. He turned away his eyes from the disasters of Paris, which he believed to be exaggerated; he turned them away, also, from the dangers which seemed to threaten himself and his dynasty. "I did not succeed," says M. de Sémonville, "in shaking his resolution, until I addressed myself to his heart. When, after having exhausted every other topic, I dared to make him responsible to his own conscience for the fate which he might be preparing for the dauphiness, perhaps at that very moment detained at a distance on purpose; when I forced him to reflect that one hour, one minute of hesitation, might put all to hazard, if the disasters of Paris should meet her on her journey, in some commune or city, and the authorities should not be able to protect her; when I reminded him that he himself was condemning her to the only misfortune she had not yet known, that of being exposed to the outrages of an irritated populace, in the course of a life spent in the midst of weeping—then tears moistened the eyes of the king; instantly his severity vanished, his resolutions changed, his head sank on his breast: with a voice low, but full of emotion, he said, 'I shall tell my son to write and call together the council.'" The ministers, it would seem, however, had not left the palace; but before they reassembled and came to any determination, more important events were announced.

From the time the fighting commenced in the morning, the insurgents had met with no repulse. One by one, all the positions on the left bank of the Seine fell into their hands. Then they attacked the Louvre, which was soon abandoned

by the Swiss, who were placed there to defend it. When the news of this success was brought him, Marmont caused the following brief address to be circulated amongst the insurgents:—

"Parisians!—Yesterday's events have caused many tears to flow. Too much blood has been spilled. From humanity I consent to suspend hostilities, in the hope that good citizens may withdraw to their homes, and resume their occupation. I entreat them to do so.

"July 29.

DUKE DE RAGUSA."

This proposal was partially accepted and acted upon; but the Parisians generally were not disposed to give up any of their advantages. When they took the Louvre, and the Swiss left it, the latter retreated in great disorder and with much precipitation. On reaching the Carrousel, they found there another battalion, in presence of some Parisians, both sides observing the suspension of arms. The retreating battalion was hotly pursued by the fire of the Parisians; and some of the latter, who had occupied the picture-gallery of the Louvre, also fired upon the fugitives. Two squadrons of lancers were posted in the railed enclosure of the Tuileries; and when the Parisians stationed round the Carrousel found that the fire was opening again on all sides, they began firing on the body of troops in their front. A scene of great confusion ensued, which ended in the retreat of the Swiss and the other royal troops, who abandoned the Triumphal Arch of the Tuileries, where the head-quarters of Marmont had been established, and he was obliged to retire so precipitately that he left 120,000*fr.* behind him. He was, as he himself told the king, carried "away by the torrent of fugitives, and was unable to rally the troops till they arrived at the Arche de L'Étoile." A ball, directed at him, killed the horse of his aide-de-camp by his side, and he regretted that it did not pass through his own head. He ordered the Swiss to continue their retreat to St. Cloud; and having directed the other troops to concentrate in the Bois de Boulogne, he also rode to St. Cloud, to lay the state of affairs before the king. At the same time, he sent an aide-de-camp to the Boulevards with a flag of truce, to demand a suspension of firing, saying that the king would give up ministers and *ordonnances*. The offer was met with cries of—"Down with Charles X. No armistice!" Some adding—"Down with the Bourbons!" The Parisians were encouraged to refuse compliance with Marmont's request, not only by their own success, but by the two regiments in the Place Vendôme laying down their arms and refusing to fight against them.

While Marmont was on his way to St. Cloud, the populace took possession of the palace of the Tuileries. On this occasion, "some excesses were committed by them, as they were irritated by the discovery of proclamations of the government to the troops, stimulating them against the

* *Procès des Ex-Ministres.*

† *Protestation.*

citizens; dated the preceding day. These were found in the Pavilion of Flora, in which nearly every article of furniture was destroyed, and thrown, with various precious effects, from the windows, as were some thousands of papers, pamphlets, and even books. It is remarkable, that in the library of the duchess d'Angoulême alone were found any pamphlets or other works calculated to give information upon the state of popular feeling, or the events passing without the walls of the royal residence. The literary treasures found in the apartments of the dauphin were limited to a complete set of *almanacs*, from the 16th century! It must not be supposed, however, that the royal library was deficient in valuable works; on the contrary, it contained a truly noble collection. The devastations of the populace, unfortunately, were not confined to the Pavilion of Flora. All the royal apartments suffered considerably. Splendid specimens of porcelain, ornaments of the most costly description, and magnificent mirrors, were broken without mercy. A portrait of the duke of Ragusa, in the Salle des Maréchaux, was torn into a thousand pieces; and every bust or portrait of the royal family was instantly mutilated or destroyed. One exception was made. One of the victors had raised the butt-end of his musket, to demolish the bust of Louis XVIII., when he was reminded, that, to this monarch, France was indebted for the charter. This was sufficient to ensure its preservation. The bust was, however, covered with a black veil, to mark the feeling entertained of the calamities the fated sway of the Bourbons had brought upon their country."*

The pillage did not last long. A guard was sent for, from the Hôtel de Ville; and M. Maes, who headed it, assisted by M. Brogniat, of the Polytechnic school, soon put an end to the disorder. Everybody was searched as he left the palace, and any objects found were deposited in the sentry-boxes, which stood at the door of the entrance-hall, under the protection of the national guard. Twice, says M. Maes, "I cleared the Salle des Maréchaux of people, and at last succeeded in restoring order."

"The conquest of the Louvre and the Tuileries," writes a former historian, "consummated the triumph of the popular arms, and ought to have terminated the too long protracted conflict." But more blood was shed; partly because Marmont had been unable to dispatch messengers to the bank, the Palais Royal, and the Rue St. Honoré, to inform the guards stationed there of his retreat, and order them to concentrate on St. Cloud. At those places the fighting continued; and it was particularly desperate in the Rue St. Honoré; but the troops were at last obliged to give way there, as they did at the other posts. Some of them, according to a staff officer, "were massacred after they

had thrown down their arms—a fate from which their gallantry, if nothing else, should have saved them."† This appears to have been a singular instance of barbarity. The populace gave and received death unflinchingly, while fighting; but the testimony of many eye-witnesses confirms the fact, that when the troops laid down their arms, their lives were spared.

Greatly enraged against De Polignac, a body of the armed populace, after the capture of the Tuileries, rushed to the prince's hôtel, and demanded, that some *gendarmes*, who were stationed in the house as a guard, should be given up to them. The poor fellows, dreadfully alarmed, threw off their uniforms, and collected together in a back apartment. There they were found by two persons, whom one of the Perriers had sent to them; some writers attributing the interposition to Casimir, others to his brother Joseph. One of these persons, M. Rollet, supplied them with clothes; the other, Dr. Laberge, addressed the people, who were easily persuaded to let the *gendarmes* depart unmolested, and to disperse. This was almost one of the last demonstrations: and soon after, not a soldier was to be seen in Paris; the entire city, by 4 P.M., being in possession of the people.—The number of their killed and wounded in the "three days of July, '30," as they have been since styled, was ascertained, by a minute inquiry, which continued from September 2nd, 1830, to July 1st, 1831, to be 788 killed, including those who died from their wounds; and 4,500 wounded. The number that actually fell in the field of battle, was 390. Of the troops, only seventy-five were killed, and about 300 wounded; forty were taken prisoners.

While the fighting was going on in the streets of Paris, on the 29th of July, Lafayette established himself in a room at the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by the municipal commission, which immediately assumed the administration of affairs. They ordered the national guard to be re-established; issued regulations for the post-office and the police; re-established the telegraph; and sent messengers into the country, by the various diligences, to inform the authorities and people in the departments of what had taken place at Paris.—This new government was sitting, and issuing its orders at the Hôtel de Ville, when Charles X. was holding his last council at St. Cloud. Before it met, the duke de Mortemart arrived from Paris, followed by Marmont, with the news of the capture of the Tuileries, and the retreat of the troops on St. Cloud. Notwithstanding this disastrous intelligence, some of the ministers counselled resistance. One of them was Guernon de Ranville, who could not believe that the monarchy was overthrown. Paris, he contended, "was not France: and if the masses were for a moment

* *Narrative of the Revolution*; published by Galignani.

† *Military Events*.

deluded by the promises of liberalism, they did not desire revolution. The chambers desired it still less, and the majority of the army was faithful. If, however, the crown must fall, let it fall with honour. It was right that some of the *ordonnances* should be recalled, not because the insurgents willed it, but because it was just. This done, the assembling of the chambers should be postponed for a few days beyond the 3rd of August; and some other place than Paris should be appointed for their meeting—a power to make such a change being expressly reserved to the king by the charter.”—The duke d’Angoulême supported these sentiments, and said, “If they were abandoned by all—if that sun was to be the last which shone on the monarchy—let them at least dignify their fall by falling with arms in their hands.”

The majority of the council were opposed to the views of M. de Ranville and the dauphin. They recommended concessions—in fact, submission to the will of the multitude. “Do what you think best; my cause is conquered”—were the words of the king, when he had heard the opinions of those to whom he had appealed for counsel. The final resolution was soon taken: *ordonnances* were drawn up, revoking those of the 25th of July; appointing the duke de Mortemart president of the council and minister for foreign affairs, in the place of the prince de Polignac; Casimir-Perrier, minister of the interior; general Gerard, minister of war; and the duke d’Angoulême, generalissimo of the army. The king affixed his signature to these *ordonnances* as soon as they were ready, and then retired to his chamber, followed by the duke d’Angoulême, who had remained silent, but indignant, while the documents were preparing. The ministers, also, we are told, “left the council-chamber, for the last time, with tears in their eyes, and despair in their hearts.” The duke de Mortemart, the marquis de Sémonville, MM. d’Argout and Vitrolles immediately set out for Paris; and when they arrived, the three last-named were requested by the duke to go to the Hôtel de Ville, and announce to the municipal commission the new dispositions made by the king. But when they presented themselves at about ten o’clock at night, they were refused a hearing. “It is too late—the throne of Charles X. has melted away in blood,” was the exclamation of M. de Schonen, who was a deputy, and intimate friend of Lafayette; whilst the latter dismissed the grand referendary and his colleagues, with the words—“Reconciliation is impossible—the royal family has ceased to reign.” The popular voice confirmed the decision of the provisional government.—There were a number of persons on the Boulevards; amongst whom, two men on horseback made their appearance, shouting with a loud voice, “All is over; peace is concluded with

the king; M. Casimir-Perrier has settled everything.” They were immediately assailed by the crowd; and if general Gerard and M. Bérard had not been present, and interfered in their behalf, they would have been sacrificed on the spot.

There were, at this time, three parties in France, each with different views, and each aiming at supremacy; viz.—the republicans, the Napoleonists, and the Orleanists. A few, amongst whom was M. de Chateaubriand, would have preserved the rights of the elder branch of the Bourbons, in the person of the duke de Bordeaux; whose education they were willing to entrust to the duke d’Orleans. But they were too few to make any demonstration.—The Napoleonists were more numerous; but they had, at that period, little influence with the people; few of whom knew anything of the duke de Leuchtenberg, the title of the son of Napoleon and Maria Louisa; who was regarded by most of those who were aware of his position and pretensions, as a member of the family of Hapsburg, and completely under its influence. He was a colonel in the Austrian service, but had never been in any way conspicuous; and his name was not sufficiently popular to rally a party in his favour.—The republicans, in number, far exceeded the partisans of the house of Orleans; but the latter were much better organised. They had also the support of the greater part of the monied interest, led by Lafitte; and of the literary men, of whom MM. Thiers and Guizot were the most distinguished: even the eminent ballad writer, M. Beranger, known to be a hearty hater of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and supposed to be as fervent an advocate of the claims of Napoleon II., gave his support to the Orleanists.

The *National* was the leading journal of that party; and, in that paper, on the evening of the 29th of July, the following article was prominently printed, having been drawn up by MM. Thiers, Mignet, and Larequy:—“Charles X. can never again re-enter Paris: he has spilled the blood of the people. The republic would be exposed to fearful quarrels, and would produce a breach with Europe. The duke d’Orleans is a prince devoted to the cause of the revolution. The duke d’Orleans never bore arms against us. The duke d’Orleans was at Jemappes. The duke d’Orleans has borne the tricoloured flag under the enemies’ fire, and can again bear it. We will have no other colours. The duke d’Orleans has accepted the charter as the people understand it. He will hold his crown from the people.” The same paragraph also appeared in the *Courrier Française* and *Commerce*; and, the next morning, was printed, placarded on the walls, and distributed in the streets of Paris: but it produced little enthusiasm; and appeared to be

coldly received. The same morning, at an early hour, baron Glanderès, who had been governor of the Tuileries, called on M. Lafitte, to urge the claims of Napoleon II., as it was evident that another government must be formed. He found the eminent banker decidedly in favour of the duke d'Orleans; and all his arguments in favour of the son of the once great favourite had no effect.

Soon after the baron Glanderès left M. Lafitte, the latter was joined by several friends of the duke d'Orleans; and those who were deputies repaired to the Palais-Bourbon, where the following resolution, drawn up by Benjamin Constant, was adopted:—"The meeting of deputies at the present time in Paris, has thought it urgent to beg his royal highness, the duke d'Orleans, to repair to the capital, in order to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. They express the wish to retain the national colours. They, moreover, feel the necessity of instantly setting about the task, in the approaching session of the chamber, of procuring for France all the guarantees indispensable for the full and entire execution of the charter." De Schonen, one of the members of the municipal commission, signed this resolution; from which MM. Villemain, Le Pelletier d'Aunay, and Hély d'Oissel dissented, they not being inclined to sanction the change of dynasty it recognised. Another general meeting was immediately held at M. Lafitte's, at which it was resolved, that M. Thiers and M. Ary Scheffer, the celebrated painter, of whom the duke d'Orleans was a great patron, should proceed to Neuilly, to offer the crown to his royal highness.

The duke had for some time been residing at his beautiful palace of Neuilly; and there he had remained during the stirring and startling events of the "three days." He was greatly indebted to the king, who had obtained for him an irrevocable title to his large domains, which Louis XVIII. had restored to him, but without giving up the power of reclaiming them; and he had also given him the title of royal highness, which he so much desired. Gratitude ought to have taken him to the side of his relative; but he remained secluded, exposing himself to the charge of favouring the designs of his friends, though he did not actively participate in them. M. Guizot thinks he had no wish to avail himself of their demonstrations in his favour. He says—"Many will disbelieve me; and yet I do not hesitate to affirm, that the duke d'Orleans was unambitious. Moderate and prudent, notwithstanding the activity of his mind, and the changeable vivacity of his impressions, he had long foreseen the chance which might elevate him to the throne, but without seeking it, and more disposed to dread, than desire its fulfilment. After the long calamities

of emigration, and the recent trial of the hundred days, one predominant idea possessed him: he was determined not to be again and necessarily involved in the errors which the elder branch of his house might commit, and in the consequences to which those errors might lead. On the 31st of May, 1830, he gave a *fête* at the Palais Royal, to his brother-in-law, the king of Naples, who had arrived in Paris a few days before. Charles X. and all the royal family were present. The display of magnificence was great; the assembly brilliant and animated. 'Monseigneur,' said M. de Salvandy, to the duke d'Orleans, as he passed near him, 'this is truly a Neapolitan festival; we are dancing on a volcano.' 'Be it so,' replied the duke; 'I think with you; but at least the fault is not mine. I shall not have to reproach myself with making no effort to open the eyes of the king. But what am I to do? Nothing is listened to. Heaven only knows where they will be in six months. But I well know where I shall be. Under any circumstances, my family and I remain in this palace. No matter what danger shall arise, I shall not stir from hence. I will never separate my own lot, and that of my children, from the fate of the country. Such is my fixed determination.' This thought had held the foremost place in the conduct of the duke d'Orleans through the whole course of the restoration; he was equally decided not to become a conspirator or a victim."*

The duke's conduct appears to support Guizot's opinion. He was prepared, by information M. Lafitte had sent to him on the 27th and on the evening of the 29th of July, for the proposal to place himself at the head of affairs being made to him. To avoid the messengers, he left Neuilly, and retired to Raincy. When MM. Thiers and Scheffer arrived at the château of Neuilly, therefore, on the 30th, they saw only the duchess and madame Adelaide, the duke's sister. The former displayed much emotion and genuine feeling when the object of the mission was explained to her. She turned to Scheffer—whom she knew well from his teaching her children drawing—and asked him how he could undertake such a mission? That M. Thiers should have charged himself with it, she could understand: he little knew them—"But you!" added her royal highness—"you, who have been admitted to our intimacy, and who knew us so well! Ah! we can never forgive it!" The envoys would have been dismissed without any hope, had not madame Adelaide entered the apartment. Her energies were at once excited when she heard of the state of Paris, and what was likely to be the fate of the royal family; and that M. Thiers and M. Scheffer were there to make some proposal to her brother. "Oh!" she exclaimed, "let them make my brother a

* *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

president, a commander of the national guard—anything, so that they do not make him a proscribed.” When told that it was a throne they came to offer him, she saw objections to his mounting that throne from which Louis XVI. descended to the scaffold; and said it would strike a panic into all royal houses, and endanger the peace of the world. M. Thiers’ arguments repelled these fears; and madame Adelaide determined to go to the capital. “A child of Paris,” she said, “I will entrust myself to the Parisians.” “And you secure the crown to your family,” was the reply of Thiers. It was then agreed to send a messenger, M. Analotte de Montesquieu, one of his royal highness’s household, to Raincy, for the duke. His royal highness, as soon as he received and read the note which that messenger delivered, ordered his carriage, and set off for Paris. He had not, however, proceeded far, before he directed the horses’ heads to be turned, and was driven back. After some delay, his royal highness again set out, and this time reached Paris, but unknown and unnoticed. He immediately went to the Palais Royal, and, instead of announcing his arrival, he appears to have gone up to one of the attics, and thrown himself upon a servant’s bed.*

During the day there were important movements in other directions. The duke de Mortemart, after the rejection, by the parties assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, of the conciliatory overtures, of which MM. Sémonville, d’Argout, and de Vitrolles had been the bearers on the night of the 29th of July, had returned to St. Cloud. It was one o’clock on the morning of the 30th when he reached the palace; and he found that, during his absence, the fugitive troops had arrived, and the ministers, with the exception of MM. de Montbel and de Capelle, had left, flying in terror from the storm they had raised. The duke d’Angoulême, as generalissimo, had issued an order for the regiments that remained faithful to concentrate at St. Cloud; and this order brought there, in the course of the next day (the 30th), the royal and body guards, the pupils of the school of St. Cyr, some battalions of the line, and the remnant of the *gendarmes*. While they were assembling, the duke de Mortemart resolved to make another effort at Paris. He went in a peasant’s dress, to avoid recognition, for the provisional government had placed guards at the gates of the capital; and the populace, who had spent the night in rejoicing, and were then engaged in burying their dead, were not likely to regard any royalist with favourable eyes. He entered the city through a breach in the walls, and found the tricolour everywhere displayed, and the arms and insignia of royalty as generally

displaced. Making his way to his hôtel, and, fearing that if he presented himself at the Hôtel de Ville he should be recognised and refused admittance, he sent for M. Collin de Sussy, and placed in his hands the last *ordonnances* issued by Charles, recalling those of the 25th, and dismissing the Polignac ministry. A number of the deputies were at that time sitting in the Palais-Bourbon, having chosen Lafitte president. There M. de Sussy first presented himself; but Lafitte refused to allow him to read the documents he held in his hand; and, after some discussion, it was resolved, that a deputation should immediately be sent from the deputies to the duke d’Orleans, to present to him the resolution agreed to on the previous day, and to request him immediately to assume the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom. The peers were also assembled at the Luxembourg. There Chateaubriand attempted to raise a feeling in favour of the ancient monarchy. “If needs be, let us leave Paris,” he said; “but wherever we may be driven, let us save the king, and surrender ourselves to the trust of a courageous fidelity. Let us reflect on the liberty of the press. If the question comes to be the salvation of legitimacy, give me a pen and two months, and I will restore the throne!” He was heard with coldness, and interrupted by a message from the deputies, detailing the steps which the members of that chamber had taken. It was deemed the most prudent that could be adopted, and the peers joined in the resolution to request the duke d’Orleans to accept the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Not doubting his royal highness’s compliance, a proclamation, nearly in the words of the paragraph we have quoted from the *National*, was issued in his behalf. It concluded as follows:—“At this moment the peers and deputies are assembled in their respective chambers, to proclaim the duke d’Orleans, *and to impose on him a charter in the name of the people.*”

The words in italic were added to counteract in some degree the proceedings of the republicans. A number of persons, who were anxious that the kingly office should be for ever abolished, met on the 30th at the Hôtel de Ville, where Lafayette presided. There was another body, who called themselves the “Central Committee of the Twelfth Division of Paris,” and who made no public demonstration of their existence till the next day. A third, called the *Assemblée Lointier*—described as being composed of the “most ardent Jacobins”—was permanently established at the house of a *restaurateur*, named Lointier, in the Rue St. Honoré. They were mostly men of desperate fortunes, who might gain much, and could lose nothing, by a revolution, and were

* There is another account of the arrival of the duke d’Orleans at the Palais Royal; that he performed the journey from Neuilly on foot, in the dress of a *bourgeois*, attended by three persons similarly disguised;

and entered Paris greatly distressed. When there, he had to make his way to the Palais Royal, through crowds of republicans, to whose cries he was obliged to respond.

prepared to go any and all lengths. On the morning of the 30th of July, they assembled at their usual place of meeting. Whilst warmly debating what course they should pursue, and who should be their leader, some of the friends of the duke d'Orleans, accompanied by Beranger, the poet, appeared amongst them, and endeavoured to win them over to support the nomination of his royal highness as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Their arguments and entreaties failed in producing the slightest effect. On the contrary, the following resolution was passed, and a deputation was dispatched with it to the provisional government, sitting at the Hôtel de Ville:—"The people yesterday reconquered their rights at the expense of their blood. The most precious of these rights is that of choosing their form of government. It is necessary to take care that no proclamation should be issued which designs the form even of the government which may be chosen. A provisional representation of the people exists; let it continue till the wishes of the people are known."

The deputies from Lointier's, on their arrival at the Hôtel de Ville, were immediately admitted to an interview with Lafayette, to whom they presented the resolution. While he was talking with them, M. de Sussy, who had been refused permission even to read the new *ordonnances* of the king to the deputies assembled at the Palais-Bourbon, arrived, bringing the documents with him, for the purpose of communicating them to the provisional government and the municipal commission. Lafayette took them from his hands, and read their contents to the persons by whom he was surrounded. A perfect scene of confusion ensued. "We are betrayed!" "No new ministers appointed by Charles X.!" "We have done with the Bourbons!" were the exclamations heard on all sides; and it was with difficulty that M. Bastide, one of the deputies from the assembly Lointier, was prevented from throwing M. de Sussy out of the window. M. de Lafayette advised that gentleman to withdraw, and communicate with the municipal commission; but he had no better result with its members. All terms of reconciliation with Charles X. were rejected; and the following proclamation, framed to express the views of the commission and the deputies from the assembly Lointier, was immediately issued:—"France is free. It will have a constitution. It awards to the provisional government only the right to consult it. In the meantime, until its will is expressed, the following principles must be recognised:—No more royalty; government exercised solely by the representatives of the nation; the executive government confided to a temporary president; the concourse, mediate or immediate, of *all* the citizens in the election of deputies; the liberty of worship; no national religion; the forces by sea and land secured against arbitrary dismissal;

the establishment of national guards over all France, and the preservation of the constitution intrusted to their arms. The principles for which we have shed our blood, we are willing, if necessary, to support by legal insurrection."

Whilst these transactions were taking place, the Orleanists assembled at Lafitte's were in a state of the greatest doubt and anxiety. They could hear nothing of the duke. Led to anticipate his arrival from the account of their mission, given by MM. Thiers and Scheffer, they sat hour after hour, and yet his royal highness did not appear, nor could any intelligence be obtained of him. Messenger after messenger was sent to the Palais Royal, with the same result—"Nothing was known of his royal highness." In the course of the day, intelligence was brought, that the servants were removing the most valuable effects from the Palais Royal. Then came accounts of the utter failure of the mission of Beranger to the assembly Lointier; and lastly, a copy of the proclamation we have just quoted. The members of the peers and deputies who had assembled at the Luxembourg and the Palais-Bourbon had separated hours before; and Lafitte, with several other deputies, had joined their friends assembled at the banker's hôtel. When the last piece of intelligence reached this doubting assembly, it caused them to despond. One by one they dropped off. Lafitte sent another messenger to the duke d'Orleans (already at the Palais Royal, but unknown to every one except the servants who accompanied him there), to say—"he must come to Paris immediately, if he valued his chance." His friends would not wait to hear the result; and, about midnight, the banker and Benjamin Constant were left alone. After a pause, the former exclaimed—"I wonder what will come of it all to-morrow!" His companion rejoined—"To-morrow! why, very likely to-morrow *we* shall be hanged!"

At St. Cloud, the day was one of misery and of despair. On the 30th of July, the king found himself deserted by nearly all those who had thronged around him at the Tuileries; and the progress of events at Paris—of which Marmont was kept informed—the continued triumph of the revolution, and the approach of a large insurgent force to St. Cloud, caused the marshal to propose a suspension of arms, and the consequent retirement of the royal troops. The duke d'Angoulême was so indignant at this step, taken without his concurrence as generalissimo, that he had a violent altercation with Marmont, whom he reproached as a traitor, and attempted to deprive of his sword, the duke wounding his hand in the struggle. The marshal's sword was taken from him by the duke's attendants, and he was put under arrest; from which he was soon released by the orders of the king, and his sword restored to him. His majesty was greatly distressed by this occurrence, and resolved to retire to Trianon.

There, on the 31st of July, he assembled such of his ministers as were near him, with a view to discuss what measures it would be most wise and prudent to adopt. They were in consultation—the monarch anxiously listening to their deliberations—when the duke d'Angoulême arrived. He had employed himself in taking measures for the defence of St. Cloud; but on the advance of a large body of the insurgents, the infantry of the line, posted at the bridge, refused to fire upon them: the insurgents were enabled, in consequence, to pass the bridge, and take possession of the palace. His royal highness then learned, that marshal Marmont, in coming to an agreement with the triumphant leaders of the revolution, had taken the most prudent course. As the body of men that occupied St. Cloud were preparing to march on Trianon, the duke advised the king to retire to Rambouillet. His majesty accordingly dismissed his ministers, advising them to seek safety in flight, and started almost immediately for that place. The guards, nearly 12,000 strong, accompanied the monarch, who rode at their head on horseback. The duchess de Berri followed, dressed in male attire, with her two children, in a carriage. The troops, who did not make a very orderly retreat, halted at Trappes. The royal party went on to Rambouillet, where they arrived about midnight, greatly harassed and fatigued. Charles took up his residence at the château where Francis I. died, in 1547, and which had been a favourite retreat of Louis XVI.

The same day decided, for a time, the fortunes of the duke d'Orleans. About one o'clock in the morning of the 31st of July, colonel Heynes called at the hôtel Lafitte, to inform the banker that his royal highness was in Paris. Lafitte took steps to convene a meeting of the Orleans partisans at an early hour; and by eight o'clock, a deputation, with Sebastiani at its head, was ready to proceed to the Palais Royal, to make an offer to the duke of the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom. On arriving at the palace, the deputation, without being announced, proceeded directly to the chamber in which they were told they would find the duke; thus depriving his royal highness of the opportunity of declining to see them, were he so inclined. When general Sebastiani had announced the object of the mission, the duke evinced no inclination to comply with their request. But, after a long conversation, in which the hopes and fears, the dangers and difficulties of the country were expatiated upon by the different speakers—who all pointed out a prompt acceptance, by the duke, of the offer made him, as the only remedy which presented itself for the numerous evils that threatened the country and himself—the duke requested general Sebastiani to follow him to his cabinet. The general soon left, with a letter for prince Talleyrand, then at his hôtel in

the Rue St. Florentin. The prince was dressing when Sebastiani arrived; but did not detain him long. After perusing the duke d'Orleans' letter, he wrote a word or two on a sheet of paper, which he placed in the general's hands, who returned, without loss of time, to the palace. His royal highness eagerly took and opened the despatch from the wily statesman. It contained the words, "*Qu'il accepte.*" This decided the question. The duke returned, with Sebastiani, to the other deputies, and stated, that he was willing to place himself in their hands, and to accept the lieutenant-generalship of France. The following proclamation was immediately drawn up, and put in circulation:—

"Inhabitants of Paris,—The deputies of France, at this moment assembled in Paris, have expressed a wish that I should repair to that capital, to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. I have not hesitated to share your danger, to place myself in the midst of this heroic population, and to make every effort to preserve you from civil war and anarchy. On entering the city of Paris, I bore, with pride, those glorious colours which you have resumed, and which I myself have long borne. The chambers are about to assemble; they will consider the means of assuring the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation. A charter shall, henceforth, be a reality.—LOUIS-PHILLIPE D'ORLEANS.

"Paris, July 31st, 1830."

The deputies again assembled in the Palais-Bourbon, Lafitte presiding. He proposed, that a proclamation to the French nation, containing an exposition of the principles on which the government was to be conducted, should be issued. The proposition was agreed to; and MM. Guizot, Villemain (who had consented to acknowledge the duke d'Orleans as lieutenant-general), Bérard, and Benjamin Constant, were appointed a committee to prepare it. It was an able document, and is supposed to have proceeded principally from the pen of Guizot. "France is free!" it said. "Absolute power elevated its standard; the heroic population of France has beaten it down. Paris, under attack, has made the sacred cause triumph by arms, which had succeeded already through the constitutional elections. A power usurping our rights, and invading our repose, threatened, at the same time, liberty and order. There is no longer any apprehension for our acquired privileges—no barrier between us and those we still demand." It was stated, that "a true Frenchman, one who had never fought but for France—the duke d'Orleans—had been invited to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom:" under whose superintendence, the following rights and privileges were promised. "The re-establishment of the national guard, with the right of choosing their own officers. The participation of the

citizens in the arrangement of departmental and municipal administration. The trial by jury for offences of the press. The responsibility, legally organised, of the ministers and secondary agents of government. The position of the military settled by law. The re-election of deputies promoted to public situations." This document, when submitted to the deputies, ninety-two being present, was unanimously adopted, ordered to be printed, and circulated throughout the kingdom. The deputies then rose, and proceeded to the Palais Royal to pay their respects to the new lieutenant-general. The address of the chamber was read to his royal highness, who gave a hearty assent to its sentiments; and then, as dissatisfaction was manifesting itself at the Hôtel de Ville, it was arranged that the duke should immediately proceed there, accompanied by the deputies, and escorted by a body of the national guards.

The proceedings of the previous day had not satisfied the republican members of the municipal commission; who, on the morning of the 31st (the eve of the dissolution of that body), led by M. Mauguin, assumed the functions of a general government, and named the following administration:—M. Dupont de l'Eure, as commissioner of justice; baron Louis, of finance; general Gerard, for war; M. Rigny, for the marine; M. Bignon, for foreign affairs; M. Guizot, for public instruction; and the duke de Broglie, for the interior and for public works. The appointments were scarcely made, when the proclamation of the duke d'Orleans appeared. This was immediately followed by an address to the people, emanating from the body we have mentioned, as "The Central Committee of the Twelfth Division." "Fellow-citizens," it said, "a proclamation has been issued in the name of the duke d'Orleans, who announces himself as lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and who, as a sole advantage, offers to concede the charter, without amelioration or preliminary guarantees. The French people ought to protest against, and annul, an act which violates their true interests. The nation, which so energetically conquered its rights, has not been consulted as to the form of government under which it is called upon to live. It has not been consulted, because the chamber of deputies and the chamber of peers, who held their authority under the government of Charles X., have fallen with him, and, in consequence, are incapable of representing the people of France."

The people were greatly excited by this document, and by the addresses of the republican orators, who were not idle in putting questions respecting the lieutenant-general; such as—"When did he fight for France?" "Where was he during the three days?" "When did he enter Paris?" And to the latter, it was replied—"On the 30th, when the victory was

won, and it remained only to bury the dead." The streets of Paris, as the day advanced, became crowded, and republican shouts, and party-cries, were heard on all sides. When the duke left the Palais Royal, to proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, he was on horseback, the deputies following on foot. They had to cross the barricades which were in their way, few of which had been touched, even for the purpose of effecting an opening. The people pressed round them as they passed on, using no violence, but showing no respect; and the deputies were compelled, for their own preservation, and to protect the duke d'Orleans, to grasp each other firmly by the hand, and thus to form, on his right and on his left, two moving hedges. As they reached the quay of the Louvre, a mass of women and children rushed upon, and surrounded them, exclaiming—"Long live our deputies!" At the Place de Grève, they danced and sang the *Marseillaise*; and in the further progress of the *cortège*, various cries and questions were heard. Pointing to the lieutenant-general, one person asked—"Who is the mounted gentleman? Is he a general? Is he a prince?" To which a female responded—"I hope he is not a Bourbon." Such was Louis-Philippe's first progress through the streets of the capital of his future kingdom.

General Lafayette, who was apprised of the intended visit of the duke, advanced to the steps of the hôtel to meet his royal highness, surrounded by his staff, as commander-in-chief of the national guard. When the lieutenant-general arrived, he and Lafayette cordially embraced; and the duke proceeded to the great hall, supported by the general on one side, and by Lafitte on the other. That hall was crowded by officers of all ranks, and men of all conditions, who received his royal highness without any marks of disapprobation, and with some applause. The declaration of the chamber of deputies was again read to him; and at its close, he said—"As a Frenchman, I deplore the evils inflicted on the country; as a prince, I am desirous of contributing to the happiness of the nation." He had scarcely closed his lips, when general Dubourg—who, by the way, some authorities describe as really an officer of that rank, while others say he was a mere adventurer—advanced to his royal highness, and said—"You have entered, prince, into serious engagements. I trust you will not forget them; but it is well to warn you, that, should you do so, we are the men to make you keep your word." This blunt attack created a general feeling of embarrassment, which was soon removed by the duke's replying—"You show that you do not know me, sir, by addressing such language to me. Know, then, that I am an honest man, whom it is not necessary to remind of his engagements." Applause followed this reply; and Lafayette, advancing, said to the duke—"What is now wanting for

the happiness of France, is a popular throne, surrounded by popular institutions." The lieutenant-general replied—"That is just my opinion." Lafayette termed this interchange of sentiment a "mutual engagement," and stated, that it silenced opposition, and rallied round the throne of Louis-Philippe many who disliked monarchy, especially when administered by a Bourbon. At all events, it was received with loud applause in the hall; and when the duke, holding Lafayette by one hand, and bearing a tricoloured flag in the other, advanced to the window, and waved the latter before the assembled crowd, that applause was reiterated. The duke then retired to the Palais Royal, and spent the evening in consultation with his friends.

The next morning, Sunday, the 1st of August, the streets of Paris were placarded with an official proclamation, containing the words—"The duke d'Orleans is not a Bourbon, he is a Valois!" A proclamation was also issued, summoning the chambers to meet on the 3rd of August, the day named for the opening the session, in the *ordonnances* for regulating the elections. The same day, the lieutenant-general named Dupont de l'Eure provisional commissioner of justice; M. Gerard, of war; M. Guizot, of the interior; and M. Louis, of finance. M. Girod de l'Aix was appointed prefect of police; and marshal Maison, general Jacqueminot, MM. Odillon Barrot and de Schonen were dispatched to the château of Rambouillet, to endeavour to persuade Charles X. to leave the kingdom, and to give up the crown jewels which he had taken with him. On the same day, the duchess d'Angoulême arrived at Rambouillet. She had been at Vichy; and on reaching Dijon, on her return, heard of the events at Paris, and that the king had left the capital. Her royal highness assumed the disguise of a waiting-woman, and followed his majesty, who was very glad to receive her, even in his then melancholy state. Shortly after her arrival, intelligence of the acceptance, by the duke d'Orleans, of the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, arrived. His majesty then resolved upon carrying out a project which he had formed for several days, but it had been opposed by the duke d'Angoulême—to abdicate in favour of the duke de Bordeaux, the dauphin also resigning his claims in favour of his nephew. The same day, the abdication was formally drawn up, and communicated in a letter to the duke d'Orleans, who was requested, as lieutenant-general, to make proclamation of the accession of Henry V. to the crown; and to administer the government during the minority of the new king. Of course, the lieutenant-general never thought of carrying out these intentions of the king; but he wrote a letter to his majesty, which Louis Blanc describes "as affectionate, and full of testimonies of fidelity;" convincing the king of the loyalty of the duke; and

pleasing the fallen monarch with the idea, that "he had found, in that prince, a protector for his grandson—one whose fidelity was a sufficient guarantee for the future royal destiny of the duke de Bordeaux." The letter, so deceptive, if this was its true character, was followed by a body of from 12,000 to 15,000 men, who were hastily got together and armed, and ordered to march on Rambouillet.

Both chambers assembled, on the 3rd of August, in the chamber of deputies; sixty peers, and 240 deputies being present. The duke did not occupy the throne, over which the tricolour waved; but all the other ceremonies of royalty were observed. He delivered a brief address, which was listened to with attention; but the last paragraph, in which the abdication of the king was mentioned, without stating that Charles resigned the throne in favour of his grandson—called forth expressions of disapprobation from the friends of the late dynasty who were present.—The duke then named M. Pasquier, peer of France, president of the chamber of peers; and decreed, that his two sons, the duke de Chartres, then a very young man; and the duke de Nemours, quite a boy, "should take, in the chamber of peers during the session, the rank and the place which belonged to them."—The chamber of deputies proceeded to the choice of their candidates for the office of president—of whom Casimir-Perrier had the greatest number of votes, standing above Lafitte. The lieutenant-general, therefore, named him president, following the indicated will of the chamber; at the same time expressing a hope, that it would be the last time the list of selected deputies would be presented to him, to name the president from.

The preliminary business of the chamber occupied the deputies till the 6th of August.—On that day, M. Bérard moved various modifications in the charter; and a resolution, to the effect, that if the duke d'Orleans accepted them, the crown should be settled upon him, and the heirs male of his family. Some opposition was made; but the chamber appointed a committee to consider M. Bérard's propositions; and adjourned to 8 P.M., to receive the report. When the chamber met in the evening, M. Guizot presented a copy of the abdication of Charles X. There was some opposition to its being received; but M. Lafitte put the question, and it was carried in the affirmative. At ten o'clock, M. Dupin, the elder, presented the report on M. Bérard's propositions, which was ordered to be taken into consideration the next day.

On the 7th, when the chamber opened, most of the members of the *côté droit* were absent. When the report upon the proposed modifications of the charter, and the accompanying resolution, however, were considered, there were some who stood up manfully for the fallen

house. But the numbers were all in favour of the new order of things; and, at the end of six hours' discussion, the votes being taken, there appeared 219 for, and 33 against, the report. The modifications thus proposed to be introduced into the charter, were not so serious as the extreme party in the country would have liked; but they embodied most of those amendments which had been, from time to time, suggested by the moderate party in the chambers. The 14th clause of the charter, under the authority of which the *ordonnances* of the 25th of July were issued, was struck out. The age of electors was fixed at twenty-five, and of deputies at thirty-one. The annual renewal of a fifth of the members was abolished; and the duration of the chamber fixed for five years. The franchise was continued to the payers of 300*fr.* per annum, in direct taxes. The creation of peers by Charles X. was declared void; but the question, whether the chamber of peers should be hereditary or not? was reserved for future discussion. It was also provided, that, in future, the title of the monarch should be king of the French. The amendments concluded with a resolution, that "the universal and urgent interests of the French nation, called the duke d'Orleans to the throne." These amendments were positively made in the charter; whilst, with respect to the responsibility of ministers, the re-election of deputies on accepting office, the annual vote on the expenses of the army, and the pay of both naval and military officers; the improved and more popular regulation of the national guard; and of departmental, municipal, and educational institutions—a declaration was framed in favour of such improvements, to which the consent of the lieutenant-general, before the crown was conferred upon him, was required. Before these modifications and declaration were sent up to the peers—immediately they were voted in the deputies—the whole chamber, with the exception of the members of the *côté droit*, carried them up to the Palais Royal, where they were read, in a loud voice, by Lafitte, who had been acting as president of the chamber, on account of the illness of Casimir-Perrier. The duke d'Orleans replied, that he regarded the modifications and declaration, "as an expression of the national will; and that they appeared to be conformable to the political principles he had ever professed." He was free from ambition, he said, and accustomed to a peaceable domestic life; and it was only out of a love to his country that he complied with the wishes of the chambers. A crowd had followed the deputies to the palais: after a time, calls arose for the duke, and he went to the window with Lafayette, into whose arms he threw himself; and the old republican, turning to the people, said, "This is the prince whom we wanted: this is the best of republics."

After this demonstration, the consideration of the modifications and the declaration by the peers, was a mere matter of form. They had adjourned their sitting on the 7th, till the evening, that the report from the deputies might be presented to them. When they assembled, and that report was brought up, the viscount de Chateaubriand asked, if it was consistent with their character to deliberate upon a subject which the other chamber had already decided; and presented their decision to the lieutenant-general, who had accepted it? The duke de Broglie said, they were bound to consider "a message" from the other chamber; the members of which, it was evident, did not consider the question settled, by their sending it up to them. As to the lieutenant-general, he had not accepted the modifications definitely. The majority of the peers agreed with the duke; then M. de Chateaubriand made a noble speech in behalf of the Bourbons, and against the democratic spirit of some of the modifications. They implied, he said, the right of the people to elect their king: and "a king named by the chambers, or elected by the people, would ever be, whatever pains might be taken to disguise it, a novelty in France." "Charles X. and his son were dethroned, or had abdicated; but the throne was not thereby vacant. After them a child was called to the succession; and who would venture to condemn his innocence? Educated in the schools of the country, in the ideas of the constitution, and abreast of his age, he might become a king with all the requirements of the future." Warmly the orator spoke in support of this young prince's rights; but he spoke in vain. The peers adopted, by eighty-nine votes to ten—one peer not voting—the modifications of the deputies, except that declaring the creation of peers by Charles X. null and void; that they left to the high prudence of the prince, lieutenant-general.

The 8th of August was devoted to putting the modifications, &c., into an official form, called a "declaration;" and on the 9th it was presented to the duke, by a joint deputation from the peers and deputies. They waited upon him at the Palais Royal; and his royal highness having accepted the document, returned with the deputation to the chamber of deputies, where the ceremony of "the acceptance of the constitution" by the lieutenant-general, took place, amidst great pomp. The modifications agreed to were again read. And the duke said, at the close—"Gentlemen, peers, and deputies,—I have read, with great attention, the declaration of the chamber of deputies, and the adhesion of the peers; and I have weighed and meditated upon all its expressions. I accept, without restriction or reserve, the clauses and engagements which that declaration contains; and the title of king of the French, which it confers upon

me." The oath was then administered in the following terms:—"In the presence of God, I swear to observe, faithfully, the constitutional charter, with the modifications contained in the declaration; to govern only by the laws, and according to the laws; to render fair and equal justice to every one, according to his right; and to act in everything in no other view but that of the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." His majesty then, amidst cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive Philippe VII.!*" ascended the throne; and when the applause subsided, he spoke as follows:—"Peers and deputies,—I have now completed a great act. I am profoundly affected by the magnitude of the duties which it imposes on me; but I have confidence that I shall perform them. It is with that full conviction I have accepted the honours offered to me. I could earnestly have wished never to have filled the throne, to which the wishes of the nation have just called me. But France, attacked in its liberties, saw that public order was in peril. The violation of the charter had shaken all public faith, and interrupted the supremacy of the law. It was necessary to restore the laws to activity, and it belonged to the chambers to provide for that necessity. You have so provided. The prudent modifications made in the charter guarantee security for the future: and France, I hope, will be happy at home, respected abroad; which will render the peace of Europe more secure." At the close, the applause was resumed: the new king, accompanied by many peers and deputies, escorted by the national guard, and surrounded by an immense crowd, who appeared vehement in expressions of loyalty, notwithstanding the republican demonstrations frequent in the last ten days, returned to the Palais Royal; and the reign of Louis-Philippe—the name he assumed—commenced.

We must now return to Charles X., whom we left at Rambouillet, with commissioners and an armed force on their way, to induce him, either by entreaty or violence, to leave France. The former arrived first at the château on the 3rd of August, a few hours after Charles had, through the duke de Luxembourg, who commanded the guards, addressed to them an order of the day, in which he assured them of the same rank and position under Henri V. that they had enjoyed under himself. When the commissioners were introduced to him, to communicate the object of their mission, he said—"What do you wish with me? I have arranged everything with the duke d'Orleans, my lieutenant-general of the kingdom." The fallen monarch was soon enlightened as to the real state of affairs; and influenced, it is said, by the reports of Odillon Barrot, as to the numbers of the armed insurgents who were on their way from Paris to

drive him from Rambouillet—he resolved to depart for Cherbourg, there to embark for some other country. Having delivered the crown jewels to the commissioners on the 4th, orders were given to depart for the above-named port, and the few troops of the line that had stood by the lilies immediately took their departure for Paris. The guard, however, to their honour, remained as true to their oaths in the day of adversity as they had been in those of prosperity. They accompanied the king to Maintenon, where he dismissed the *garde-royale*, retaining only the *gardes-du-corps* and the *gendarmérie d'élite*, with six pieces of cannon, to accompany him to Cherbourg, and gave the command of this little troop to Marmont. When Charles took leave of the *garde-royale*, whom he recommended to make their submission to the lieutenant-general, there was scarcely a dry eye to be seen. All the king's faults were forgotten in his misfortunes; and if the men to whom he then said farewell could have restored him to the throne with their lives, they would gladly have sacrificed them for that purpose. The sight of the duchess d'Angoulême and the duchess de Berri—the latter in male attire, leading her children by the hand—also called forth great emotion. The king himself melted into tears; but he soon resumed his dignity, which never shone forth more brightly than now that, driven from his own country, he was once more to test the hospitality of that land to which the Bourbons never were sincere friends, and yet which afforded them shelter and protection, and the most generous treatment, when deserted by all the world besides. England had been selected as his future abode, because, having written to its king and to the emperor of Austria, to ask for a refuge in their dominions, a favourable answer had been first received from the former.

The journey to Cherbourg was not hurried. The king was twelve days on the road. He wished to know the probable fate of the young prince who accompanied him, before he quitted the shores of France. Having learned the offer of the crown to the duke d'Orleans, and its acceptance by him, he delayed no longer. On the 14th of August he arrived at Valognes, where he remained till the vessels in which he and his companions were to embark came round to Cherbourg. He had been accompanied to that place by the dukes de Luxembourg, de Guiche, and de Levis; the princes de Polignac and Croz; the counts de Mesnard and de Brissac; Auguste de la Rochejaquelein, baron Dumas (preceptor to the duke de Bordeaux), and madame Gontaut, governess to his young sister. There he took leave of his escort, and of those who did not accompany him, and the scene of Maintenon was renewed. The duke and duchess d'Angoulême, the duchess de Berri and her two children, were by his side when the *gardes-du-corps* gave

up their colours to him who had been their king. His majesty's brief address to the ensigns, when they delivered the colours into his hands, was interrupted by sobs. "I receive these standards," he said, "which are without a stain; and this child will one day, I hope, restore them to you. The names of each of you, inscribed on your muster-rolls, and preserved by my grandson, will remain registered in the archives of the royal family, to attest for ever my misfortunes, and the consolation I have received from your fidelity." The king then took an affectionate leave of his faithful followers; and he also insisted that the prince de Polignac should then leave him. He apprehended that violence would be offered to the ex-minister, and he counselled him to retire behind the Loire, as the last orders given by the duke d'Angoulême, as generalissimo, were, that the army should assemble at Chartres; and in the midst of that army he anticipated that Polignac would find safety. The prince kissed the king's hand, and took an affectionate farewell. Two days after—on the 16th of August—the king and his family embarked at Cherbourg, on board the

English packet *Great Britain*, which landed them on the coast of Dorsetshire. They resided for some time at Lulworth Castle, in that county, and then proceeded to Holyrood House, which had been appropriated to their use by the British government.

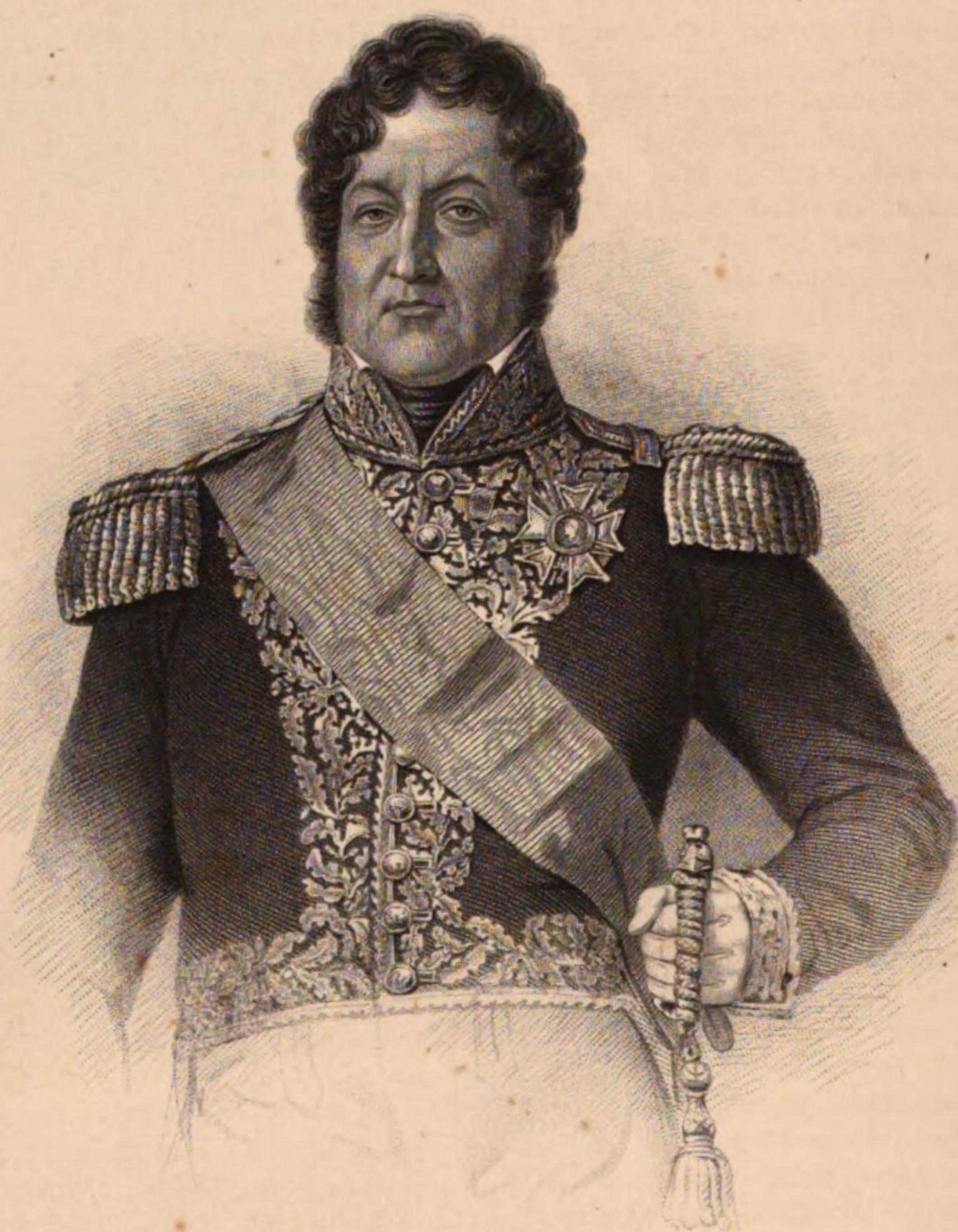
We have observed that Charles never conducted himself with greater dignity than on his journey from Rambouillet to Cherbourg, which was not without annoyances other than those that arose from his fallen state. Wherever he passed he found the lily supplanted by the tricolour. He frequently heard the *Marseillaise*, occasionally diversified by a new song, written by Casimir Delavigne, on the successes of the three days. If a crowd collected, he was eyed with cold curiosity, and as cold a silence; but through all he was resigned. He never neglected his religious duties; and to all with whom he came in contact he was frank and courteous. In fact, it is due to this illustrious exile to say, that his deportment under misfortune never lost the stamp of that of a true gentleman and a king; and, if he failed to ensure support in prosperity, in adversity he won respect.

CHAPTER XIII.

ANTECEDENTS OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE; THE EFFECTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE MILITARY, OF WOMEN, AND OF LITERATURE, IN FRANCE; RESIGNATION OF THE PEERS; LOUIS-PHILIPPE'S FIRST MINISTRY; HIS AMBASSADORS TO FOREIGN COURTS; DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE; SUICIDE OF THE PRINCE DE CONDE; LEGISLATIVE MEASURES; STATEMENT OF M. GUIZOT ON THE CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM; POPULAR TUMULTS; SUPPRESSION OF THE CLUBS; ELECTION OF DEPUTIES; CHANGE IN THE ADMINISTRATION; TRIAL OF THE MINISTERS OF CHARLES X.; THE VERDICTS AND SENTENCES; RESIGNATION OF M. LAFAYETTE; MORE CHANGES IN THE CABINET; DEATH OF BENJAMIN CONSTANT.

THERE are few persons—we question, indeed, if one is to be found mentioned in the historic annals of any country—whose life presented a career of greater vicissitudes, than we find in that of Louis-Philippe d'Orleans, who, from July, 1830, to February, 1848, enjoyed the title and authority of the king of the French. He was the eldest son of Louis-Philippe Joseph, duke d'Orleans; who—as we have seen in the history of the revolution of 1789—'93—by flattering the prejudices, and pretending to agree in the principles (such as they were) of the revolutionary leaders of the people, obtained the *sobriquet* of Philippe-Egalité. His deference to the popular prejudices of the day, did not preserve him from the scaffold; and he was guillotined on the 6th of November, 1793. His son, who had, till that period, been called the duke de Chartres, then took the title appertaining to that branch of the house of Bourbon. Louis-Philippe was born on the 6th of October, 1773. He was educated, under the auspices of

his mother, Adelaide de Penthièvre—first by Bonnard, an officer, who was distinguished alike for ability, learning, and moral principle; and then by the celebrated madame de Genlis, marchioness de Sillery, under whose care he was placed in 1782. Like most Frenchmen of rank, he embraced the army as a profession, joining it in 1785, at the early age of twelve. He was colonel of a regiment when the revolution broke out; and in obedience to a decree of the national assembly, ordering all heads of regiments to take the personal command of them, or quit the service, he went to Vendôme, where his regiment was stationed, and placed himself at its head. He did not remain there long, being ordered to Vincennes; of which place, as the oldest officer present, he took the government. He was soon called into active service—the first battle in which he was engaged being that of Boussa and Quaregnon, under Biron, on the 28th of April, 1792. On the 7th of May, in that year, he was promoted to the



Louis Philippe

rank of major-general, and took the command of a brigade of dragoons, forming part of the army of marshal Luckner, in Lothringen. Luckner was superseded by Kellermann; and, under the latter, the duke, advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general, commanded the second column at the battle of Valmy, on the 20th of September. Joining, with his brigade, the army of Dumouriez, he fought at Beurnonville on the 3rd of November, and at Jemappes on the 6th; that victory being mainly gained by a movement made by the column under his command. In the early part of the fatal year of 1793, he was inactive; but having incurred the suspicions of the committee of public safety, and being, with general Dumouriez, ordered to appear before that body, he preferred quitting France to trusting himself to the tender mercies of that sanguinary tribunal. Being nearest the Belgian frontiers, on the 4th of April he entered that country, then under the Austrian rule. He was cordially received by the authorities of Mons, where he first sought refuge; and the government of Vienna offered him a commission in the Austrian army; but he refused to fight against France, though the revolutionary leaders had declared him an outlaw, and set a price upon his head. From Mons he proceeded to Switzerland; and at Schaffhausen he found his sister Adelaide (called mademoiselle d'Orleans) and madame de Genlis. They had quitted France to avoid the fate which befel all royalists; and were nearly destitute. The duke's resources were very limited; but he aided the ladies as far as he could, and soon after placed them in the convent of Baumgarten. During four months subsequently, he underwent the greatest privations. Search was made for him by the emissaries of the French government; and he was compelled to hide himself in the huts of the peasants, who, if they knew him, were true and faithful, and never betrayed the confidence reposed in them. In the month of October, 1793, under the name of Chabaud, he applied for, and obtained, the post of professor of geography and history in the college of Reichenau, Switzerland, where he remained eight months, during which time he gained the love of his pupils, and the esteem of his colleagues.—After the execution of Robespierre, on the 28th of July, 1794, he left Reichenau and the profession of learning, for Baumgarten and the army; remaining at that place till the commencement of 1795, as monsieur de Corby, aide-de-camp to the refugee general Montesquiou. There some emissaries of the French government discovered him, and he was again compelled to become a wanderer. He made his way to Hamburg, where he expected to find a vessel for America. He was disappointed; and as it would have been dangerous at that time for him to remain at that port, he tra-

velled, on foot, through Sweden, Norway, and Lapland, as far as the North Cape, where he made some important astronomical observations. In this journey, the duke had to support himself by the labour of his hands and head; and early in 1796 he returned to Hamburg, where he maintained himself by teaching. The French government had succeeded in seizing the persons of his brothers, the duke de Montpensier and the count de Beaujolais; and having ascertained where the duke was residing, an offer was made to him, to liberate the two princes if he would emigrate to America. He at once assented to the proposition, and sailed for that country in October, 1796. His brothers accompanied him, and they all received a friendly welcome at Washington. While resident in the United States, the three princes received pecuniary aid from the Spanish government; and in 1797, the duchess d'Orleans, their mother, was exiled to that country. Louis-Philippe wished to visit her there, but could not obtain permission. The brothers remained three years in the United States, leading a life of adventure, and then came to England in 1800, taking up their abode at Twickenham, where the duke maintained himself by his scientific labours. In 1807, the duke de Montpensier died at Twickenham. The duke and the count de Beaujolais soon after went to Malta, where the latter died in 1808; and Louis-Philippe then proceeded to Palermo, where his mother and sister were settled. At that time, Ferdinand IV. had established himself in Sicily, under British protection, which he ill-deserved; and in 1809, on the 25th of November, the duke married his daughter, Mary Amélie, who was born on the 26th of April, 1782. He did not remain long at the court of Palermo, as his politics were opposed to those of the queen; but he continued to reside in that city, with the exception of a short visit to Spain in 1810, till the downfall of Napoleon in 1814. When that event took place, he returned to Paris; and in connection with marshal Mortier, took the command of the northern districts. When Napoleon landed from Elba, the duke sent his family to Twickenham, where he followed them, when the success of the reactionary army appeared imminent. During the hundred days, he remained in retirement at Twickenham; but returned again to his native country after the battle of Waterloo. The jealousy with which Louis XVIII. regarded him, induced the duke once more to seek retirement in England; and here he resided for several years, till a reconciliation with the king led to his return to France. There he lived as a private individual, partly on his estate at Neuilly, and partly at the Palais Royal—all the vast estates of his family being restored to him; and he was thus enabled to gather around him many of the *savans*, and other literary men of

the day: whether designedly or not, his intercourse with them paved the way for his accession to the throne of France.

The second revolution, as it has been called, was produced mainly by the operation of two influences—those of the army and of literature; opposed, in many respects, by a third—that of woman. Alike under the Bourbons and the Bonapartes—whether headed by a Turenne or by a Napoleon, the army has always had great influence in France. The French people are pre-eminently a military people; and as the *prestige* of victory which Napoleon conferred on France, was the great source of his power and popularity, so the reduction of the army, the attempts made to confine the officers to their military duties, and the slights cast upon the old military *employés* of the empire, were great causes of the second overthrow of the elder branch of the Bourbons. From the 13th to the 19th century, the greater portion of the time was spent by the French in wars. The following table shows the number of years of war in the five centuries—distinguishing the civil, religious, foreign, and domestic contests.

	Civil War.	Religious.	On F. Territory.	Off F. Territory.	Total.
14th century . . .	5	—	25	13	43
15th "	13	—	43	15	71
16th "	—	33	8	44	85
17th "	11	6	—	52	69
18th "	6	1	—	51	58
	35	40	76	175	326

In the five centuries, there were 326 years of war, to 174 of peace. All the years of the 19th century, to the first restoration of the Bourbons, had been spent in war, with the exception of the brief term during which the peace of Amiens lasted; and although, after the Russian war, Napoleon I. became unpopular amongst the people, because they conceived that he had wantonly sacrificed so many of their sons, yet the military spirit did not decay; and an appeal to it rarely failed of success. Thus in the *Almanach du Peuple*—published annually, with the intention of making government popular with the masses—a few years after the accession of Louis-Philippe, the following contrast between his government and that which had preceded it, appeared—intended to show the superiority of the then state of things.

Under the Restoration.

The government of the Restoration, and the foreign armies, pulled down all the statues of Napoleon, and made it a crime for the old soldiers to have remembrances or mementoes of their emperor, and of the victories of Marengo, of Austerlitz, and of Wagram. Our army was reduced to 250,000 men.

After the Revolution.

Louis-Philippe has replaced the statue of the great man upon the column of the Place Vendôme.

The army, to-day, consists of 400,000 men!

"I should like," writes Sir H. Lytton Bulwer, "to see the government in England, that, by way of making itself popular, boasted that it had doubled the army."* But the reduction of the army, and the treatment of the old officers,

* *France; Social, Literary, and Political.* † *Ibid.*

were two great causes of the defeat of the Bourbons. If the army had stood by Charles X., he might have put down the insurrection of Paris: the refusal of the troops of the line to fight against the people, was the main cause of their success; for it was proved, in 1852, when the army stood by the present emperor, that, whatever difficulties present themselves in street fighting, and however formidable barricades thrown up in the public thoroughfares may be, they are not insurmountable by regular troops.

There was another influence which was paramount in France—that of woman. "Not even the revolution of 1789—not even those terrible men who shivered a sceptre of eight centuries to atoms—not even the storm which overthrew the throne of the Capets, and scattered over Europe the priests and the proud nobility of France—not the excesses of the Girondists, the Dantonists, and the triumvirate—not the guillotine, not the dungeon, not the prison, not the scaffold, not the law, not the decrees which cut up the provinces of France into farms—none of these great changes, and instruments of change, affected an empire exclusive to no class; which had spread from the Tuileries to the cottage, and which was not so much in the hearts, as in the habits of the French people. Beneath no wave of the great deluge, which in sweeping over old France, fertilised new France—beneath no wave of that great deluge, sank the presiding landmark of ancient manners; and on the first ebbing of the waters, you saw the *boudoir* of madame Récamier, and the '*bal des victimes*.'"[†]

After the second restoration, the influence of those ladies of Paris, whose *réunions* were the resort of all who were distinguished in arts or arms, in literature or science, tended to advance the cause of ultra-royalism, and the ultra-montanes. At the *salons* of the princess de la Tremouille, madames d'Escars, de Rohan, and de Duras—the principal ladies who ruled in the Faubourg St. Germain—were to be found, according to one who wrote from personal experience, "the noble youth of the old families of France; the generals of the allied armies; the young women, exalted in their ideas of loyalty and loyal devotion; the more elderly ladies, celebrated in that witty and courtly clique for the quickness of their repartees, and the graces of their conversation; the higher functionaries of the Tuileries; the prelates and peers of France: and it was amidst the business of whist, and the amorous whisperings of intrigue, that these personages discussed the means to bring back the olden monarchy, and to restore the reign of religion." The effect has been seen in the preceding pages, in the temporary triumph of the *Parti-prêtre*, which was very much owing to the effects of the *réunions* of

the above ladies, and those of the duchesses d'Angoulême and de Berri, upon the statesmen and the nobility of France.

But this influence was opposed by another even more powerful, because it extended much more widely, and appealed to greater numbers—that of literature. There were ultra-royalist, and ultramontane books, and pamphlets, and journals; but the moderate and liberal productions of the press greatly outnumbered them; and, with the exception of M. de Chateaubriand, all the eminent literary men of the day were ranged round the Orleans banner. Louis-Philippe, while duke d'Orleans, had always, both at Neuilly and the Palais Royal, opened his *réunions* to them; and M. Thiers and M. Guizot, with many others, were his firm friends. The influence of the journals they were connected with, had a great effect on the populace, and very materially aided the efforts of Lafitte, and his other friends. If there had been as able and as active a republican and Bonapartist press, it is very probable, that those who thought the installation of the Orleans dynasty the most likely way to heal the political and social evils of the country, would have had more difficulty in effecting their object.

Notwithstanding the influences brought against them, and the complete defeat of the elder branch of the Bourbons—that family had still a few friends left, who would not bend the knee to the rising star. As soon as it was formally settled that Louis-Philippe was to be the successor of Charles X., by the former accepting the conditions proposed by the legislature, and taking the oaths, several peers gave up their seats, and retired into private life. As the majority of them had only the dotation allowed to the peers, of 10,000*fr.* (£400) per annum, to subsist upon, they evinced a noble disinterestedness and adherence to principle; and we agree with Sir A. Alison, that their names ought to be preserved on the page of history. They were the dukes de Montmorency, d'Avray, de Croi, de Damas-Caux, and Auguste de Talleyrand; marquises Latour-Maubourg, Latour-Dupin, de Perignon, and de Saint-Romans; viscounts de Chateaubriand and Dambray. The duke de Fitzjames took the oath to the new king, with a trifling qualification; as did a few other royalist peers; whilst the dukes de Noailles and de Mortemart, and viscount de Martignac, took it without reservation, thinking it the only means of saving the country. The great towns—Lyons, Bordeaux, Rouen, and Marseilles—also submitted to the change, probably from the same reason. There was more delay in the western departments; but before the end of August, the authority of Louis-Philippe was universally submitted to, if the change was not approved of, in all the provinces; whilst in Paris, says an historian, “a phalanx of

rising talent, partly aristocratic and partly plebeian, clustered round the throne. It was chiefly found among the editors or contributors to newspapers, who had been so instrumental in contributing to Louis-Philippe's elevation.” Some of them were incorporated in the first ministry of the new king; which consisted of seven members with, and four without *porte-feuilles*. The following were the appointments:—*Minister for public instruction, and president of the council*, the duke de Broglie; *keeper of the seals, and minister of justice*, M. Dupont de l'Eure; *secretary at war*, count Gerard; *secretary for foreign affairs*, count Molé; *minister of marine*, count Sebastiani; *minister of finance*, baron Louis; and *minister of the interior*, M. Guizot. The ministers without *porte-feuilles* were MM. Lafitte, Casimir-Perrier, Dupin *ainé*, and baron Bignon. This ministry, which was not so popular and democratic as many of the king's supporters desired, was a coalition, formed of the heads of three parties—the *Doctrinaires*, represented by the duke de Broglie and M. Guizot; the burghers, by count Molé, MM. Casimir-Perrier and Lafitte; and the republicans by M. Dupont de l'Eure. Like all coalitions, it wanted adhesion and firmness. M. Guizot says of his colleagues, that “they had no unity beyond that which their first steps absolutely required during the first days. They were all sincerely anxious to consolidate the constitutional monarchy, which sprang up from the revolution. But when, from this general desire, it became necessary to pass to defined and daily action; when they were called upon to settle in detail the government of this monarchy, and to put it in practice—animated and important differences burst forth, and were repeated at every moment. Not only were they divided between two tendencies which had exhibited themselves ever since the revision of the charter—progress and resistance, the desire of reform, and respect for traditional laws—but, in each of these distinct sections, combination was alike deficient; important varieties of opinion presented themselves, rendering it apparent, that men outwardly agreed, would speedily differ and perhaps contend, and which deprived the existing authorities of the power of escaping from the same confusion of ideas, pretensions, and chances that fomented round them.”* With such a divided ministry, Louis-Philippe had a difficult part to play. He presided at the cabinet councils, in which opinion was freely expressed; and entered into the debates and discussions frankly, and without the slightest appearance of dictation or a wish to control. In his personal intercourse with his ministers, the king appears to have directed his attention more particularly to those who were the advocates of progress and reform; but “his real

* *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

confidence and outward deportment were not always in perfect harmony; hence, enemies and shallow observers accused him of premeditated duplicity; but this was simply the result of a complicated position, still undefined, and the working of a spirit as yet inexperienced in government, and seeking, with hesitation, its course and its friends.”*

The ministry settled, the king next turned his attention to foreign courts, with a view to procure his recognition by them. He sent general Baudrand to England; who was at once admitted to an audience of king William IV.; and the amicable relations which existed with Charles X. were continued. On the return of the general from his special mission, prince Talleyrand was sent as ambassador to the court of London. General Athalin was sent to Russia; and general Belliard to Vienna. Their reception by the two monarchs was very different. Whilst the czar only consented to recognise the new dynasty on condition that Louis-Philippe should respect the rights and obligations of treaties, and the territorial arrangements agreed to by the treaty of Vienna, the emperor of Austria frankly acknowledged the new sovereign; and M. Metternich told the French envoy, that his imperial master could not pardon the breach of faith committed by Charles X. in issuing the *ordonnances*; and that Austria had little sympathy with the elder branch of the Bourbons, which had thrice endangered the peace of Europe. Count Lobau was sent to Prussia, where he was well received, and Louis-Philippe acknowledged—the only stipulation made, being, that the treaties should be faithfully observed. The recognition of the Orleans dynasty by the second-rate powers speedily followed; Spain and the duke of Modena being the only dissentients. Ferdinand VII. not only refused to acknowledge Louis-Philippe, but published an insulting manifesto against his accession to the throne. However, on the 25th of September, he accredited the count d’Orfila as ambassador to France.

Whilst the foreign relations of the government were progressing favourably, at home great difficulties were thrown in the way of the government by the insubordination of the workmen, numbers of whom were thrown out of employ, partly from the changes in property and position which the revolution occasioned; partly from the introduction of machinery, and partly from the capitalists suspending their operations, as they could not satisfy themselves that the new dynasty was firmly established, and were apprehensive of further changes. “The bank of France, though instituted expressly to ward off great crises, diminished its discounts with a cruel prudence; and sentinels watched over the doors of its treasury, in a city

filled with poor.” From these conjoined causes, “all the connections of industry were interrupted. Every day added to the distress of the people, which was attested by innumerable facts. The greatest of the printing-offices in the capital, employed, when the revolution broke out, 200 workmen, earning from 4f. to 6f. each per day. After the revolution, the premises were entirely closed for eight or ten days; and when reopened, only ten or twelve workmen were employed.” Wages were also reduced; “the men earning, instead of 5f. per day, 25 or 30 sous. Yet the printing trade was less depressed than many others; and from this we may form some idea of the intensity of the distress which was universally experienced.”† It was a poor consolation to the workmen who were thus suffering, to tell them of their bravery, or that their praises were sung at all the theatres—a new *Marseillaise* having been written for the occasion. Fine words were a bad substitute for bread; and as they could not obtain the latter, the *ouvriers* assembled in great numbers, and insisted that their distress and their wants should be communicated to the king. At the same time, deputations from the national guards came to Paris, ostensibly to congratulate Louis-Philippe, who was obliged to receive them at times when he was exhausted by other business. We use the word *ostensibly*, with respect to the object of these deputations; for the language and the conduct of the members frequently assumed the character of dictation rather than compliment; and they conducted themselves more as men who could bestow a crown, than as the servants or subjects of him who wore it. Many of these deputations had interviews with Lafayette, who had been declared commander-in-chief of the national guards of France; and some of them presented him addresses of a most democratic character. The general offered little discouragement to these overtures; the language he used in reply, being to the effect, that they “must let the government go on, appreciate, and judge it. The people, in the last resort,” he added, “always remained sovereigns; and nothing was easier than to undo what had been done.” To restore his influence, the king, on the 29th of August, reviewed 60,000 of the national guards at Paris—presented them their colours, and addressed a letter to Lafayette, eulogising them in the highest style. Shortly after, thousands of workmen assembled, and surrounded, in groups, the prefecture of police, the hôtels of the ministers, and the Palais Royal, demanding bread or employment. They became so threatening, that the ministers were obliged to call on Lafayette to issue a proclamation, as commander of the national guard, ordering the crowds to disperse, but promising that employment should be found for them. All these

* *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

† Louis Blanc: *Dix Ans de Louis-Philippe.*

circumstances were annoying to the king, whose influence was depressed as that of Lafayette became unduly exalted.

Three weeks had scarcely elapsed since Louis-Philippe had taken the oath to the constitution, when these difficulties which had gathered round his throne were increased by another, and even a still greater one;—an event which caused him to be suspected of connivance at, if not participation in, attempts to obtain a will leaving an immense property to a member of his family; and even of countenancing a still greater crime. It cannot be doubted that these suspicions were entirely unfounded; but they had, for a moment, a serious effect on public opinion, and were used to lower the character of the king in public estimation.

The particulars of this important event in the history of the revolution, partake very much of the character of romance. Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé and duke de Bourbon—the son of the illustrious leader of the emigrants, and the father of the unfortunate duke d'Enghien—who had himself several times fought in the royalist ranks, and had resided in England for some years, after the friends of the Bourbons had ceased to contend with the fortunate aspirant to their throne—had, after the first restoration, returned to France, where he lived, in close retirement, upon his estate of St. Leu, near Chantilly. Unfortunately he was not insensible to female attractions; and the baroness de Feuchères—one of those women who directed her talents to pursuits neither moral nor honourable—was just the kind of person to act upon his passions. She was an Englishwoman, whose origin, and the name of her parents, are unknown. As Sophia Dawes, she held a subordinate position on the boards of Covent-garden theatre; from whence she retired, to live at Turnham-green, in a very questionable character. She was introduced to the baron de Feuchères, who was aide-de-camp to the prince de Condé; and succeeded in obtaining such an influence over him, that he conferred upon her his name and title by marriage. They went to France; and there the young and fascinating Englishwoman was introduced to the aged prince, in whose breast she appears to have excited an ardent passion. Ultimately she went to reside with him at St. Leu; and, it is said, her husband was a consenting party to the immoral and disgraceful transaction.—With regard to the occurrence which caused Louis-Philippe's name to be mixed up with that of the baroness de Feuchères, there are no *certain* details. The prince de Condé was extremely liberal to the lady, making her large grants of lands and money; and it is said, that she formed a design of getting herself declared heir to his entire property, which, as he had regained all that the revolution had deprived him of, was immense.

Reflection, however, caused her to entertain grave doubts as to the probability of the success of this scheme. She doubted whether she would be allowed to inherit the vast landed estates of one of the most illustrious houses of France, even if the prince could have been induced to bequeath them to her. She therefore resolved to make friends in high quarters. With this view, she wrote to the duke d'Orleans, offering her interest to procure the reversion of the Condé estates for his fourth son, the duke d'Aumale. The receipt of this letter somewhat surprised Louis-Philippe, who wrote to the prince, expressing his thanks, and saying, "how proud he should be to see one of his sons bearing the glorious name of Condé." The prince appears to have known nothing of madame de Feuchères' letter, and was much annoyed at the circumstance, as he was not on intimate terms with the Orleans family, and had then no wish or intention to leave his property to any member of it. But, according to the enemies of Louis-Philippe, from that time, not only was the prince continually teased and annoyed by the baroness de Feuchères to make a will, bequeathing his estates to the duke d'Aumale; but Louis-Philippe had a will drawn up by the elder Dupin, to the effect proposed, ready for the prince's signature. The friends of the late king say, on the contrary, that he had neither act nor part in framing the will; and that there is not a tittle of evidence to connect him with it. However this may be, a will was made on the 27th of October, 1829, by which the personal property of the prince, valued at 4,000,000*fr.*, was left to the baroness; and, with respect to the remainder of his property, the duke d'Aumale was made universal legatee. At that time the prince was old, and said to be sickly and weak-minded. He did not sign the will freely, but with great reluctance; and he appeared to be under the influence of the most gloomy apprehensions for the future, which did not depart from him. Time, however, passed away—the revolution of July, 1830, took place, and had a serious effect on the prince, who, always an ardent royalist, could never forget, that whilst Philippe-Egalité had voted for the death of Louis XVI., Louis-Philippe had fought for the revolutionists at Valmy and Jemappes. He felt deeply for the position in which Charles X. was placed; his mind appeared torn with anguish, and he expressed a determination to quit France. After the embarkation of the royal family, and the accession of the duke d'Orleans to the throne, he appeared more composed; but a visit from the queen, who brought him the cordon of the Legion of Honour, and a request from the king that he would take his seat in the chamber of peers, again unsettled him. He said he would leave France, and his steward procured him money for his expenses. His

route was arranged, but kept secret. On the night of the 26th of August, he retired to his room, depressed in spirits, but in good health: on the morning of the 27th, he was found there suspended by two silk-handkerchiefs from a nail in the ceiling, and quite dead. It is pretended there were appearances which show that this was not the work of his own hand. But the difficulty of gaining access to his room, which was secured withinside, leaves no doubt, in our opinion, that he committed suicide, under the influence of the excitement caused by the recent events. No sooner, however, were the contents of his will known, than it was asserted, that not only was that will obtained, but that the death of the prince was caused, by unfair means, and that Louis-Philippe was accessory to both. The validity of the will was contested by the prince de Rohan, the next heir; and it would have been well if the king had refused the succession for his son under such circumstances, and suffered the estate to descend in the right channel. He accepted it, however; and hundred-tongued rumour spread the most unpleasant, and no doubt unfounded, reports in consequence. Another imprudent act of the king strengthened these rumours. The baroness de Feuchères, though not of a character to associate with honourable and virtuous women, was publicly received at the Tuileries. This added to the public indignation, and increased the unpopularity of the king, who thus early began to experience the truth of the proverb—"Uneasy lies the head which wears a crown."

During the time that these events were transpiring, and for several weeks subsequently, the legislature was sitting; but with diminished numbers. Of the peers, 175 were excluded, either by the decision pronounced against the peers created by the late king, or the refusal to take the oaths, or by voluntary withdrawal; leaving only 189 members of that chamber. Of the deputies, fifty-two legitimatists (as the friends of the elder branch of the Bourbons were now termed) had tendered their resignations; and eighteen elections had been annulled. But the members who met, at once proceeded to dispose of the business before them; and the measures brought forward by the government appear to have been prudent, and deserving of approbation. Two very obnoxious laws were repealed—that of the 12th of January, 1816, which made so many exceptions to the amnesty proclaimed for offences committed during the hundred days; and that of 1825, which prescribed the punishment of death for the crime of sacrilege in churches. The new law of elections was brought forward, embodying the alterations contained in the "declaration" of the two chambers, presented to Louis-Philippe before he ascended the throne. It was adopted by 234 out of 246 votes. At the same time, Casimir-Perrier, on account of

his ill-health, resigned his post of president of the chamber of deputies. M. Lafitte was chosen his successor by 245 votes to eleven. These divisions showed the strength of the government in the chamber; but the speeches of several members were indicative of anything but a firm reliance upon its permanent stability.—The financial measures occasioned much discussion; but the government carried all their propositions. The annual expenses were found greatly to exceed the income—the former being estimated at 1,050,116,000f. [£42,100,000]; the latter at only 979,787,000f. [£39,200,000]. This rendered a supplementary vote of credit necessary; and ministers obtained one for 67,490,000f. [£2,500,000]. Later in the session, a law was passed, declaring, that deputies who accepted public functions to which salaries were attached, vacated their seats, but were eligible for re-election; and by another, for offences of the press, and political misdemeanours, trial by jury, with some exceptions, was established.

Successful in the chambers, the ministers had many opponents in the country; and great complaints were made, that "nothing had been done by the new administration," but that the agents and *employés* of the former system still remained in office, and that men and things all went on in the old track. These complaints were particularly levelled at the department of which M. Guizot was the head; and to counteract them, he prepared a *Statement of the Condition of the Kingdom*, which was presented to the chambers on the 13th of September. In this document, the change of July was termed, "the glorious revolution which founded the throne of the king, while it saved the country;" an "enterprise" which was "accomplished with a respect and consideration for public order and private rights, until then without example. Inspired with just pride, France had determined that such a noble triumph should not be without fruits. She looked upon herself as delivered from the system of deception, doubt, and imbecility, by which she had been so long irritated and exhausted. She had reckoned on consistent and just policy, which might open to her a vast career of activity and freedom; and she desired to advance on that road with a regular and firm step."

It was in the fulfilment of those hopes that the government sought the rule of its conduct. "It felt called upon to draw its strength from the institutions which secured the liberty of the country; to maintain legitimate order by the progressive amelioration of the laws; to second, without fear, in the bosom of peace resolutely protected, the development of all faculties, and the exercise of all rights." M. Guizot proceeded to eulogise the administration of which he formed a part, as being in accordance with the then state of society and the charter; and

to state, that an "unremitting application of the principles of the latter, rendered it the duty of the government to make many personal changes." These changes, as far as the home department was concerned, had been made very liberally, notwithstanding the complaints of the discontented. "For my own share," says M. Guizot, in his *Memoirs*, "I had, in a single month, changed seventy-six prefects out of eighty-six; 196 sub-prefects out of 277; fifty-six secretaries-general out of eighty-six; and 127 councillors of prefecture out of 315." Here were 455 changes enumerated: when the *Statement* was drawn up, only 393 substitutions had taken place; but "a circular had directed the prefects to make as many more, without delay, as they might consider necessary, referring the definitive confirmation of the appointments to the minister of the interior." Changes, quite as extensive, in proportion, were made in every other department; and the *Statement* is most conclusive upon one point—viz., that the complaint respecting the agents and *employés* of the former system remaining in office, was not based upon truth. "In removing the officials," according to M. Guizot, the ministers "sought to replace them by men pledged to the national cause, and ready to devote themselves to its advancement."—The *Statement* was long; and from the details entered into by the minister, it is evident, that, in the six weeks which had elapsed since the abdication of Charles X., he and his colleagues had not been idle. Besides the changes in the *personnel* of the legal and civil departments, the Swiss regiments of the old royal guard and the line, and the French battalions of the ex-guard, and of the household of the late king, had been disbanded; whilst the effective strength of regiments of the line had been increased to 1,500 men; that of the cavalry to 700; of the artillery, to 1,200; of the engineers, to 1,450; and two new regiments of the line, and one of cavalry, were in course of organisation. A municipal guard had been instituted for the city of Paris; and steps had been taken to arm the national guard. In the marine less extensive reforms were required; but certain abuses that had crept into the service had been abolished; and whilst a number of officers had been allowed to retire on half-pay, a new naval rank, that of admiral of France, was created; and the council of admiralty was occupied in combining the materials to constitute a complete system of colonial administration. New works, in the short space that the ministry had been in office, had been commenced at Dunkirk, and other ports, and perfect discipline prevailed in all quarters. The ordinary labours of the ministry of the interior, temporarily interrupted, had resumed their course, and no traces of the momentary suspension existed. Authority was reorganised

throughout the kingdom; and though there were obstacles in the way—as there had been insubordination in the west, and it was apprehended in two or three departments of the south—preventive means were in progress, which, it was not doubted, would have full effect. Some difficulty was anticipated from a portion of the clergy; but the "king's government watched without fearing them; entertaining a sincere respect for religion and liberty of conscience, at the same time that it was fully aware of the extent of public authority, and resolved to vindicate its power. The distinctions between civil and spiritual order would be fully maintained: and every infraction of the laws of the country, every attempt to disturb the public peace, would be forcibly repressed, whoever were the offenders." Some difficulties had existed in the collection of the taxes; and, in the month of August, instead of 15,000,000*f.* of indirect taxes, only 13,000,000*f.* had been collected; but "the credit of the treasury was ample and secure, and would not fall below its liabilities." To continue and improve, however, said M. Guizot, "it was indispensable that the foundations of revenue should never be shaken." The *Statement* concluded by advising "the friends of advancing civilisation and liberty to cast aside all fear, as their cause was in no danger of compromise from these transitory agitations. Social and moral improvement must result, naturally, from their institutions. It would develop itself freely, and would be eagerly seconded by the authorities. With each succeeding day, new assurances of friendship were received from every quarter. Europe acknowledged and proclaimed the government as the general guarantee of security and peace. Peace was, also, its own anxious desire. At home and abroad, it was resolutely determined to preserve the same character, and fulfil the same mission."

The *Statement* of M. Guizot produced no effect on the chambers, probably because the attention of both peers and deputies was called to the events which were taking place out of doors, where popular tumults, and the demonstrations got up by the various clubs, created great uneasiness. The distress of the workmen continued. It mainly arose, as we have previously stated, from three causes—the introduction of machinery; the diminution of expenditure on the part of the capitalists, which the revolution of July had occasioned; and the contracted demand for various articles—chiefly of luxury—caused by the departure from Paris of many of the opulent adherents of the Bourbons. The workmen, however, attributed all they suffered to foreign competition, and the introduction of machines; and this led to serious disturbances: for, although all which M. Guizot said of the ability of the government to suppress

commotion and insubordination was true, it was beyond the power of ministers to prevent the *manifestations* of discontent. Thus, in the beginning of September, the *ouvriers* congregated together in Paris, to expel foreign competitors, and break machines. They destroyed several factories; and on the 3rd of the month, the *Journal des Débats* could not appear. "Meetings were held in various parts of the city; seditious songs were sung, and seditious cries were constantly heard, especially near the Palais Royal, and the mansions of the members of the cabinet. In the crossways, and at the corners of the most frequented streets, placards, continually renewed, covered the walls, couched in terms of lamentation or menace, of licentiousness or insult. Curious idlers gathered round with anxiety to read them, and gossiped on the spot, carrying away to their districts and abodes the impressions they received."*

The popular commotions were instigated, and in a great measure directed, by the clubs, the members of which, differing in opinion and in aim, all encouraged the popular disposition to tumult. The chief of these clubs was called *Les Amis du Peuple*, which organised a procession to the Place de Grève on the 21st of September, to commemorate the execution of four sergeants, implicated in the conspiracy at Rochelle, some years previously. This demonstration—though the meeting, at which a petition to the chambers against the punishment of death was agreed to, went off quietly—produced the greatest alarm. All the shops were shut up in the streets through which the procession passed, and in the neighbourhood of the Place; and the national guards were ordered under arms, to keep the peace. The tradesmen, alarmed at this display, sent petitions to the deputies, calling for the suppression of the clubs; and, on the 25th of September, the count de Sussy, colonel of the 11th legion of the national guards, wrote to a friend whom he knew would show the letter to M. Guizot, minister of the interior; to the effect, that "his colleagues had requested M. Lafitte to make known to the king, that the whole of the national guards required that the necessary measures should be adopted without delay, to put a stop to all those meetings that disturbed public tranquillity, and interfered with the progress of trade."

On the 23rd of September, the wounded in the three days of July, who still remained in the hospital, also agreed to a petition in favour of the abolition of capital punishment. A few days previously, the prince de Polignac, count Guernon de Ranville, M. de Chantelauze, and M. Peyronnet, had been arrested at Tours. They were brought to Paris, and sent to the castle of Vincennes; whilst the king and his ministers,

* Guizot.

who would have been very glad if they had escaped from the country, and the chamber of deputies, considered what course should be pursued towards them. The petitions connected with capital punishment came before the deputies while they were discussing this question; they were also communicated to the council, who were inclined to recommend that their prayer should be complied with. Many members of the legislature were of the same opinion. It had been resolved, on the 23rd of September, that the ex-ministers should be impeached before the chamber of peers; and three commissioners were appointed, on the part of the deputies, to conduct the proceedings, conjointly with three members of the upper chamber. Soon after, M. de Tracy placed on the table a motion for the abolition of capital punishment. The public connected this motion with the trial, and supposed that it was brought forward for the purpose of saving the men to whom they attributed the loss of life, and all the other disasters of the "three days of July," from the penalty which, in the opinion of those who had had sons and relatives killed and wounded in the conflicts, they so richly deserved. It was the signal for renewed popular tumults; the walls were covered with seditious placards, some of which, emanating from the "Society of Friends of the People," called for the dissolution of the chamber of deputies. These were so violent, that proceedings were commenced against the leaders of the society's meetings, and the landlord of the house in which those meetings were held.

"While these matters were in progress," says M. Guizot, "a question, previously argued under the Restoration, and unconnected, both in its origin and direct object, with the events of the day, was still pending before the court of appeal. The point in debate was—whether meetings, purely religious, held by protestants, were subject to the restrictions and conditions prescribed by articles 291 and 294 of the penal code?" By the first of these articles, no association of more than twenty persons was to be permitted to meet and debate on "religious, literary, political, or any other subject," without the consent of the government. By the second, persons granting the use of their houses for the assembly of unauthorised associations, or for the purposes of religious worship, were subjected to fines of from 16f. to 200f. M. Dupin, the king's advocate, demanded from the court the guarantee of religious liberty, contending that the articles alluded to did not justify any proceedings against the protestant assemblages, which were in perfect conformity with the charter. The court of appeal was of a different opinion, and decided that the "articles were in full force, and applicable to all societies, whatever their object." This decision "encouraged the peaceable citizens, the

merchants, the principal shopkeepers, and the inhabitants of the quarters in which the clubs were held, loudly to demand their suppression." On the 27th of September, M. Benjamin Morel, an eminent merchant of Dunkirk, attacked those bodies in the chamber of deputies. M. Guizot took up the question, as minister of the interior; and whilst he "declared that the 291st article of the penal code ought not to hold a lasting, or even a long place in the legislation of a free people," he also contended that, for the present, it was the law of France; and, "since the government was thus armed with a legal remedy against the danger of popular associations, it was called upon to exert it." The chamber supported him; and in the evening of that day, there being a tumultuous meeting of the "Society of Friends of the People," it was dispersed by the national guards; the doors were closed, and all entrance to the rooms interdicted. On the 1st of October, the police-court sentenced those leaders of the society who were in custody to three months' imprisonment, and declared the club dissolved.* The other clubs were also suppressed by authority, or dissolved of themselves.

M. Tracy's motion for the abolition of the penalty of death, came on for discussion a day or two after the "Society of Friends of the People" had ceased to exist. It was opposed on the ground of the danger which might result from any rapid and incomplete action on the subject; and M. de Kératry proposed, as an amendment, that "an address should be presented to the king, praying him to introduce a *projet de loi*, to abolish the punishment of death in certain specific cases, which were entirely of a political character." The amendment was seconded by M. Dupont de l'Eure, and, after a long debate, was adopted, nearly unanimously, on the 8th of October. On the 9th it was presented to the king, who received it on his throne, surrounded by his ministers, the duke d'Orleans standing on his right hand. His majesty assented most graciously to its prayer; saying, the wish it expressed had long been the desire of his heart. Having witnessed in early youth the extent to which the penalty of death for political offences had been abused, and seen the evils thereby inflicted on France and on humanity, he had ever ardently longed for its abolition.

An appeal was now made to the public through the election of a number of deputies, whose seats had been declared vacant, either from imperfect returns, resignations, or the acceptance of office. By decrees issued on the 13th, 15th, 28th, and 29th of September, 113 electoral colleges were convoked; nearly 60,000 electors were called upon to exercise their rights, and more than one-fourth of the chamber was to emanate from a new election. M. Guizot, on the 29th, addressed a circular to the prefects on the sub-

ject of these elections—urging them to "assure freedom to opinion, and strength to the law"—"nothing being required from them beyond a religious observance of the existing laws"—an observance "already assured by their loyalty and patriotism." The elections took place in the second week in October, and the result was considered by the ministers favourable to the government. The deputies who came before their constituents on account of having taken salaried offices, were, with a few insignificant exceptions, re-elected; whilst the seats vacated by members of the *côté droit* were filled by opponents of their principles. Thus the chamber of deputies was completed, according to the minister of the interior, "with an indication of public favour which, while sanctioning what the administration had already done, promised to its future operations the strength it required."†

Whilst the electors in the departments were thus displaying their confidence in the government, the populace of Paris was calling for its destruction. "Death to the ministers!" was seen inscribed on the walls in every street; and in some instances, "the head of Polignac!" was added. Mobs assembled round the castle of Vincennes, and demanded that the prisoners should be delivered up to them. They were bravely confronted by general Daumesnil, the governor, who told them that the prisoners belonged to the law, and he would rather blow up the powder-magazine than surrender them. Awed by his firmness, they dispersed; but the same evening (October 18th), they made their way to the Palais Royal, penetrated into the interior, and were ascending the grand staircase, shouting, "The king!—we want to see the king!" before the national guard arrived and dispersed them. By the active interference of the magistrates, the guard, and the police, tranquillity was restored the next day; and, on the 20th, the *Moniteur* was filled with addresses to the king, expressing regret at the popular demonstrations, and congratulations upon their suppression. It also contained an order of the day from M. Lafayette to the national guard, conveying the thanks of the sovereign, and the approbation of their general. M. Odillon Barrot, as prefect of the Seine, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants; in which he very strongly and explicitly denounced the violence of the people, which threatened, he said, "alike the safety of the accused, and the independence of the judges;" at the same time, by remarking, that "an unseasonable step had led to the supposition that there was an understanding to interrupt the ordinary courses of justice in the case of the ex-ministers," he openly cast blame on the chamber which had passed the address to the king upon capital punishments, and also upon the king and the ministers, who had accepted that address—the former, with

* *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

† Guizot.

the full approval of his advisers, expressing the fullest concurrence in its sentiments. The minister of the interior insisted that this proclamation should not appear in the *Moniteur*; and he and the duke de Broglie also called for the dismissal of M. Barrot. M. Dupont de l'Eure, however, threatened to resign if the prefect were dismissed; and as the king was afraid to quarrel with the republican party, who supported the keeper of the seals, his majesty consented to retain the prefect, and thereby lost six of his ministers—the duke de Broglie, count Molé, MM. Guizot, Casimir-Perrier, Dupin, and Bignon.

Lafayette and the republicans now calculated upon getting the administration of affairs entirely into their own hands—the *Doctrinaires* and constitutional monarchists having resigned. But the king was not prepared to place himself in the power of the most extreme party in the state; and he applied to M. Lafitte, as the leader of the *bourgeois* or burgher section of the political world; who accepted the office of minister of finance, and president of the council. His colleagues were—*Minister of foreign affairs*, marshal Maison; *of the interior*, M. Montalivet; *of public instruction*, M. Merilhou; *of justice*, and *keeper of the seals*, M. Dupont de l'Eure; count Sebastiani and marshal Gerard retained their offices. Shortly after his ministry was formed, M. Lafitte took an opportunity of stating the principles on which it was constituted. On the 9th of November, M. Bavoux proposed, that a considerable reduction should be made in the amount of the securities, stamp duties, and postage of newspapers. In speaking upon this proposition on the 10th, the president of the council said, that, "as a member of the late and the then administration, it fell to him to explain their intentions, and their proposed line of conduct. Disagreements had arisen, but not tending on the one hand to anarchy, and on the other to despotism, as might be supposed. Every member of the cabinet knew, and felt convinced, that liberty should be accompanied by order; and that laws must be executed till they were repealed. All were full of hopes, which the revolution of 1789 had bequeathed to the world; and all knew that the revolution of 1830 must be restrained to a certain extent, in order to conciliate Europe to that event, by combining moderation with dignity. On these points all were agreed; but there were misunderstandings as to the mode in which the last-mentioned movement should be carried out. All were not equally convinced that it was destined so soon to fall into anarchy; that they would so rapidly be compelled to take measures of precaution against it; and to assume an attitude of distrust and hostility. Unanimous on all leading principles, the difference consisted entirely in the more or less confiding temperature of the different parties." This was true only in part. The

new ministry and their predecessors were, in fact, opposed upon several important points in their political creed; and the former, supposed to be so united, soon displayed symptoms of dissension amongst themselves. Upon the proposition of M. Bavoux, while M. Lafitte supported the stamp duty on newspapers, M. Dupont de l'Eure opposed it; and, in the vote which negatived it, they appeared on opposite sides. The cabinet had scarcely been formed a week before it was modified. Marshals Maison and Gerard retired; Sebastiani took the office held by the former, who was sent as ambassador to Vienna; marshal Soult was appointed minister of war, and the count d'Argout, of marine. These changes were announced on the 17th of November; and the ministers then applied themselves to the unpleasant task of pushing on the trials of the confidential advisers of Charles X.: and to fix the succession to the crown more firmly in the Orleans family, a *projet de loi* was introduced, by which imprisonment, from three to five years, and fines, varying from 300f. to 6,000f., were made the penalty of attacking the order of succession to the throne, or the rights which the king derived from the French nation, as expressed in the declaration of August 7, 1830. This *projet* was warmly opposed; but it passed both chambers, and became law on the 29th of November.

The judicial examinations of the ex-ministers had been commenced soon after their apprehension. These examinations were conducted fairly and impartially—but strictly—by the commission of peers and deputies, who made a lengthened report, which was communicated to the chamber of peers on the 29th of November. In this document, it was distinctly stated, "that the penal code was inapplicable to the trial of the case." This left the peers at liberty to deal with it entirely as they pleased. On that report the future proceedings were based. The president of the chamber of peers, M. Pasquier, and MM. de Bastard, Seguier, and Pontecourt, were appointed to arrange the preliminary proceedings; and, on the 10th of December, the four ex-ministers were removed from Vincennes to the prison of the Petit Luxembourg. The removal, contrary to general expectation, took place without any manifestation of popular violence.

The trial commenced on the 15th of December, in the hall of the peers, in the Palace du Luxembourg, where everything had been arranged so as to give dignity and solemnity to the important event. Seats were provided for the members of the *corps diplomatique*, and their families; also for the public dignitaries, the members of the administration, and other distinguished persons. All were occupied before the peers took their places. The proceedings were conducted with great solemnity; and from

the questions put to the accused, and the examination of witnesses—some of whom were men who had fought through the whole of the three days, and seen their relatives and friends fall by their side—the facts we have previously detailed were elicited.* The proceedings were conducted with the utmost impartiality, says M. Guizot, who does not believe, “that the judicial annals of the civilised world offer a more lofty example of justice, rendered with independence and imperturbable serenity, in the midst of the most violent political storms.” M. Louis Blanc is not so eulogistic: he represents the proceedings as being conducted with great favour to the accused. They were examined by M. Pasquier, president of the chamber of peers; and the questions were, according to this authority, so framed, that the prisoners might admit everything, and yet excuse themselves on the ground that they only did what their oath of office required and demanded of them. That, in fact, was the ground taken by their counsel; two of whom, M. de Martignac, who defended M. Peyronnet, and M. Sauzet, who appeared for M. de Chantelauze, made most able speeches. The latter, especially, astonished the court and the public by a display of eloquence, which many, who heard it, wished devoted to a better cause; whilst there were those who really thought, that the justice of the position he had to defend inspired the orator. The ground taken by the counsel, and more especially by M. Sauzet, was, that the throne was in danger, and that the necessity of defending it, justified extraordinary measures. “The revolution of July,” said the eloquent defender of M. Chantelauze, “has furnished the best argument in favour of the *ordonnances*, and of the necessity, in the eyes of Charles X., I will not say, of what was actually done, but of some extraordinary measures to meet extraordinary dangers, to which the dynasty, in order to preserve its existence, was forced to have recourse.” * * * “Three days,” he said, towards the close of his address, “have sufficed, indeed, to make the revolution; but fifteen years had been employed in preparing it; and if I do not deceive myself by confining the revolution within trifling limits, *it is not destined to have a long futurity.*” Words which proved true, as Louis-Philippe experienced in after times.

All eloquence was, however, vain. The four prisoners were, on the 21st of December, found guilty. On that day the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg presented a terrific scene. The palace was surrounded by a riotous mob of not less than 50,000 persons, influenced by different motives, but all eager to deal out death to those of whose measures the events of the three days were, said the popular voice, the necessary consequence. One well acquainted with the

* See *ante*, pp. 399—415.

† Louis Blanc.

movements of those who were in opposition to the government, informs us, that there were, at that time, three parties in Paris, who were disposed to seek the advancement of their views by insurrection. The first were the *ouvriers*, the inhabitants of the city—the legitimate descendants of the *sans-culottes*; and but little removed, in their disposition to riot and outrage, from those ruthless revellers in blood and plunder of the first revolution. The Bonapartists were the second party; and the republicans, the third. The last was the most influential, and the most to be feared. Though unable to make any decided stand in July, in December it appeared to have partisans everywhere. They were found amongst the peers and the deputies. Lafayette was well known to entertain republican opinions; and so did many of the national guard which he commanded; while the small shopkeepers, and the better classes of artisans and mechanics, were, almost to a man, tinged with the republican mania. All these parties thought that the trial of the ex-ministers afforded them a favourable opportunity of making a demonstration, and they all flocked to the spot where the fate of De Polignac and his colleagues was to be decided.† Providentially the government had taken due measures of precaution.

On the 20th of December, 24,000 armed men, consisting of troops of the line and the national guard—all men who could be depended upon—were stationed in commanding posts round the Luxembourg, with cannon loaded, and matches lighted, ready to pour in showers of grape upon any body of men that attempted violence. Notwithstanding, such were the alarming rumours, and such was their effect upon the members of the court which was trying the prisoners, that they broke up that evening in great confusion. The next day, the same precautions were taken; and it was resolved, while the peers deliberated on their verdict and sentence, that the prisoners should be removed to Vincennes. They were placed in carriages, and sent off without its being known to the populace; M. Montalivet rode at the side of the carriage which conveyed the prince de Polignac; and when the Barrier du Trône was passed, he wrote to the king, who felt very anxious for the safety of the prisoners—“Sire, we have got over half the distance: a few minutes more of danger, and we are at Vincennes, and all is safe.” They reached Vincennes, and were restored to the custody of general Daumesnil before the report began to be circulated in the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg, that they were gone. Then immense crowds wandered through the streets, which they made resound with their cries of “Death to the ministers!” M. Lafayette acted with considerable firmness, and the appearance of the troops overawed the populace, who offered no violence. As night approached, Paris presented

a singular appearance, fires being lighted in the streets, and the soldiers bivouacking round them, to be ready for any attempt on the part of the riotous mob. These precautions, no doubt, preserved the capital from a fearful scene. While the tumult prevailed without, the peers were deliberating on the verdict and sentence. There were 156 present; and the decision, which was not arrived at till night had closed in, was not unanimous. The general verdict of "guilty" was agreed to by 132; twenty-four dissented. The sentences then passed were—perpetual imprisonment for MM. Peyronnet, Guernon de Ranville, and Chantelauze; and deportation for De Polignac. France, however, at that time, had no place to which she could transport convicts; he was, therefore, adjudged to undergo perpetual imprisonment, with all the consequences of deportation, which involved civil death, or an incapacity to hold any domestic or other relations in society. The numbers for and against these punishments were as follows:—

	For.	Against.		For.	Against.
De Polignac . . .	128	28	De Chantelauze . . .	138	18
De Peyronnet . .	87	68	Guernon de Ranville .	140	16

An officer was dispatched to Vincennes with the sentences, which were read to the prisoners in their cells; and, eight days after, they were conveyed to the fortress of Ham, which was assigned for their confinement. We may add here, that, on the 11th of April following, the three ex-ministers—MM. Montbel, d'Haussez, and Capelle—who had not been arrested, were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment for contumacy. All seven were deprived of their rank, titles, and orders.

The day after the sentences were pronounced, and when they became known through the medium of the papers, the populace evinced great indignation. They paraded the city with a black flag; and dense crowds collected round the Palais Royal and the Palais du Luxembourg, apparently bent on mischief. The drums of the national guard beat to arms; but the men were worn out with the services of the previous days, and only a few obeyed the summons. In this emergency the students of the Ecole Polytechnique, and those of law and medicine, turned out; and to them the preservation of the peace of the city is attributed. For this eminent service they were graciously thanked by the king, as were the national guards. The chamber of deputies also passed a vote of thanks to the national guards, on the motion of M. Dupin *ainé*; and to the students, on the motion of M. Lafitte. The young men and boys, however, had thought proper to address proclamations to the people; in which they exhorted them to observe order, and not to break the public peace—mingling with their good advice some intimations of political reforms which they considered necessary. "Without the prompt re-establishment of order, liberty is lost," they said, in one

of these documents. "With the re-establishment of order, we obtain the assurance of public prosperity. The king we have chosen for ourselves. Lafayette, Dupont de l'Eure, Odillon Barrot, our friends and yours, are pledged, on their honour, to the complete organisation of the liberty for which they are bargaining with us, and which, in July, we purchased with ready money. Order, first; and then let us demand a more republican basis for our institutions." Several deputies were very severe upon the "presumption" of these juveniles; and the latter showed their displeasure at the remarks made on their conduct, by refusing to receive the vote of thanks! An angry discussion on this subject was kept up in the papers, which did not tend to allay the disquiet of the public mind.

These events were rapidly followed by others of scarcely less importance. The chamber of deputies, which was still in session, had before them a *projet de loi* for the organisation of the national guard, which brought into discussion the position of general Lafayette and his pretensions. In the previous August the general had been appointed general commandant of the national guards of the kingdom, "until the promulgation of the law for its reorganisation." An article in the new law, which was agreed to on the 24th of December, abolished the office of general commandant, restored to the guard its municipal character, and replaced it under the authority and supervision of the minister of the interior. As soon as Lafayette knew that this article was under consideration, and before it was adopted, he sent in his resignation to the king, both of his commission of general commandant of the national guards of the kingdom, and as colonel of the national guard of Paris. The king was not sorry to see Lafayette removed from a position which invested him with so much power. His majesty, however, admitted him to an interview on the evening of the 24th; and, on the next day (the 25th), sent M. Lafitte and M. de Montalivet to him, to request that he would retain the command of the national guard of the capital. The interview was indecisive; and the king sent M. de Montalivet to the general again in the evening, when the latter was explicit enough. He told the minister of the interior that he could only comply with the king's request, and give his co-operation to the government, upon three conditions:—"1. A chamber of peers, chosen by the king, from candidates named by the people. 2. A chamber of deputies, elected under the control of a new electoral law, with a large extension of the suffrage. 3. A ministry taken entirely from the party of the left."* Of course, M. de Montalivet could not hold out the slightest hope of such demands being granted; and Lafayette, as soon as the minister

* Guizot.

left him, wrote to the king, saying that "he looked upon himself as having sent in his resignation." The king immediately replied, that "he sincerely regretted his determination, and should take measures to supply the vacancy he had wished to prevent." Although it was then midnight, M. de Montalivet sent off messengers to summon the colonels of the different legions of the national guard to Paris, to repair immediately to the Palais Royal. They all assembled there before daylight, and, on being made acquainted with what had passed, and with Lafayette's resignation, promised their loyal adhesion to the crown, and their military obedience to any commander the king might appoint. Before he retired to rest, the minister went to general count Lobau, and informed him that it was the king's intention to invest him with the supreme command of the national guard of Paris. The count was at first unwilling to accept the responsible office; but, when the urgency of the case was explained to him, he at once assented. He was in bed when the minister arrived; but he immediately rose and accompanied M. Montalivet to the Palais Royal, and within an hour had assumed his new command.*

These changes gave rise to a controversy in the papers and in pamphlets, which continued for two years, and caused the most serious misapprehensions to obtain full credence at the time; which have been repeated by recent historians. The friends of the king charged Lafayette with attempting to coerce his majesty into the adoption of the most extravagant republican measures; whilst to Louis-Philippe was imputed, by the adherents of the general, a treacherous and perfidious plot, concocted with the aid of one or two emissaries, and worked out in the chamber of deputies—the object being to deprive Lafayette of the command of the national guard, not only of the kingdom, but of Paris; whilst an outward desire was evinced that he should retain the latter appointment. According to the one party, M. Lafayette was a factious conspirator; according to the other, Louis-Philippe was an ungrateful trickster. "Neither the one nor the other," says M. Guizot, "was revolutionary or Machiavellian to this extent." The general certainly "conceived, and endeavoured to influence the government to adopt, a very pernicious line of policy, which was alike rejected by the desire of France and the sound judgment of the king." But neither he nor his friends, in their most unbecoming manifestations, ever reached sedition; and the general never was engaged in any factious combination. Nor did Louis-Philippe do anything more than avail himself of the support the chambers voluntarily tendered him, to deprive Lafayette of a power which rendered that distinguished personage an object of fear; whilst his majesty wished him to retain a

* Guizot.

† *Ibid.*

post the duties of which he might have fulfilled without surrounding the throne with complications it would have been difficult to escape from.

The retirement of Lafayette from the national guard was followed by a modification of the ministry. His friend, M. Dupont de l'Eure, resigned; he was succeeded, as minister of justice and keeper of the seals, by M. Merithou; and the ministry of public instruction, held by the latter, was entrusted to M. Barthé, an eloquent and talented statesman. His accession to the cabinet, and the retirement of M. Dupont de l'Eure, rendered the ministers united, all of them being members of one party. The personal influence of the king—who gained much in public opinion, and, in ridding himself of the influence of Lafayette, became a freer agent in the exercise of his power—was also considerably increased. Thus "the crisis terminated without noise. The command of the national guard of Paris passed quietly from the hands of Lafayette to those of the count de Lobau. Neither the public nor the guard appeared to care much for the change;" whilst "the chambers congratulated themselves on having re-established constitutional order in that branch of the administration."† An appointment of a commission to reorganise the national guard, in accordance with the law just adopted by the chambers, was the last official act of the year.

The domestic record of the year 1830, must not close, however, without mentioning the death of M. Benjamin Constant, who was one of the most distinguished members of the popular party, as opposed to the *Doctrinaires*. He was the son of parents of French descent, and was born at Lausanne in 1767. Attracted to France by the revolution, he distinguished himself by his writings in the popular cause; and was elected a member of the national assembly, where he became equally eminent for his speeches. The directory made him a tribune; an office of which Napoleon deprived him in 1802. From that time, till 1814, he resided in Germany. In the latter year he returned to France, and advocated the cause of the Bourbons; but he showed himself favourable to Napoleon during "the hundred days." He left France again after the second restoration of the Bourbons; but was allowed to return, and in 1819 was elected a member of the chamber of deputies. For the subsequent eleven years his name was connected with most of the popular movements. M. Guizot describes him as having "a mind gifted with infinite variety; ready, expanded, clear, and keen; great in conversation and in a pamphlet; but a sceptical and deriding sophist, without conviction or reflection; giving himself up, from sheer weakness, to extinct passions, and solely intent on still finding some amusement and interest for a blunted spirit, and

a worn-out existence." The contributions of Constant to *La Minerve* and *La Biographie Universelle*, show that he was lively, acute, and imaginative as a writer; and as an orator he

was eloquent and profound. Mistaken in many of his opinions, he was undoubtedly sincere; and his death was a great loss to the popular party in France.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS; ALGIERS; SPAIN; BELGIUM; POLAND; SESSION OF 1831; INCREASE OF THE ARMY; THE CROWN OF BELGIUM OFFERED TO THE DUKE DE NEMOURS; THE FINANCES; THE COMMUNISTS AND ST. SIMONIANS; RIOTS OF THE 14TH OF FEBRUARY; THE MINISTRY OF M. CASIMIR-PERRIER; LAW ON PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES; NEW LAW OF ELECTIONS; FINANCIAL MEASURES; POPULAR MANIFESTATIONS; TOUR OF THE KING; DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBERS; THE ELECTIONS; EXPEDITION TO PORTUGAL; MEETING OF THE CHAMBERS; MINISTERIAL CRISIS AVERTED BY THE NEWS FROM BELGIUM; MERITS OF THE BELGIAN QUESTION; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS; LAWS OF THE SESSION; THE CIVIL-LIST; THE CLUBS AND THE PRESS; THE POLISH REVOLUTION; PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS IN PARIS; RIOTS OF THE WORKMEN IN LYONS; CHANGE IN SOCIAL LIFE IN PARIS; AFFAIRS OF ITALY; FOREIGN POLICY OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

WE considered that the interest of those important events which occurred in France, between the accession of Louis-Philippe to the throne, and the close of 1830, would be best kept up by not interrupting the narrative with any reference to external affairs. We must now go back for a few months, and briefly trace the history of the period, in connexion with Algiers, Spain, Poland, and Belgium. In the first-named country, French troops were actively employed in completing its conquest. In the two next, popular commotions prevailed; and the aid of French influence and a French force was eagerly sought by the parties opposed to established authority. In the fourth, a desire to be separated from Holland had previously animated the people; and the success of the revolution of July, in France, led to that movement which ended in the establishment of Belgian independence.

We have already seen the success which attended the expedition sent to Algiers, under marshal de Bourmont;* who, subsequently to the surrender of the capital, occupied himself in organising the government. His gallant army was, however, greatly harassed by the Arabs, and its ranks were also thinned by fever and dysentery. Still he maintained possession of all he had conquered. After his acceptance of the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, Louis-Philippe dispatched a messenger to Algiers, to inform the marshal of the abdication of Charles X., and to require his adhesion to the new arrangements. This officer arrived at Algiers on the 11th of August; and the intelligence he brought occasioned great surprise. Bourmont, if his troops would have stood by him, was prepared to take his army back to

France, to fight for the exiled king, or the duke de Bordeaux. He found, however, that both officers and privates preferred the tricolour to the lily; and, after three days' deliberation, he acknowledged the authority of the duke d'Orleans. When the latter had ascended the throne, and formed his ministry, he sent general Clausel to Algiers, to supersede Bourmont. The new commander-in-chief arrived on the 2nd of September; and the marshal, having resigned the command to his successor, embarked for Malaga two or three days after general Clausel had landed. His two surviving sons and a few men accompanied him; and he took with him, to use his own words, "nothing of the hundred millions which the conquest of Algiers had brought to France;" only carrying from the country, "the embalmed heart of his son," who had perished in the campaign. The government of Louis-Philippe resolved to retain and colonise the conquest; and a considerable number of Frenchmen emigrated to Africa; grants of land being made to induce them to settle in this new acquisition of the French crown. To protect the settlers, general Clausel formed a chain of fortified posts round the territory already subdued; and as the Algerines were very daring in their attacks, not only on the settlers, but on the military posts, he made an expedition into the interior, with a view of chastising the "savages," as they were termed, who would not permit the invaders to enjoy their conquests in peace. The expedition left Algiers in the middle of November, and fell in with several large bodies of Arabs, who were successively defeated. Clausel also reduced the two towns of Melideah and Medeah; which, with a large surrounding territory, were added to the French dominions.

* See *ante*, pp. 397, 398.

Since the expedition of the duke d'Angoulême to Spain, which ended in the re-establishment of absolute government, under Ferdinand VII., several leaders of the liberal party in that kingdom had taken refuge in France, where they were protected by Charles X., who disapproved of the conduct of his relative in abolishing the constitution of 1812, which he had sworn to accept and to maintain. Amongst these refugees were the duke de Rivas, the count Toreno, Mendizabal, Isturitz, Calatrava, San Miguel, and others. The "three days of July" had scarcely borne their fruits, when these refugees formed themselves into a committee, for the purpose of organising the discontented Spaniards, and revolutionising the kingdom. MM. Dupont de l'Eure, Louis Viardot, Etienne Arago, and Garnier Pages joined them; and when the French ministers became aware of the project, they all approved of it, except general Sebastiani. Louis Viardot was the medium of communication between the committee and the French cabinet; and one of his first interviews was with M. Guizot. The minister of the interior received him graciously; encouraged the committee to persevere in their plans; and led them to calculate on assistance from the government, by authorising their envoy to "tell those who sent him, that France committed a great political crime in 1823; that she owed to Spain a striking reparation; and that such reparation should be made." Viardot was also introduced to Louis-Philippe by Odillon Barrot. The interview was long, and the king is reported to have spoken approvingly of a close union between France and Spain, saying that there should be no Pyrenees. Expressions are also attributed to his majesty, most disparaging to Ferdinand VII.; which, very probably, he never used. The views of the Spanish conspirators were fully explained in this interview. They proposed to dethrone Ferdinand, place the duke de Nemours, Louis-Philippe's second son, on the throne; and then, by effecting a similar revolution in Portugal, unite the two kingdoms of the peninsula, and connect them by a firm and lasting alliance with France. Much as he would have liked to have seen his son on the throne of Spain, the king felt at that moment too insecure to bring upon himself the enmity of the other powers of Europe, which, he was well aware, such a step would provoke. He, however, promised to assist the revolutionists with arms and money; but, at the same time, their leaders were earnestly urged to make no precipitate movement. "You will have the warm sympathy and secret support of the French government," said general Gerard to Mina, who came to Paris after the intrigues had commenced; "but take care, and do not hazard anything. Swear to engage in no enterprise till France has nothing to fear on the side of Europe." The refugees, however, if they

swore, did not keep their oath. Supplied with money and arms, which had been dispatched in small parcels from Paris to Bayonne—confident in themselves, and supposing that they were certain of receiving effectual support from the Spanish population—the leaders of the insurrection determined not to deliberate, but act. They collected their followers at Bayonne early in October; and on the 15th the Bidassoa was crossed—the invaders being in three bodies, under Chapalangarra, Valdez, and Mina. The Spanish government—unexpectedly, we must suppose, by the leaders of this expedition—had a numerous force in the neighbourhood. The division under Chapalangarra (of whom we know nothing but the name) was attacked the same day the river was crossed; and their leader being slain, his men were soon beaten and dispersed. Valdez attacked a fortified convent, near Vera, on the 18th—was defeated, and compelled to recross the French frontiers; and on the 27th, Mina, who had made his way to the heights of San Marcial, was surrounded by a large body of the king's forces, and his division was entirely beaten and broken up; he himself was desperately wounded, and escaped with difficulty. Thus ended an attempt, which, whatever we may think of the Spaniards themselves, whose aim was to restore liberty to their country, was not creditable to the French administration. It is most unworthy conduct, on the part of any government, to encourage secret intrigues against another power, with which it professes to be in amity.

In Belgium—united to Holland by the treaty of Vienna—there had, for some time, been a strong desire for independence. The Belgians had no good reason to be discontented with the administration of William I.; for the Netherlands, throughout, had never been more prosperous than they were between 1814 and 1830; and the government, which was one of the most constitutional on the continent, paid due attention to all the varied interests of the country. But there was a difference of religion and of language, and not less of temperament and manners, between the lively Belgian and the cold phlegmatic Hollander. These differences had created discord both among the people and in the legislature; but it is singular, that the session of the latter, in 1830, had been distinguished by unusual concord and unanimity. When the prorogation took place, on the 2nd of June, the minister of the interior congratulated the members on the events of the session, which "had been remarkable for the extent of its labours, and the divergence of its opinions, and was crowned by the most happy accordance between the throne and the representatives of the people, on subjects of the greatest interest to both." But all unanimity vanished when the success of the revolution of July was ascertained; then

immediate steps were taken to organise those who were opposed to the established order of things. The first movements were instigated by emissaries from the clubs of France. The original object appears to have been to dethrone the king, restore the Roman catholic religion, and establish a democracy upon the ruins of the monarchical power. The conspirators—who made Brussels their head-quarters, but had their agents in all the large towns—were joined by many persons who wished for the separation of Flanders and Holland, the suppression of the protestant, and the re-establishment of the Roman catholic religion in all its supremacy, although they had no desire for a republic: the united parties soon became really formidable.

All their arrangements being made, the night of the 25th of August was fixed upon for bringing things to a crisis. The theatre at Brussels was open, and the drama of *La Muette* performed. It is one calculated to inspire revolutionary feelings; and when the performances concluded, the greater part of the young men in the audience collected in the streets, where they were joined by others, and commenced singing seditious songs, which were intermingled with shouts of "*Imitons les Parisiens!*" After occupying themselves in this manner for a short time, the crowd divided: some forced themselves into the printing-office of a government journal, where they broke up the "formes," scattered the type, and completely ransacked the interior of the premises. Another party set fire to the hôtel of M. Van Maanen, the Dutch minister, which was reduced to ashes. A third plundered many of the armourers' shops.—There were only a few troops, under general Wanthin, in the city; and when they attempted to interfere to restore order, the general was surrounded, and made prisoner. The next day the troops were drawn out in the morning; but the insurgents were too numerous for them to effect anything. The people imitated the Parisians, by cutting down trees and throwing up barricades; they also took possession of the hôtels of the governor and of the minister of police, and carried out the work of plundering to a great extent, in which they *did not* imitate the conduct of the French in the "three days of July."—Similar movements took place in Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, and all the chief towns of Flanders.

On the 1st of September the prince of Orange visited Brussels, with a view to ascertain what was really desired. He found the streets barricaded, the tricoloured flag displayed in every direction, and the citizens under arms. He was saluted with repeated cries of "*Vive la liberté!*" "*A bas Van Maanen!*" and, in his communications with several deputations at the Hôtel de Ville, convinced himself that the union could not be maintained.

The estates of the kingdom were convoked for

the 13th of September. There was a full attendance of members, and the king made a very conciliatory speech; but nothing could satisfy the discontented masses. The populace had all their passions roused by the successful revolution of Paris; the result only of which had reached them, in the defeat of the clerical party, and the substitution of Louis-Philippe for Charles X.; but they appear to have been ignorant of the misery and distress brought upon the working classes by the change. They, therefore, anticipated nothing but good from a republic; and were encouraged by the clergy and middle classes, who were anxious for independence, though the idea of a republic was far from *their* thoughts. All united in the demand for separation; and though the king had a well-disciplined army, under the prince of Orange, it was unable to maintain its ground against the popular force. Some advantages, gained at first, were all lost on the 25th of September, when the Brussels insurgents, reinforced by numbers from Ghent, Liège, and other towns, compelled the king's troops to retreat from the capital to Antwerp; and there they were subsequently obliged to take refuge in the citadel. The estates then, by a majority of fifty-five to forty-three, decided for separation; and, on the 27th of September, the chiefs of the insurgents assembled at Brussels, established a provisional government, and pronounced the dethronement of the king. On the 4th of October, the provisional government declared Belgium independent; and this led to a conference at London, between the ambassadors of the great powers, to settle the terms upon which the kingdom of the Netherlands should be dismembered. Notwithstanding the protests of the king, Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to recognise the independence of Belgium. The people of that country had already elected a national assembly, to whom this determination of the five great powers was announced on the 25th of December; and the assembly was left to decide upon the form of government that should be established.

The French people were very much dissatisfied with the conduct of Louis-Philippe during these proceedings. Their desire for conquest, abated by the loss of life and the various evils which sprung from the wars of the empire, was never extinguished. It had revived, with great force, during the fifteen years of peace; and the idea that the proper boundary of France was the Rhine, was very generally entertained by all classes of the population. The revolution in Belgium was looked upon as affording an opportunity for the government of Louis-Philippe to regain what that of Louis XVIII. had been obliged to abandon; and when the French people found the king declining to avail himself of the movement for what was considered a national purpose, it increased his unpopularity, and added

another cause of discontent to those which already existed, or were supposed to exist by the popular leaders.

But even the dissatisfaction evinced at the non-interference of the government in the affairs of Belgium, was light, compared to that which was called forth by what was considered the same culpable apathy in the affairs of Poland. A secret society, with independence for its objects, had existed for some time at Warsaw, with corresponding branches in other parts of the old kingdom. This society was in communication with the French clubs, before their suppression; and when, on the 19th of November, a revolution broke out at Warsaw, the cry of "Aid for Poland!" was raised in Paris, and in all parts of the kingdom. Neither in Belgium nor Poland, however, did the French government dare to interfere, whatever might be the private feelings and wishes of its members. Louis-Philippe was not established on his throne with sufficient firmness to allow him to brave the hostility of the other continental powers, which would most certainly have been provoked by active interference in Poland, or by any attempt to unite Belgium to France. There were also insurrectionary movements in various parts of Germany and Italy, from all of which the government stood aloof; and M. Lafitte, towards the close of the year, at a diplomatic and ministerial reception at his own house, congratulated the members of the former on the good understanding which existed between France and the other powers; expressed a hope that the latter would not be disturbed by the revolutions which the republicans of France so earnestly desired; disavowed, in the most decided terms, any intention, on the part of the government, to interfere with the revolutionary movements abroad; disowned all connexion with the foreign secret societies; and intimated that, although both Italy and Poland demanded the aid of French armies, or, at all events, of French generals, the motto of the government was peace.

When the session of the chambers opened, in 1831, the king declared his intention to avoid all cause of quarrel with foreign governments; to take a middle and conciliatory course between the contending parties at home, and to make vigorous efforts for the defence of the country. The necessity of providing for that defence, and the war in Algiers, called for a considerable augmentation of the army; and the equipment and organisation of 600,000 national guards were required by the law passed in December. Before the revolution, including the Swiss guards, the French army consisted of 131,000 infantry, and 34,595 cavalry. The Swiss regiments, comprising upwards of 12,000 men, were all broken up, and sent home, soon after the accession of Louis-Philippe. By calling out the men liable to the conscription of 1829 and 1830,

however, the infantry was, in January, 1831, increased to 243,000, and the cavalry to 45,000. Thus, irrespective of the national guard, amply sufficient for the defence of the country at home, Louis-Philippe had an army of nearly 300,000 men, ready to take the field whenever it was required.

The conference on the affairs of Belgium continued sitting in London through the month of January; and, on the 20th, the members unanimously agreed to a resolution, that the kingdom of Holland should be composed of the territories which formed the seven united provinces of 1789; and that Belgium should comprise "the remainder of the territories which had received the denomination of the Kingdom of the Low Countries, in the treaty of 1815, with the exception of the grand duchy of Luxembourg, which was to continue part of the Germanic confederation." The council instituted at Brussels, at the close of 1830, to administer the affairs of the state *ad interim*, and to determine upon the form of government which should finally be adopted, had decided in favour of a constitutional monarchy; thus proving, that, notwithstanding the republicans had undoubtedly the superiority in numbers, yet in Belgium, as in Paris, they were deficient in influence. The estates of Flanders sanctioned the proposal of the council, and to the former was left the choice of the new sovereign. Two candidates were proposed early in January—the duke de Leuchtenberg, son of prince Eugene Beauharnais, and grandson to Josephine, the first empress of France; and the duke de Nemours, the second son of the king of the French. At the conference of London, the ministers of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had resolved, that no member of the royal family of France should be elevated to the throne; and on the 11th of January, after the candidates had been proposed, Louis-Philippe announced to the estates, that he would never, in any event, recognise either of them "as king of Belgium, or give the duke de Leuchtenberg, should he be elected, one of his daughters in marriage." The estates, notwithstanding, on the 3rd of February, resolved to offer the crown to the duke de Nemours. Louis-Philippe, however, firmly but courteously refused to accept it for his son; thereby raising himself in the opinion of the courts of Europe, and probably warding off another general war, though he greatly wounded the national vanity of France. A storm of indignation arose on every side; and the war of pamphlets and newspapers was resumed, in which the opposition journals applied the strongest and most contemptuous language to the king and the government. They were accused of considering the interests and honour of France as second to those of foreign countries; and with having materially lowered the French kingdom in the

eyes of the world. The republican party in France, however, was satisfied with the decision; for they wanted to see—not Belgium converted into an appanage, for the benefit of a son of Louis-Philippe; but France and Belgium united in a republic, “one and indivisible,” for what they considered the benefit of the people. But though they intrigued with the republicans of Belgium for that purpose, they could not obtain their wishes. The monarchical system was adhered to; and for nearly six months longer, the throne of Belgium was an object of contest, and of deep and numerous intrigues. At length, on the 12th of July, the estates chose Leopold, duke of Saxe-Cobourg, to be king of Belgium—a prince who had neither intrigued for the crown, nor desired it; and who very reluctantly accepted the dignity and power which the estates conferred upon him. Of this prince, M. Guizot says—“A German by descent, and English by adoption, he became French by alliance, through his marriage with the princess Louise, eldest daughter of king Louis-Philippe. By this step, he found himself, at the outset, in close, natural, and legitimate connexion with all his most powerful neighbours, and armed with serious and specious motives for refusing or acceding, according to circumstances, to the different exactions which each, in their different interests, might be inclined to propose.”

Public attention in France was soon directed, for a time, from the affairs of Belgium and other foreign countries, to their own. The revolution had greatly increased the expenses of the government; the war in Algiers had created still greater demands for money; and when the minister of finance, on the 11th of February, brought forward his budget, it elicited angry discussions both in the chambers and the press. The opponents of the movement of the “three days,” and of the change of dynasty, eagerly contrasted the state of the public finances at that time, when the minister had to provide for a large deficiency, with their condition for the last six months before the revolution, when the income exceeded the expenditure. For the year 1831, the minister demanded, for the army, navy, and civil and religious expenditure, 1,177,000,000*f.*; for an old debt that existed previous to 1830, 160,400,000*f.*; for sums advanced beyond the receipts of 1830, up to the period when the financial statement was made, 90,755,458*f.*; and for extraordinary expenses, 6,500,000*f.* The gross sum amounted to 1,434,655,458*f.* (£57,386,219). To meet it, the receipts of taxes were estimated at 1,223,000,000*f.* (£48,920,000); and as a vote of credit, to the amount of 60,000,000*f.*, was asked for in addition to the detailed expenditure, the total deficiency to be made good by loan, or kept up as floating debt, was 271,655,458*f.* (£10,866,218). At the

time that this extra demand upon the resources of the kingdom was made, those resources were exhibiting strong signs of diminution and decay. The funds, since 1829, had fallen thirty-five per cent., from 109.85 to 74.75. The exports showed a diminution of 50,000,000*f.*; and the imports of upwards of 100,000,000*f.* The commercial paper discounted by the bank, sank from 129,000,000*f.* to 29,000,000*f.*; whilst the advances of that establishment to the government were increased from 73,000,000*f.* to 291,500,000*f.* These revelations created surprise, and gave rise to loud complaints throughout the kingdom. Those who had been most zealous against the government of Charles X., began to ask, what they had got by the new system? They complained that the kingdom had passed under the yoke of notabilities of municipalities, and notabilities of offices; that it was a government of the rich for the benefit of themselves; and it was said—“If the rich predominate in the municipal councils, we shall only have organised a protection for the interests which have least need of protection.”* A change was, therefore, desired; and from that time the communists and the St. Simonists began to take a more prominent part in the popular assemblages than they had hitherto done, though the leaders of those sections of the political-economical school had, for some time, been sedulously engaged in placing their doctrines before the public.

The communists or socialists owe their origin to Charles Fourier, a merchant of Besançon. He was born in 1768, and died in 1837. For some years before his death he divided his time between his mercantile pursuits and social economy—a science in which he thought he had made profound discoveries. He published several works explaining his theory, and the details of his system, viz.—*Théorie des Quatre Mouvements*; *Traité de l'Association Domestique et Agricole*; and *Le Nouveau Monde Industriel*. His plan, *en bref*, was, to establish large manufactories, containing from 1,300 to 1,400 people of both sexes, and all ages, who were individually to share in the possessions and property belonging to the community—not equally, but in a ratio apportioned to the talents, labour, and invested capital of each. He made the attempt to establish such a *commune* at Versailles, but it was a complete failure.

The St. Simonians were founded by the count St. Simon, a lineal descendant of the duke de St. Simon, the historian of Louis XIV. He was born in 1760, and died in 1825. His leading principle was, that industry is the first grand object, the definite purpose of society; and that those engaged in it are the leading and superior class. His motto was—“*Tout par et pour l'industrie* :” and the fundamental rules of the

* Louis Blanc.

society he proposed to institute, were—1st. That the population of each country should be formed into one association, the basis of which should be love; thus all hostile competition would be avoided. 2nd. That each individual should be rewarded according to his or her capacity and works, and that the hereditary succession of property should be abolished. 3rd. That there should be a complete organisation of industry, which would prevent war. He taught, that the learned and the skilled, whether in art, science, or industry, were the only true aristocracy to whom the government of all communities should be entrusted, and he placed the idle under proscription. He called his system "New Christianity," but it is more generally known as St. Simonianism. A few months before the time of which we are now writing, it had become popular in France. Many young men of great talent, but no property, joined a society which held out the prospect of bringing the great possessions of the noble—the riches of the merchant or the trader—into one common horde. They established a newspaper, called *The Globe*, for the purpose of diffusing their opinions generally amongst society; and they added some things which St. Simon would probably have repudiated. Thus, they sought to dissolve the marriage tie, terming matrimony "the legalisation of adultery;" and they proposed to substitute "the sovereignty of passion—the emancipation of pleasure." Amongst the supporters of this system were Olinde Rodriguez, Enfantin, Bazard, Buchez, and Armand Carrel. They made many converts; and in most companies men were to be found who contended, that all society, as it existed then, and exists at present, should be dissolved, and their own crude, impracticable, and—as added to by the editors of the *Globe*—licentious system substituted. So far did the modern St. Simonians push their doctrines, that the society was formally suppressed two years later.

Besides these politico-economists, there were the republicans and the Bonapartists, always ready to take part in any popular commotion. And there was another party which followed the abbé de Lamennais, who, whilst he wrote and spoke, politically, against the monarchy and aristocracy advocating the purest republicanism—strove to abolish the liberties of the Gallican church, and establish ultramontism—contending, that the legitimate authority of the pope had been subverted by a royal tyranny, most oppressive and injurious to the state and the people. He established, during the revolution of 1830, in conjunction with Lacordaire and Montalembert, a newspaper, called *L'Avenir*, to disseminate his doctrines; and, contradictory as they appeared—opposed as the principles of the ultramontanes really are to those of the republicans—his eloquence and earnestness gained auditors and

readers, and he exercised no little influence over the people. All these classes—the communists, St. Simonians, republicans, Bonapartists, and the followers of Lamennais—were always ready to join in any popular tumult, and they rendered the state of Paris such as can be more readily conceived than described.

Amidst this strife of parties, the legitimists by degrees gathered strength, and began even to hope that they might recover their position, and that, in the language of our own Jacobites, "the king might regain his own again." But, however the parties we have mentioned might be opposed to each other, and to the then *régime*, they were still more opposed to the followers of the Bourbons, as they demonstrated most fearfully upon the first opportunity. The legitimists had journals at their command, in which they anticipated that, at no distant period, the duke de Bordeaux would be established on the throne. They reported, that Louis-Philippe meant to resign in his favour; and in January, 1831, it was whispered about, that the king had sent the duke de Mortemart to Russia, to assure the czar of his intention of retiring from the throne. Encouraged, probably, by what they considered the favourable state of their prospects, the legitimists of Paris resolved, on the 14th of February, the anniversary of the assassination of the duke de Berri, to arrange a religious service in memory of his royal highness. They at first selected the church of St. Roch, in the Rue St. Honoré, as the place for its celebration. The ministers of the interior and of public worship, having received information of their intention, and apprehending that the ceremony would certainly give rise to a popular outbreak, applied to the archbishop of Paris, who prohibited its performance in that church. The originators of the proceeding, however, as the prohibition only extended to one church, determined that it should take place at that of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the *curé* of which was an old man, who had accompanied Marie Antoinette to the scaffold. He readily appropriated his church to the desired purpose; and it was filled by members of the first families in France, whose carriages and servants made a most imposing display. The solemn service for the dead was performed, the priests present appearing in all the pomp and splendour which the Roman church encourages, nay prescribes, in the clerical vestments. The *Miserere* and *Dies Iræ* were sung by a full choir; and the imposing service went off in the midst of an intense silence, occasionally broken by the sobs of some of the ladies present. At the close of the service, a collection was made for the benefit of those soldiers of the royal guard who had been permanently disabled in the conflicts of the "three days;" and whilst it was going on, a young man came from the midst of the congregation, and placed a miniature portrait of the duke de

Bordeaux—represented as wearing the crown of France—upon a catafalque, in the body of the church. A wreath of *immortelles* was placed round it; and some officers who were present, wearing their decorations, took them off, and placed them upon and around the miniature.

The display of carriages had attracted a crowd, which at first appeared to be actuated chiefly by curiosity. Soon, however, a report began to be spread amongst the numerous lookers-on and loungers, that a legitimist political demonstration was taking place in the sacred edifice. It is surprising how soon rumours spread. Before the service was over, the intelligence of the "political demonstration" reached the faubourgs; and fresh crowds rushed to the spot. They did not arrive soon enough to prevent the congregation from leaving the church, or, no doubt, many lives would have been lost. But a perfect fury appears to have possessed the last arrivals, who rushed, some into the church—others into the house of the *curé*; and both were completely sacked. The devastation was entire, as far as those places were concerned; and the impious followers of the Goddess of Reason, in the last century, could not have shown a greater contempt for everything sacred. The church was one of the most richly decorated in the capital. The Bourbon princes had devoted large sums to its ornamentation; but neither the splendour nor the beauty of the decorations could arrest the hands of the destroyers. The mayor of the fourth arrondissement of Paris was present, with a body of police, and also the national guard; but they took no steps to prevent, or to arrest, the work of devastation. A beautiful marble cross stood at the west end of the church. It was said to have the *fleur-de-lis* carved on the base; and this induced the mob to pull it down, and break it to pieces. It brought down with it part of the organ; and its fall was the signal for the destruction of all other crosses on the exterior, and in the interior of the church. The altar and pulpit were also pulled down; the hangings and paintings were trampled under foot; whilst rude ruffians put on the priests' vestments, and, thus arrayed, danced the *Carmagnole*. The windows were all broken; and the work of destruction proceeded, amidst the most abandoned language—the curses and blasphemy of the rioters being described as of the most revolting description.

The work of demolition completed on this spot, the crowd rushed to the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, and commenced sacking that and the palace of the archbishop, adjoining the Hôtel Dieu. Night put a stop to their excesses; and the rioters dispersed, with the declared intention of resuming their orgies the next morning. It was reported, that then they would make for the Palais Royal; but a strong force was drawn up around it; and any attack there was found to be impossible. The mob, therefore, made for the archbishop's palace,

where a guard of 100 men had been placed. These were soon overpowered; and the palace was not only plundered, but pulled down to the ground, scarcely a stone remaining in its place. The fine library of the archbishop, containing many rare and valuable works, with all the furniture of the palace, were destroyed, the greater part being thrown into the Seine. M. Arago, at the head of a detachment of the 12th battalion of the national guards, attempted to preserve the archbishop's palace; but he nearly lost his own life. The adjutant of the battalion, count de Clonard, accidentally struck a man with his sabre, and mortally wounded him. The count with difficulty escaped; the mob, elevating the body of the man on planks, carried it through the streets, shouting for "vengeance on the assassin."

The rioting again ceased at night; and the next day, the 16th, the city was as tranquil as if nothing had happened. But within the week, "at Lisle, Dijon, Perpignan, Arles, Nismes, and Angoulême, similar scenes took place, with the same admixture of political antipathies and impious passions. Here a statue of the duke de Berri was thrown down, and broken in pieces by the mob; there the bust of Louis XVIII. was extracted from the magazine in which it had been buried, and dragged with insults through the streets. In some places the schools for the clergy were pillaged, and set on fire; in others, the bishop found himself compelled, by tumultuous crowds, to submit to the revocation of a minister."* For some days anarchy prevailed in the towns mentioned, and in other places. Paris was quiet; but not a single step was taken to punish the rioters. A proclamation was issued against "the Carlists," as the cause of the outrages; and a triumph was accorded to the rioters, by a proposition which M. Lafitte made to the king on the 18th of February, that the *fleur-de-lis* should be expunged from the royal arms. Louis-Philippe consented, and ordered a new state seal to be prepared, from which both the cross and the lily were erased. An *ordonnance* also appeared, directing that the crosses should be removed from the churches in the capital. Some legitimists were arrested; but the rioters wholly escaped; and a proclamation in the *Moniteur* praised the Parisians for their noble conduct—only recommending them to observe respect to the public monuments!

These outrages produced a great effect in the legislature, and led to a dissolution of the ministry of M. Lafitte. On the 17th of February, in the chamber of deputies, M. Benjamin Délessert called for explanations from the government with respect to the disturbances of the previous days, demanding to know why they were not repressed by the strong arm of authority. The explanations given were very unsatisfactory; and the "party of order," strengthened

* Guizot.

by the outrages of the 14th of February, showed such signs of opposition to the ministry, that Lafitte resolved to resign his office. Private and public affairs impelled him to take this step. He felt satisfied that he had lost the majority in the chamber; and he had dissipated his fortune in his pursuit of politics. The king, whose private resources were immense, had bought of him, for 10,000,000*f.*, the forest of Breuil; and had become security for a loan of 6,000,000*f.*, which he found it necessary to obtain. All was insufficient to make up his losses, and restore the credit of his bank, injured by the revolution of July, and suffering from the absence of that active management and skilful superintendence which he had not been able to devote to its affairs, when he began to take such an active part in the political movements of the day. When he found that the deputies were disposed to go against the government for the weakness displayed in connection with the outrages of February, he resolved to retire into private life; but he hesitated for several days, not liking to own that he did so because he had lost the support of the deputies. But the affairs of Italy afforded him a pretext for throwing up his office. There had been a conspiracy in Modena, amongst the other revolutionary movements in the Italian peninsula. The duke is said to have been intimately connected with it, and to have encouraged the chief of the conspirators, one Menotti, to perfect his plans, which were to constitute an united Italy, with the duke of Modena as a constitutional king. It was expected that France, having refused to assist the conspirators, would not suffer Austria to interfere against them. But Austria did interfere; and the duke of Modena turned against the men he had encouraged, and even delivered over Menotti to death. Prince Metternich had communicated to the French ambassador at Vienna, the determination of Austria to put down the movement, however unpleasant its interference might be to France. The ambassador had sent Metternich's note to the war minister, at Paris; but Lafitte, though the head of the government, was kept in ignorance of the transaction. It found its way, however, to the public press; and on finding a statement in the papers, to the effect that such a note had been received from Vienna, Lafitte made inquiries on the subject, when that statement was confirmed. He made that the ground of resigning his office—a step he would soon have taken under any circumstances; for he was then a ruined man; and had to give up everything, and even advertise his house for sale, to pay his debts. The respect of his friends and the public, however, prevented that last sacrifice from being made.

The resignation of Lafitte led to the reconstruction of the ministry. M. Casimir-Perrier became premier, as *minister of the interior*, and *president of the council*; baron Louis took the

finance department; M. Montalivet, that of *public instruction and worship*, from which M. Barthé removed to that of *justice*; count d'Argout was appointed to the department of *commerce and public works*, in place of M. Merithou, who retired; admiral Rigny was made *minister of marine*, replacing count d'Argout; general Sebastiani and marshal Soult retained their respective offices, as *ministers of foreign affairs*, and *war*. The new ministry was announced in the *Moniteur* of the 14th of March; and the next day an article appeared in the *Journal des Débats*—again become a government journal—stating, that, “for the last four months, the government had been without a system—a want which had produced irresolution and vacillation, and had constituted its weakness, which was great, and might have been fatal: it put the salvation of France in peril. The new ministry signalled the advent of a new system—to govern by the chambers; to consider their opinion as the expression of the opinion of France, and to disregard all opinion out of it. It wished peace; but such only as was honourable and might be lasting, and would establish order, the first necessity of France; without which, credit was shaken, and commerce expiring. They stood in need of security rather than repose; order, alone, could re-establish all. Tyranny no longer came from above; it came from below.”

M. Perrier soon made his presence felt in the king's councils. He was a man of great independence, of a strong and firm mind; and he resolved to free his ministry from some extraneous influences which had operated to the prejudice of his predecessors. The first change he proposed was, that the king should leave the Palais Royal, where he had hitherto resided; and, like the other kings of France, establish himself at the Tuileries. The king preferred the residence of his ancestors and of his youth; but he yielded to the desire of his minister; and the change was announced in the *Moniteur* of the 20th of March. The next innovation was of a more delicate nature. The cabinet councils had always been held at the Tuileries, St. Cloud, or the Palais Royal, the king being present; and, since the accession of Louis-Philippe, the duke d'Orleans had attended them. M. Casimir-Perrier established the practice of the ministers meeting at his house, without the presence of either the king or the duke; and he had the meetings announced in the *Moniteur*—thus establishing his independence in the minds of the public. The king submitted to the change with an ill grace; but he did submit. The minister, also, had all telegraphic despatches communicated to him before they were sent to his majesty; and the *Moniteur* was prohibited from inserting any articles or notes as “official,” without the previous sanction of the president of the council.

The first legislative measure of the new govern-

ment was a law regulating public assemblages. There was a disposition still shown by the populace to congregate in large numbers in the streets. To prevent danger from such assemblages, it was enacted, by a law passed on the 9th of April, that all such meetings, if they did not dissolve on being summoned three times to do so, might be dispersed by force.—The next proposition was professedly intended to procure a better representation of the people, by lowering the qualification for the suffrage, and making other alterations in the existing law. The qualification for electors was the payment of 300f. per annum in direct taxes. The first proposition of the minister was to reduce this qualification to the payment of 240f.; "a difference," the journals remarked, "in favour of the revolution, of 60f." After some discussion, the new law, as passed on the 19th of April, reduced the franchise to the payment of 200f., and the qualification for a deputy to the payment of 750f.; the age for electors being fixed at twenty-five, and for deputies at thirty years. Members and correspondents of the Institute, and some other privileged parties, were to have the franchise, if they paid only 100f. in direct taxation. Every electoral college was to elect one deputy; and the number of deputies was fixed, for all the arrondissements and departments, at 459.

The state of the finances was embarrassing to the minister; the receipts from the taxes foreshadowing a great deficiency between the income and expenditure. Soon after he took office he brought in three financial measures: by the first, he proposed to make an addition of fifty-five centimes to the land-taxes, and of fifty centimes on the patents for the year 1831. By the second he asked for an eventual credit of 100,000,000f., if required between the closing of that session and the opening of the next; and by the third, for an extraordinary credit of 1,500,000f., for secret-service money. All these *projets* became law; and, soon after, on the 28th of April, the chambers were prorogued.

Whilst the financial measures were very unpopular, the other measures of the government did not satisfy the party of extreme liberals, the members of which were, in truth, republicans. The ministers were assailed in their papers—the *Courrier Français*, the *National*, and the *Tribune*; the *National*, after a few weeks' experience, saying, they "could see no difference between the ministry of M. Casimir-Perrier and that of the prince de Polignac." The *Tribune* called for an open and avowed opposition and resistance. The result of these and other articles of a similar tendency, was the formation, in defiance of the law against clubs, of the "National Association;" the fundamental obligation by which the members were bound, being a pledge, "On their life and honour, to combat the stranger and the Bourbons, by any pecuniary and personal sacri-

fice, however severe; and to come to no accommodation with them, to whatever extremity the country might be reduced."

The public mind, both in Paris and the provinces, was still in such a disturbed state, that the slightest cause was sufficient to throw it into a ferment. In April, M. Cavaignac (the brother of the future general of that name), and several other young men, were tried for taking a part in the tumults which followed the trial of the late ministers. They were acquitted; and the joy of the populace was shown by processions and other assemblages, which continued for several days; and at last assumed such an aspect, that they had to be put down by force. In May, there were similar tumults, arising from popular demonstrations, when the king ordered the statue of Napoleon to be replaced on the summit of the column in the Place de Vendôme. The people assembled on the 9th, and, surrounding the column, sung hymns and songs in praise of the emperor, and covered the pedestal with wreaths of *immortelles*. As these assemblages were continued, and evidently excited a feeling in favour of the Bonapartes, not likely to promote the peace and tranquillity of the capital, the government ordered a company of *pompiers* to be stationed in the Place, with fire-engines, the water from which cooled the ardour of the crowds, who soon dispersed after the engines began to discharge their contents—a proof that, however numerous the Bonapartists might be, they wanted, at that time, both leaders and organisation, or they would not have been so easily put down by a shower-bath. Even the bestowing medals on the "heroes of the barricades," was made a cause of tumult. The medals were voted by the chamber, and ordered by the government. The 13th of May was fixed for their distribution; and when it was found that the words "Given by the king of the French," were inscribed on the medals, and that all recipients were required to take an oath of fidelity to Louis-Philippe, the manifestations of popular disapproval were of the most decisive character; and many who were to have been recipients refused to accept the medals.

One of the Bonapartes was in Paris during parts of the months of April and May. Early in the former month, the ex-queen Hortense, with her son Louis-Napoleon, arrived there. She had just lost her eldest son in Italy; and had been obliged, in order to secure their personal safety, to leave that country with her second son, who was greatly enfeebled by illness. On arriving in Paris, she took up her residence in the Rue de la Paix, and made her arrival known to the king, who received her, secretly, at the Palais Royal, the queen and madame Adelaide being present. She wanted permission to remain in France for some time, to prosecute pecuniary claims against the government.

Louis-Philippe promised her his assistance; and sent Casimir-Perrier to her, who also promised her counsel and aid. But, during the popular commotions, it began to be rumoured that prince Louis was in Paris, and had been seen in the Place de Vendôme, after the statue of his uncle had been replaced. In the excited state of the public mind, it was impossible to tell to what this might lead; and it was intimated to Hortense, that she must leave the capital. She went to London in May; and there, at the intervention of M. Talleyrand, she obtained passports, authorising her to traverse France on her way to Switzerland, where she and her son took up their residence.

The state of things in Paris was most discouraging to the government; and as it was found that disaffection was making its way in the provinces, the king and his ministers thought, that if his majesty were to visit the districts in which the revolutionary spirit was the most prominent, it might have a good effect. Accordingly, the king left Paris on the 18th of May, and traversed the principal parts of Normandy, visiting Rouen, Havre, Abbeville, and Amiens. His reception was certainly not very cordial, and nowhere enthusiastic; but he met with a respectful attention, which, from a warm-hearted, excitable people, was, perhaps, even more alarming than manifestations of popular disapproval. His majesty returned to Paris on the 31st of May; and on that day a proclamation was issued, dissolving the chamber of deputies. The electoral colleges were ordered to assemble on the 5th of July; and the meeting of the legislature was fixed for the 23rd of that month. Ministers, as soon as the proclamation appeared, set their agents at work in every direction, for the purpose of influencing the electors, and securing a majority for the government in the elections.

The king employed the month of June in making a second tour into Champagne, visiting, on this occasion, Meaux, Château-Thierry, Metz, Verdun, Troyes, and several other places. His majesty's reception very much resembled that he met with in Normandy, though, at some of the towns he visited, sentiments were uttered from which he felt bound to express a complete dissent. Thus, at Metz, the municipal council presented an address to his majesty, which was read by the mayor. It contained, after expressing sympathy with the Poles, and a desire for their independence, the following passage:—"The charter has left in our internal government an important matter to regulate—that of the hereditary peerage. Let us hope that, in the next session, the legislative power will cause to disappear from among our laws a privilege which is now incompatible with our national habits. The municipal councils of France have unanimously proclaimed their sentiments on this subject."

The address contained confessions of personal regard, for which the king thanked the addressers; but, in reply to the passage we have quoted, he said—"You speak to me of what all the municipal councils of France have proclaimed. They have proclaimed nothing; it is not within their province to do so, nor to deliberate on matters of high policy; that right is reserved to the chambers; and I have nothing to answer to that part of your address. As to what you say to me respecting the diplomatic relations of France with foreign powers, that is also a subject on which municipal councils have no right to deliberate." At the same place, the national guard also presented an address, which was read by M. Voirhayé, one of the colonels of the force. In this address, similar sentiments were expressed concerning the hereditary peerage and the Poles. The king listened attentively till the reader came to those passages, when, taking the address into his own hands, he said—"That is sufficient. The national guard must not occupy themselves with political questions. They have nothing to do with them; it is not their duty to give advice." "Sire," replied the colonel, "they do not give advice; they only express a wish." The king replied—"On such subjects the national guard should form no wish. An armed force never deliberates." All this appeared in the *Moniteur*. and these manifestations of serious differences between the king and those bodies, which certainly represented the people much more effectually than the chamber of deputies, created a great sensation in every part of the kingdom.

The elections generally passed off quietly. During their progress, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille—the 14th of July—occurred. There appears to have been a preconcerted plan to erect trees of liberty on that day; and probably to attempt a rising. There were popular assemblages in many parts of the kingdom; but in the capital, and most of the principal cities in the departments, the authorities were on the alert; and if they could not prevent the tree from being planted, and the people from singing and dancing round it, they preserved the peace. The places where disturbances broke out were Strasbourg, Tours, Montpellier, Carcassonne, Nismes, Tarascon, and Marseilles; and not only the people, but the army, in some of those towns, showed themselves to be decidedly disaffected. Thus, at Tarascon, the municipal authorities endeavoured to prevent the planting of a tree of liberty; but they could not get the troops there to act; and one of the officers interfered to prevent some rioters, who had been made prisoners, from being taken before the magistrates to be examined. In the other towns, force had to be used, and blood was shed, to preserve order. The elections, however, were not interrupted; but all the efforts of the ministerial partisans could not succeed in returning a majority for the

government; the total number of deputies, 459, being thus divided:—Ministerial, *new members*, 84; *old ditto*, 145; total, 229. Oppositionists: *new*, 80; *old*, 150; total, 230;—giving the latter a majority of *one*. Some of the most distinguished liberals—general Lamarque, Francis Arago (the eminent philosopher), M. Duvergier de Hauranne, M. Thiers, and M. Garnier Pagès—men who were not republicans, but who wished for more general liberty than the charter accorded—were returned by large majorities. The opposition would have been, indeed, formidable, had these members been organised and united under one head. Odillon Barrot had, perhaps, the most influence; but M. Mauguin, his rival, who was much more impassioned and impetuous, had also a great many partisans.

After the prorogation of the chambers, whilst the king was making his tours, and the elections were taking place, his ministers were engaged in obtaining from Don Miguel, who had usurped the government of Portugal, redress for injuries inflicted upon two French subjects. One, a young student, named Bonhomme, was tried at Lisbon, for an offence of which he knew nothing; was not suffered to defend himself; but, unheard, was adjudged to be publicly flogged—a sentence which was carried into execution. The other, M. Sauvinet, was a French merchant, residing in the Portuguese capital. During a popular riot, some parties had let a rocket off in his garden. They were perfectly unknown to him, and he had no means of preventing them from giving the signal, as it was supposed to be. Notwithstanding, he was tried, and sentenced to be transported to Africa, where he was immediately sent. As the remonstrances of the French consul failed in preventing the sentences from being carried into execution, and as all redress was refused, admiral Roussin was dispatched, with six sail-of-the-line and two frigates, to enforce it. He arrived at the mouth of the Tagus in the beginning of July; and, having received an insolent reply to his demand of satisfaction for the injustice inflicted on French subjects, he prepared to force his way up the river. On the morning of the 11th of July he bombarded and dismantled the forts; and, in the afternoon of the same day, anchored before Lisbon. Before bombarding the city the admiral renewed his demands, which included the annulment of the sentences upon the French subjects; a payment of 800,000*f.* as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and the surrender of those vessels lying in the Tagus, which had struck their flag to the French fleet. An agreement, embodying these terms, was signed on board the admiral's vessel on the 14th of July, and the French fleet returned to Toulon.

The chambers assembled on the 23rd of July; and the king read his speech from a manuscript prepared by the president of the council. It was

not very long, but was decided and firm in expression. "Gentlemen," it commenced, "I am happy to find myself in the midst of you, and in the hall which witnessed my oaths. Penetrated by a sense of the duties which they have imposed upon me, I will always look for support in the national will, of which you are the constituted organs; and I expect from you that cordial co-operation which can alone give my government the strength, without which it will be unable to respond to the expectations of the nation." * * * "In calling me to the throne, France wished that the monarchy should become national; she did not wish it should become impotent. A government without force can never be suitable for a great nation. I have just traversed a great part of France; the marks of affection I have received have deeply touched my heart, and are ever present to my thoughts."

* * * "You will assist me in accomplishing those objects which are so near my heart. Order shall be protected, liberty guaranteed, the efforts of the factions confounded and repressed. Thence will be derived that confidence in the future which alone can secure the prosperity of the state. I know the extent of suffering produced by that commercial crisis in which the nation has been involved. It has deeply grieved me; whilst the courage with which it has been borne, has called forth my admiration. I hope that it is drawing to a close, and that the re-establishment and maintenance of order will restore the security necessary for the proper employment of capital; and that it will give to our commerce, trade, and industry their wonted activity."

The address was listened to with a respectful attention, and then the election of president was proceeded with. The mode of election was altered. Instead of nominating several members, from which the king was to select one to occupy the chair, the chamber made a positive choice itself; and M. Casimir-Perrier resolved that the fate of the ministry should be determined by the decision to which the deputies might come as to the two candidates who were placed before them—M. Girod de l'Ain, by the ministers, and M. Lafitte by the opposition. The former received 171, the latter 168 votes; whilst for vice-presidents, M. Dupont de l'Eure and M. Béranger had a majority of ten votes over the government candidates. The premier, baron Louis, general Sebastiani, and M. Montalivet immediately tendered their resignations to the king; but before his majesty had decided what course he should pursue, intelligence was received in Paris, on the 4th of August, that the Dutch had invaded Belgium.

In that country revolution had produced its usual results—a stagnation of trade and industry, great loss to the monied, and great distress amongst the industrious, part of society. Many of the richest citizens in Antwerp, Bruges,

Brussels, and the other large towns, were in favour of a renewal of the connection with Holland; and whilst the Belgian government had scarcely any army, and the treasury was miserably supplied, the king of Holland had an efficient force of 63,200 infantry and artillery, 4,800 cavalry, and 150 guns. He had, also, four ships of the line, and a number of small vessels ready for sea. The information he received led the king to believe that there would be a counter-revolution, to bring about a reunion with Holland, or that Leopold would be dethroned, and one of his majesty's sons elected king of Belgium. His majesty, however, would not, in all probability, have resorted to hostilities, but for the commission of what he considered an act of bad faith on the part of England, France, and Belgium; though there is little reason to doubt, notwithstanding the attitude assumed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia at the conference of London, that he was secretly encouraged by those powers to maintain his rights.

His majesty had assented to the act of separation, agreed to by the London conference. That act left the question of Luxembourg undecided; though, as it was a part of the old patrimony of the house of Nassau, and never had belonged to Belgium, there appears to have been no reasonable pretence for not at once annexing it to the "former republic of the united provinces of the Low Countries," which it was agreed should constitute the kingdom of Holland. There were incessant negotiations upon this point; and a volume of protocols was written—Talleyrand and lord Palmerston supporting the proposition for annexing Luxembourg to Belgium, according to the wishes of the Belgian assembly. As their wishes became more decidedly manifested, and as the plenipotentiaries for Holland strongly insisted upon an absolute and unconditional recognition of the act of separation, it appeared very likely that the two parties might resort to hostilities. This led to the conclusion of a secret treaty, on the 16th of June, 1831, between England and France; which, according to M. Talleyrand, "converted those powers into two *gendarmes*, who would, if necessary, forcibly intervene to prevent a duel." By this treaty, the two powers undertook to prevent Holland and Belgium from going to war, by the intervention of an armed force, if necessary; and England collected a fleet in the Downs; whilst a French army of 40,000 men was cantoned near the frontier which abutted on Flanders. In the meantime, eighteen articles were prepared in London, as the basis of a treaty between the two powers; which differed widely from the act of separation—giving Belgium a larger territory than that act entitled her to; and otherwise encroaching on the rights of Holland. They did not, however, decide the question of Luxembourg. These articles the king of Holland, in a note

dated the 26th of June, described as completely changing the previous combinations; and he therefore declined to accede to them. On the contrary, when the prince of Saxe-Cobourg agreed to accept the throne of Belgium, he formally demanded that the London conference should confirm the advantages those articles proposed to confer on his new kingdom. The conference agreed to this demand; and though the king of Holland had declared his dissent, he probably would have submitted without a struggle, but for the encouragement he received from what he was informed was the state of opinion in Belgium. Believing he had powerful friends in that country, he ordered his troops to cross the frontier; and general Chassé—who held the citadel of Antwerp—having entered into an armistice with the authorities of that city on the 5th of November, 1830, declared that armistice to be at an end.

The Dutch army, stationed on the Belgian frontier, consisted of 40,000 men, divided into three corps. One, under general Van Gheen, was to advance upon Antwerp; another, under general Georges, moved on Maestricht; and the third was to advance upon Brussels. The Belgian army—so called, though very few, indeed, of the men deserved the name of soldiers—consisted of two corps: one, of 12,000 men, under the king in person, and called the "army of the Scheldt," was at Malines; and the other, under general Daine, was cantoned between Maestricht and Hasselt. The odds in favour of the Dutch were, therefore, considerable in point of numbers and position; they were still greater, when the character and condition of the two armies was considered.

All these facts were, of course, known to the French ministers, who announced, in the *Moniteur* of the 5th of August, which contained the intelligence of the advance of the Dutch army into Belgium, that king Leopold had applied for the assistance of a French army; and that marshal Gerard, who commanded the army on the Belgian frontier, would immediately march to his assistance.—"Under such circumstances," continued the official article, "the ministers who had tendered their resignations would remain in office; they would wait for the answer of the chambers to the speech from the throne." The French troops immediately crossed the frontiers; and they were only just in time to save Belgium. Both divisions of the Belgian army had been defeated—that under general Daine losing its artillery, cannon, and baggage; and Brussels was at the mercy of the prince of Orange, who had shut up Leopold in Louvain. The French crossed the frontier on the 9th; a division, under the dukes d'Orleans and de Nemours, who accompanied Gerard, entered Brussels on the 12th; and the next day the prince of Orange received orders from his father to withdraw into Holland.

These orders were sent in consequence of the king having received information that, on the 6th, a *protocol* was signed at London, by which Austria and Russia—too much occupied, just then, with their own affairs, to offer any opposition to the determined attitude assumed by England and France with respect to Belgium and Holland—had concurred in the intervention of those powers. The prince immediately concluded a convention with the commander of the advanced guard of the French army, general Belliard, and withdrew into Holland. The French army, soon after, recrossed the frontiers, to its old cantonments; and negotiations for a pacific termination of the Belgian question were recommenced.—We must now again return to the domestic affairs of France.

The debates in the chamber of deputies, on the address in reply to the king's speech, commenced on the 9th of August, and extended over three weeks. The opposition—the principal speakers being general Lamarque, M. Bignon, marshal Clausel, M. Mauguin, and M. Larabit—attacked the ministers for their pacific policy. That policy, they said, had "compromised the interests of France, which lay in its honour; and those of humanity, which were centred in the greatness of France." The ministers had suffered Austria, in Italy, to trample a noble people under foot; while the conference of London had severed nationalities, utterly disregarding traditions, interests, and affections; and Russia was permitted to exterminate a generous people, who were punished for having found Russian tyranny intolerable. All this they had permitted; while everywhere around them they had allowed the rude empire of force to be re-established, to the eternal disgrace of France, and the not less durable misfortune of those who loved her, who relied on her support, and were betrayed. These topics were dilated upon, at great length, by the various speakers; and the result of the timorous policy of the government was said to be, "that England had disposed of the crown of Belgium, which lay at the feet of France; that Austria had re-established her supremacy in Italy; and that Russia had found, in the treacherous neutrality of Austria, and the open support of Prussia, the means of extinguishing the last remnants of Polish nationality." The home policy—the tendency of the government measures to re-establish despotism—was also dwelt upon; but the foreign policy of Casimir-Perrier and his colleagues was the chief object of attack.

The ministers were not wanting in strong arguments for their defence. Besides M. Casimir-Perrier, MM. Duvergier de Hauranne, Thiers, Sebastiani, and Guizot, appeared in the tribune; and their speeches, if those of the opposition excelled them in eloquent declamation, were more profound and forcible in argument and reasoning. They contended, and adduced

facts in proof, that the government had not failed in its efforts, either in Italy, Poland, or Belgium. "In the former, it had effected all that could be expected in procuring the evacuation of the Roman states by Austria. If they had sent an army to succour the Poles, it would only have compelled Austria and Prussia, in their own defence, to form a closer alliance with Russia; and the French troops, on reaching Warsaw, would have found only a desert and ashes. As to Belgium: if a French army had not been advanced to the Rhine—if Flanders had not been incorporated with France—if the king, doing violence to his family affections, had refused the crown of Belgium offered to his son—it was because considerations of the greatest political gravity were opposed to such objects of family and political aggrandisement. Was it expedient, for no other object but ambition, to light up in Europe the flames of another general war? Was it advisable, in the hope of a doubtful conquest, to arm against France the English people—that powerful ally, which had done so much to establish the throne of the revolution? Would it have been wise or prudent to threaten the European nations with the revival of an ambition which, for fifteen long years, kept them in agony and humiliation? Was France degraded because she showed herself at once disinterested and formidable?" As to the domestic policy, which had been most pointedly attacked by the republican party, M. Guizot was the principal ministerial advocate on that subject. He described the leaders of that party as "entertaining doctrines which combined contempt of everything that had been, and everything that was, with a hatred of the constitution of 1830, and as contending for the necessity of reconstructing everything in government, in legislation, and in society. To call that party republican was a misnomer; it was a revolutionary faction, which, weakened and exhausted, was alike incapable of amendment or repentance. It was opposed to the revolution of July, which combined everything that was good, legitimate, and rational in the first revolution; and these beneficial adjuncts had been incorporated into the system of government."

There were many exciting scenes during the eighteen days' debate: on one occasion, an exclamation of general Lamarque—"Let us save Poland!"—threw the whole chamber into such a state of excitement that the president had to ring his bell, and put an end to the sitting. The result of the debate was favourable to the ministry, and surprising to the public. Notwithstanding the nearly equal division of parties, as shown by the professions of the deputies before they were elected, and by the elections of president and vice-presidents, the ministerial address was adopted by considerably more than a moiety of the chamber—282 deputies voting for it, whilst there were only 73 noes.—In the peers,

the majority on the address was proportionately larger, and the debate was of a much milder character. M. Casimir-Perrier and his colleagues, therefore, gave up the intention of resigning at that time, and resolved to await the march of events.

The address disposed of, several projects of laws of considerable importance were placed before the chambers. One provided for the due publication of the electoral and jury lists; another referred to the grades and decorations obtained by service during the "hundred days," which the troops were permitted to retain and wear; a third was to abolish the hereditary house of peers; a fourth prohibited the services which had long been performed on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI.; and a fifth was the revival of a law which passed the deputies in 1830, but was rejected by the peers on account of the late period of the session at which it was brought before them. It sentenced the ex-king, Charles X., his descendants, and their relatives, to perpetual banishment from France, and forbade them from setting foot upon French territory, or holding any property within its bounds. In addition, it was now proposed that the sentence of perpetual banishment should be extended to the Bonaparte family. All these projects became laws. That for abolishing the hereditary peerage was carried by 386 to 40 in the chamber of deputies—an immense majority on such a question. As its success in the peers was doubtful, there was a delay of a month between its passing the deputies and being sent to the upper chamber. There the opposition proved so strong, that, on the 20th of November, an *ordonnance* appeared, creating thirty-six new peers. The law did not finally pass till the 28th of December, when it was adopted by a majority of thirty-three. It declared "the hereditary peerage abolished;" and provided that, in future, the peers were to be nominated by the king from certain classes eminent for civil and military services, and were to hold their seats for life. The law of banishment—which was warmly opposed both by legitimatists and Bonapartists; the latter pointing out the absurdity of re-erecting the statue of Napoleon I., and then excluding his descendants from the country—was carried by 251 votes to 69. During its discussion, the adoption of an amendment, making it death for any Bourbon to set his foot in France, was only defeated by an eloquent speech—the last he delivered—from M. de Martignac, once a minister of Charles X., and an opponent of the prince de Polignac.

The project that produced the greatest discussion—and which, introduced on the 4th of October, did not finally pass till early in 1832—was that for establishing the civil-list. It included a dotation of immovable and of movable property, and money,—making the French royal family the

richest in Europe. The project "endowed the crown with the Louvre, the Tuileries, the Elysée-Bourbon, and the châteaux, houses, buildings, manufactures, lands, meadows, farms, woods, and forests in the domains of Versailles, Marly, St. Cloud, and other places; with the appanage of Orleans, established by the edicts of 1661, 1672, and 1692; and with the jewels and other articles contained in the Garde-Meuble, and the royal palaces. The king was to receive annually, from the public treasury, 12,000,000*f.* (£480,000). A dower was to be provided for the queen, if she survived the king; the prince-royal was to receive 1,000,000*f.* per annum (£40,000); and if the private domain proved insufficient, allowances to the younger princes and princesses were to be made. The private property possessed by the king before his accession, and whatever he might acquire subsequently, were to constitute this private domain, of which the king was to be at liberty to dispose as he pleased, without being bound by the limitations prescribed to a testator in the civil code."* As soon as the terms of this *projet de loi* were known, it was almost universally denounced. One of the most able opponents was M. de Cormenin, who, in a series of letters, signed "Timon," subjected the details of the measure to the most acute criticism—contrasting the expenses of the government of Louis-Philippe with those of its predecessors; and showing how greatly in excess those of the government of the revolution were. He was a deputy, and a member of the committee to whom the bill was referred. He reproduced many of his arguments in the chamber, and was met by several speakers from the ministerial benches; one of whom, M. Montalivet, observed, that "luxury must not be banished from the dwellings of the kings of France; if it were, it would be banished also from those of his subjects, to the great disadvantage of industry." The use of the words "king of France" and "subjects," was indignantly resented by the chamber; and a protest against them, drawn up by Odillon Barrot, was signed by 165 deputies. The bill was at last carried by a majority of 259 to 107 votes; and the peers adopted it with less debate and a larger majority.

The discussions on the projects of law we have enumerated were interrupted, on the 13th of September, by the introduction of a petition, praying the government to demand from England the remains of Napoleon. Only two members of the chamber, MM. Charles Comte and Charles de Lameth, condemned this step, which was objected to neither by the king nor the cabinet; and the latter took an early opportunity of authorising M. Talleyrand to act upon it.—These were the principal legislative measures of the second session of 1831. In the long and angry debates upon them, the republican party manifested little

* *Annuaire Historique.*

fear and less discretion in the violence of their invective. The members of that party had constituted numerous "popular societies, which, legally interdicted as clubs, were still in full activity and influence. Whether by concerted arrangement or instinct, they were divided and multiplied, so as not to incur simultaneously the same danger. Under their distinct names—the Friends of the People, the Friends of the Country, the Claimants of July, the Regenerated Franks, the Society of Condemned Politicians, the Society of the Rights of Man, the Gaulish Society, the Society of Liberty, of Order, and of Progress—all were, in reality, but one and the same army, animated by a similar spirit, and marching under a common impulse to a common end."* Besides the clubs and the chamber, the republicans continued to advocate their cause, and to denounce the ministerial policy, through the press; two fresh names appearing in the list of the men of letters attached to the party—MM. Armand Carrel and Garnier Pagès. The former is described as "one of the most remarkable and most highly-gifted men of the age in which he lived." Towards the close of 1830 he became editor of the *National*; and throughout 1831 he was one of the boldest writers on the republican side. The speeches of the deputies, the proceedings of the clubs, and the violent articles in the papers, kept the populace constantly on the *qui vive*, and their *furor* was at once excited by any unexpected occurrence.

Thus, the arrival of the intelligence of the re-occupation of Warsaw by the Russians, received when the deputies were discussing the bill for the abolition of the peerage, in September, caused a profound sensation in Paris, ending in a popular demonstration. The original partition of Poland was one of the most indefensible acts ever perpetrated. It was never assented to by the Poles; and although it is an undoubted fact, that, under the Russian government, Poland was prosperous, and improved in wealth and the resources of industry, discontent always prevailed; and no movement, in any country, was more popular than the insurrection which, as already stated, broke out in Warsaw in November, 1830. For some months success attended all the movements of the insurgents. They drove the Russians from Warsaw. The diet, which had been re-established in 1820, declared the throne vacant; and, in the early part of 1831, the Russians were defeated in every engagement. But their numbers enabled them to wear out the Poles, who could obtain no extraneous aid from any foreign government, though they had multitudes of good-wishers in every country of Europe. The French republicans eagerly demanded that their government should send an army to aid the insurgents. The neutrality maintained by Casimir-Perrier was, as we have seen, bitterly denounced; and

* Guizot.

when, on the 15th of September, it was announced that, on the 8th, the Russians had reoccupied Warsaw, and that the dream of Polish independence was at an end, the public grief appeared as profound as if a national calamity had occurred. Some expressions of the ministers in the chambers—of Sebastiani especially; who, on the 16th, announced the restoration of "order in Warsaw," as the result of the Russian successes; and subsequently said, that "Poland would never rise from its ashes if France were wise"—changed this grief into fury. There were several riots; and it was even thought the security of the Orleans dynasty was threatened. General Sebastiani and M. Casimir-Perrier were stopped in the streets, and only escaped by the display of great firmness. The windows of the hôtel of foreign affairs were, however, broken; a gunsmith's shop was plundered, and the erection of barricades commenced. As the national guards and the army were, on this occasion, firm in their loyalty, the unarmed populace could effect nothing. After lasting from the 15th to the 18th of September, the disturbances gradually ceased, and the republicans felt that, for the present, they must submit to what they could not avoid—"the fall of Warsaw, and the sterile effervescence in Paris, having completed the ruin of the revolutionary principle in Europe."†

The government of Louis-Philippe has been accused of misleading and deceiving the Poles, by first encouraging the revolutionary spirit and promising assistance, and then withholding it. There does not appear to be any ground for this charge. When the insurrection first broke out at Warsaw, M. Raymond Durand, the French consul at that city, distinctly declared, to several members of the diet, that they must expect no assistance from his government. Two months subsequently, in January, 1831, when the duke de Mortemart, appointed ambassador to Russia, was on his way to St. Petersburg, he learned at Berlin, that the Polish diet had declared, that the emperor Nicholas, as king of Poland, was de-throned. On the route from Berlin, the road lay through a forest; there some agents of the revolutionary government, who were aware of the duke's movements, stopped his carriage, in order to have some conversation with him on their prospects. "It was in the night, and the cold was piercing. The conference began in the snow, and ended in the carriage of the ambassador, while still in progress, its lanterns alone throwing light on this strange scene." From this interview, it appeared that the leaders of the Poles rested their faith in French interference, upon the influence of the republicans in that country. When the duke de Mortemart told them, that "his instructions did not authorise him to act in favour of the kingdom of Poland, except as in conformity with the arrangements

† Louis Blanc.

of the treaty of Vienna;" and observed, that "France, in contempt of the principles proclaimed by herself, could not, by supporting the revolutionary movement in Poland, run the risk of provoking in Europe another bitter and hopeless war"—the Polish agents replied, that "the French democracy would control events and sustain Poland. The king and the chambers would be compelled, by public opinion, to come to their aid;" and they named Lafayette as *the* Frenchman on whom their hopes were founded. On this point the statements and arguments of the ambassador failed to undeceive them; and they left him, exclaiming—"All or nothing!" "Then," said the duke, "I am sorry to tell you it will be nothing."* In July, Casimir-Perrier proposed to England a joint mediation with the court of St. Petersburg, in favour of the Poles; but, according to M. Guizot, England refused to join France in this effort for peace. Soon after, Warsaw fell.

The year 1831 closed with fearful riots at Lyons—springing from an attempt to promote the systems of the communists and St. Simonians. For the interference of some philanthropist for the permanent relief of the poor in that city, there was, unhappily, too much room. Foreign competition had greatly injured the trade of Lyons; but there was a combination of causes which tended to oppress and impoverish the operative. Four classes of persons were engaged in producing the silk manufactures, which were the staple of Lyons:—1st. The commission agents, who sold the raw material to the second, the manufacturers. 3rd. The master-weavers, of whom there were from 8,000 to 9,000 in the city, each having four or five looms, which were used by the fourth class, the journeymen, who received from the master-weavers just half the wages which they obtained from the manufacturers, of whom there were about 800. Towards the close of 1831, the wages paid to the operative, enabled him to earn, according to the statements of the time, only from eighteen to twenty or twenty-five sous in a day of eighteen hours, instead of five or six francs. No wonder that the workmen were discontented; nor that they eagerly embraced the plausible theories placed before them, as affording certain means of relief. Some leaders of the two societies we have mentioned, "presented themselves at Lyons, as missionaries to preach their doctrines; and several popular associations had already been formed in that great industrial focus to promote them. Republican plotters, legitimists, agents, secret societies, and professional conspirators, all endeavoured to reap profit from this formidable movement."† The workmen themselves were by no means disposed to enter into the political question; they wanted social improvement, and

demanding that a minimum of wages should be fixed, at a much higher rate than that they were receiving. The *Conseil de Prud'hommes*, consisting of twenty-two masters and twenty-two workmen, met, and fixed a rate, which the workmen received with joy; but to which their masters, generally, refused to give their assent. On the 10th of November, a number of the latter signed a protest against the new rate; which the prefect, himself favourable to it, reminded the workmen could not be legally enforced, and was not binding on any person, being only an honourable engagement. Very few of the masters would consent to be bound by it; and, some days having been spent in vain attempts at an adjustment, the workmen assembled, on the 21st, at Croix-Rousse, a quarter of Lyons occupied almost entirely by their class. They were armed with sticks; and their object was, to prevent any of the looms from working till the list of prices was recognised. They visited the shops where looms were going, and drove away the workmen. The grenadiers of the first legion of the national guard were called out, which was composed chiefly of masters; and they, firing upon the rioters, killed some and wounded others. This induced them to disperse for the time; but the next day they reassembled in great numbers at Croix-Rousse; threw up barricades in all the streets; and having seized two pieces of cannon belonging to the national guard of that quarter, they marched into the city, with drums beating, and preceded by a man bearing a flag, on which were the words—"Live by labour, or die fighting." They soon began to fight; and owing to some difference between the prefect and the commander of the garrison, the advantage was almost entirely with the workmen. The military and the civil forces acted without any organised plan, and quite independent of each other. Several bodies of each were cut off in detail; and, before night, one of the generals and the prefect were made prisoners. The scene which Lyons presented when night came on, was very frightful. The military had done great damage to the houses by their discharges of grape down the streets; and many of the workmen were lying about, killed and wounded. The next morning the fighting was resumed; and the military were completely defeated, and driven out of the city, which for ten days was at the mercy of the multitude, who displayed great respect for property; placed sentinels in various parts of the town to prevent theft; punished any attempt at disorder; and if any of the municipal authorities showed themselves, evinced a perfect willingness to act by their directions.

This state of things did not continue long; and none were more pleased, when it was put an end to, than the workmen themselves; who

* *History of the Reign of Louis-Philippe*; by Victor de Novion.

† Guizot.

found they were placed in a position in which they were completely at a loss how to act.—As soon as the intelligence of the events of the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of November reached Paris, the government ordered a military force, under marshal Soult, to march to Lyons and restore order. This force was accompanied by the duke d'Orleans, and entered Lyons on the 3rd of December. The marshal immediately ordered the quarter of the Croix-Rousse to be surrounded by strong batteries; disarmed the workmen, and dissolved that part of the national guard which had refused to fight against them. The table of prices was suppressed; a strong garrison was placed in Lyons, and military works were ordered to be constructed for its defence. Money was raised—a part being appropriated to reward the troops; and the rest was applied to the relief of the workmen, who found their situation worse rather than better. Many had to mourn the loss of relations, killed in the fray; whilst not a few were disabled for life.—On the 17th of December, the two chambers voted addresses to the king, assuring him, that he might depend upon their determination to uphold the freedom of industry, and the security of property throughout the country; and to maintain the due execution of the laws.

With the restoration of Lyons to tranquillity, the domestic history of France, for 1831, may be considered closed. It had been an eventful year, in which the strife of politics and the war of words—sometimes, as we have seen, leading to contests of a more tangible nature—with some less prominent causes, had been gradually producing a change in the higher classes of Parisian society. While absorbed in debates, Guizot tells us, “the world in which he had long lived—the amiable, polished, and educated society, which had rallied under the empire, and brilliantly developed itself with the restoration—disappeared from day to day. Its most eminent characteristics, the taste for the enjoyments of the mind, and social sympathy, liberal toleration for diversity of opinion, position, and ideas, yielded to the dominion of political passions and interests. Discord penetrated into the drawing-rooms: between the cultivated and influential classes, who mingled there, bitter rivalries and dividing animosities began to appear. The prolonged tumults, the troubled state of public affairs, the uncertainties of the future—all these noisy and threatening revivals of the revolutionary times, assorted badly with assemblies, where people met to seek the interchange of gentle relations and intellectual enjoyments. Several distinguished men, who had formerly constituted the life and brilliancy of those meetings, had thrown themselves, body and soul, into public life.”* Of the women, some of the most eminent—the duchess de

Duras, madame de Staël, and madame de Rémusat—were no more. The duchess de Dino was at London, with her uncle, Talleyrand; madame de Sainte Aulaire was at Rome; madame de Barante at Turin; the husbands of the latter ladies being ambassadors at those cities. Of the numerous persons who, in the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., gave a charm and a zest to society, there were, in 1831, only three, round whom the “spirits of the age,” the philosopher, the artist, the man of science, and the men of letters, used to congregate—madame Rumford, madame Recamier, and the countess de Boigne. The *Doctrinaires* assembled at the residence of the duke de Broglie, and, in the company of the duke and his amiable duchess, “enjoyed the social charm of which the Parisian world was deprived;” for everywhere “parties displayed themselves with all their animosities, and social circles were restrained within the narrowest limits.” Nor did strangers resort to Paris, as was their wont. “Repulsed by material disorders or political uncertainties, the great European world no longer came to seek relaxation in Paris. French society beheld its most brilliant elements disappear or disperse, at the same time that the violence of passing events deprived its tastes and manners of their ancient and gentle supremacy.”†

Paris had again paid dearly for its love of revolution.

Of the foreign relations of France during the year 1831, we have already said all that is necessary, except with respect to Italy. The two states most intimately connected with France, in that country, were Sardinia and Naples—the first from contiguity of territory; the second from consanguinity of family. During the year, these states were more quiet than Central Italy; and they remained in alliance with France, as cordially under the new sovereign as under the old. Charles Felix, king of Sardinia, died on the 27th of April; and was succeeded by his nephew, Charles Albert; but that made no difference in the relations with France, nor in the internal tranquillity of the country. It was in the papal states, and in Modena and Parma, that the revolutionary spirit burst into open insurrection. The leaders calculated upon the support of France; but M. Casimir-Perrier maintained the principle of non-intervention. It is not clear *why* he violated that principle in the case of Belgium; but he distinctly gave the leaders of the Italian movement to understand, that “no reciprocal contract resulted from French interference in that country, with the insurrectionists of other countries; and that the support afforded by France to her neighbours, established between her and more distant nations no mutual obligation whatever of a similar nature.” With the duchies, non-intervention appears to

* *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

† *Ibid.*

have been the rule; but there were so many ills in the government of the pope, calling for amendment, that, on the 21st of May, the representative of France at Rome, in concert with those of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, joined in a remonstrance to the pope, pressing upon him the propriety of adopting certain reforms, which all Europe would rejoice to see promulgated from the Vatican. It was presented to the pope, Gregory XVI., the next day; who promised to comply with the wishes of the five powers. His holiness did issue five edicts, making civil and judicial regulations. They were dated July 5th, October 5th, and November 8th; but their tendency was the very opposite of what the ambassadors had recommended. They advised the pope to recognise the eligibility of lay candidates to judicial and administrative employments; to re-establish municipalities elected by the inhabitants; to organise provincial councils; and to select from the local councils a junta, or administrative council, which, as a supreme court of accounts, should examine and control every branch of civil and military administration, and supervise the public debt. The pope recognised some of these measures; but his edicts, as far as they established civil or ecclesiastical institutions, were centralising and exclusive. He retained the Inquisition in full vigour; *reformed* the system of criminal jurisprudence, by enacting that, for all offences, the punishment awarded to ecclesiastics should be less than that inflicted on laymen; and greatly increased taxation. The result was renewed confusion throughout the states, ending in open insurrection. "The civic guard rose in arms. Cardinal Bernetti addressed a note to the

representatives of the foreign courts, announcing to them the necessity to which the pope felt himself driven, of adopting means of energetic repression. All reform of criminal justice was, in fact, suspended; civil war burst forth; the papal troops defeated the insurgents, without subduing them; and their excesses, after victory, renewed the strife, under the form of local sedition, private revenges, accidental encounters, and assassinations."* The pope solicited the aid of Austria; and that led, early in 1832, to the reappearance of the Austrian troops in the peninsula.

Under these circumstances, Casimir-Perrier felt, that the interests of France demanded that she also should interfere—at once to silence the attacks of the opposition at home, and to maintain the interests and sustain the character of France in the Legations. Hitherto the foreign policy of Louis-Philippe had been based upon the maintenance of peace; and to maintain with England, above all other countries, a cordial alliance. He had been met as cordially, alike by the tory administration of the duke of Wellington and the earl of Aberdeen, and by the whig ministry of lord Grey and lord Palmerston. "Both governments," writes one of Louis-Philippe's ministers, "adopted the same general and predominant interest for the rule of their conduct. Both ranged themselves under the flag of constitutional government. Notwithstanding the ancient rivalry and recent combats of the two countries, this mutual understanding became easy, and almost indispensable, from their new relative position;" and the utmost cordiality existed between them.

CHAPTER XV.

FRESH CONSPIRACIES; STATE OF ITALY; EXPEDITION TO ANCONA; DEBATES ON THAT EXPEDITION; BUDGET OF 1832; CONSPIRACY AT GRENOBLE; CHOLERA IN PARIS; THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND CASIMIR-PERRIER AT THE HOSPITALS; CLOSE OF THE SESSION; DEATHS OF CASIMIR-PERRIER AND CUVIER; MODIFICATION OF THE MINISTRY; STATE OF PARTIES AFTER THE DEATH OF PERRIER; MOVEMENTS OF THE LEGITIMISTS; INSURRECTION OF THE DUCHESS DE BERRI; ROMANTIC ADVENTURES OF THE DUCHESS; REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN PARIS; THE CAPITAL DECLARED IN A STATE OF SIEGE; TRIALS OF THE INSURGENTS; DEATH OF THE DUKE DE REICHSTADT; MARRIAGE OF THE KING OF BELGIUM TO THE PRINCESS LOUISE; TRIAL OF ST. SIMONIANS; MARSHAL SOULT'S MINISTRY; AFFAIRS OF HOLLAND AND BELGIUM; SIEGE OF ANTWERP; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1832-'33; ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE KING; PROJECT FOR FORTIFYING PARIS; GRANT FOR PUBLIC WORKS.

THE state of France, in the early part of 1832, was such as to excite grave doubts in the minds of the lovers of peace and tranquillity—of the sincere wishers for the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people—as to the propriety of that movement by which the elder branch of the Bourbons had been expelled from the throne. The government of Charles X., it

has been observed, "was destroyed in three days, but it took years to calm the waves of popular insurrection." The various causes of discontent which have been mentioned in preceding pages—the disapprobation of the foreign policy of the king and his ministers; the desire to see revolution flourish abroad as well as at home;

* Guizot.

the angry feeling excited by the increased expenses of the government; the disgust and indignation created by the discussions in the chambers and the press, to which the propositions connected with the civil-list gave rise—were all in full operation, and led to conspiracies and plots in various parts of the kingdom. One of these plots obtained the name of “the conspiracy of Nôtre-Dame,” from an attempt made to destroy that building by fire—an act which was to have been, it is supposed, the signal for a general rising of the discontented in the capital. The attempt was made on the 4th of January, when one of the towers was discovered to be in flames. Aid was immediately procured, but it was with great difficulty that the fire was subdued. Twelve persons were arrested in the cathedral, and brought to trial. Five only were convicted, and that for the minor offence of concealing a conspiracy. One of these individuals, when taken into custody, and asked what was his profession or trade, replied that of an *émeutier* [insurrectionist].—At the same time, another conspiracy was organised, in which the legitimists, induced by the evident unpopularity of the government, had been tempted to engage. The head-quarters of the conspirators were in the Rue Provaires. There a directing committee met, consisting of twelve persons; of which the count de Floray, the baron de Maistre, and the baron de Rivière, were members. The duke de Belluno was also connected with the proceedings, and was said to have received his instructions direct from the duchess de Berri. There were corresponding committees in many of the large towns; and it was finally arranged, that the first movement should be made on the 1st of February, when a large force was to have been concentrated in Paris, with which the Tuileries was to have been seized, the government overturned, and the young duke de Bordeaux proclaimed king, as Henry V. There were either spies or traitors in the camp; for, as early as the 17th of January, the police were informed of the meetings of the conspirators. No steps were taken for some days, except to watch the places of meeting; and, from time to time, information of the proceedings was given to the government. When the plan appeared to be finally arranged, and the time for its being carried out appointed, the police made a descent upon the house in the Rue Provaires, where the conspirators assembled; and, after a severe struggle, about 200 of them were arrested, the ringleaders of whom were, some months after, tried and convicted. The citizens of Paris were surprised, the morning after the arrest, when they saw an account of the proceedings in the *Moniteur*, and of the causes which had led to that step being taken.

The state of public opinion, which seemed to be the same throughout France, so unsettled and wavering—even among those who were not, as

republicans, legitimists, or Bonapartists, constantly conspiring for change—that the slightest rumour was sufficient to give rise to a convulsion in society, made the government anxious that some event should occur abroad which might excite interest amongst the French people, and prevent them from dwelling so exclusively upon events at home. The state of Italy, and the entrance of the Austrian troops into the Legations, to support the authority of the pope against those who were dissatisfied with his recent decrees, afforded the wished-for opportunity, and led Casimir-Perrier to depart from his system of non-interference in the affairs of that country. M. de St. Aulaire received instructions accordingly; and, on the 31st of January, he made the movements of the Austrian troops the ground of a note, addressed to cardinal Bernetti; in which he demanded, in the name of the French government, that the troops of Piedmont, or some other Italian power, should be permitted also to take possession of a post in the Roman states, and that a French garrison should be received into Ancona. The minister of the pope, the next morning, sent a positive refusal. But the French government determined, notwithstanding, to send a small force to take possession of the above-named port provisionally, unless the Austrians happened to have anticipated them; then, the troops were to occupy Civita Vecchia. The object of the expedition was, as stated by the government at Paris, “to convince Austria that France could not consent to her occupation of the Romagna, except as a temporary step; and to show the holy see, that Louis-Philippe and his ministers were resolved to obtain the concessions so solemnly promised to the five powers.”* The expedition was a very small one. The 60th regiment of the line, under colonel Combes, was embarked at Toulon; the transports being accompanied by the frigate *Victory*, under captain Gallois. The squadron sailed on the 7th of February, and arrived in sight of Ancona on the 22nd. During the night the frigate entered the harbour, followed by the transports. The troops were landed without producing any alarm, and immediately marched to the gates of the city, which they had no difficulty in forcing. The next morning, the flags of the king and the pope were seen floating together on the walls; and, before night, everything was amicably arranged between the two commanders for the performance of the duties of the different posts, by the troops of the two powers in amicable conjunction.

This state of things, however, did not continue long. As soon as the occupation of Ancona by the French was known at Rome, the pope protested against it; and he withdrew his representatives, his troops, and his flag from that

* Letter of Casimir-Perrier to M. Talleyrand, February, 1832.

place, transferring the seat of government for the province to Osimo. Austria was indignant; and in England, the opposition charged the whig ministers with having, in their zeal to support the government of Louis-Philippe, surrendered Italy to the ambition of France. The anger and opposition of the pope were not of long continuance. M. de St. Aulaire exerted himself so effectually at Rome, that, on the 16th of April, he concluded a convention with cardinal Bernetti, by which the occupation of Ancona was acceded to, and recognised as "a temporary measure, tending in no way to disturb the peace of Europe, or the friendly relations between France and the holy see."

At Paris, the representatives of Austria, Prussia, and Russia had an interview with the president of the council, to demand explanations of the "extraordinary" step which the government had taken. M. Perrier was then ill, and enduring great suffering. The ambassadors, when admitted to his room, found him attired "in a loose dressing-gown, his head enveloped in a red Madras handkerchief;" and he advanced "towards them with a fierce expression."* To a question put by baron de Werthier, the Prussian minister, as to the reason for the step taken by France—which he closed by demanding to know "whether there was still such a thing as public European right?"—M. Perrier haughtily replied, that "it was he who defended the public rights of Europe. But it was also necessary that the honour of France should be supported; and, in the course he had pursued, the policy he had adopted, he had a right to expect the confidence of Europe." The conversation soon took a more conciliatory turn; and the ambassadors, who sought the interview with no friendly feelings, were led to express, before they retired, their concurrence in the step which had been taken.†

Finding that public opinion in Europe wanted enlightening as to the real bias of French policy, MM. Casimir-Perrier and Guizot, on the 7th of March, when the budget was before the chamber of deputies—the expenses of the foreign department being immediately under consideration—took the opportunity of showing that neither hostility to foreign powers, nor a desire for aggrandisement, actuated the government. "There was nothing," said the president of the council, "in a measure maturely considered, and all the consequences of which had been duly weighed, that ought to occasion the slightest uneasiness to the friends of peace, as to the continuance of harmony between the powers who agree in this question, as in all others, for one common object. As in the case of the interference with Belgium, the expedition to Ancona—conceived in the general interest of peace, and for the advancement of French policy—would act as an additional guarantee against all collision in that quarter of

Europe, by assuring to the holy see, and to the inhabitants of Italy, real and certain advantages; and by putting an end to periodical interventions, irksome to the powers by whom they were exercised, and furnishing a continual subject of anxiety to those who wished for the repose of Europe." M. Guizot's language was more decided with respect to Austria. He said, what that government "coveted was, that Italy should belong to her through influential means, which was precisely what France was bound to oppose. Each country must assume its own position. Austria had taken her's; France must do the same. She would support the independence of the Italian states, and the development of Italian liberties, as she could not suffer Italy to fall decidedly and completely under Austrian preponderance. At the same time, France wished to avoid all general collision. Fomented and exploded insurrections, wars of invasion and conquest, were the policy of revolution, into which there was a desire to inveigle France. But measures of denunciation, strong precautions, limited expeditions, and patient negotiations, constituted the policy of civilised order. That policy the government had adopted, and were resolved to persevere in. The difficulties they had to encounter in doing so were serious, but they were not incompatible with European peace."

The budget for 1832 was brought forward and defended by M. Thiers. It presented one feature more favourable than that for the preceding year—the estimated income exceeded the expenditure; the former amounting to 1,106,618,270f., (£44,264,730); the latter to 1,116,323,058f., (£44,652,972). Of the expenditure, the army absorbed a much larger sum than any other department; the amount being 309,030,400f., (£12,366,216); whilst only 65,122,900f. (£2,604,916) were devoted to the navy. The interest on the debt amounted to 215,768,242f. (£8,630,729), and the pensions to 129,686,661f. (£5,187,466). As usual, the various items occasioned much discussion; but ministers had influence enough in the chamber to pass them all.

The expedition to Italy had no effect in arresting the movements of the discontented. After the events of January, communications still passed between the capital and the departments; repeated differences between the people and the military took place, especially at Toulon, Strasburg, and Grenoble; and the government were much concerned at finding, that, generally, the national guard sided with the former; and that it could not be relied upon to repress any popular tumult or outrage. The carnival produced a formidable *émeute* at Grenoble. On Sunday, the 11th of March, some young men of that city appeared in a masquerade, which, in the opinion of the prefect of the Isère, and his officers, alluded, offensively, to the king and his

* Despatch of M. Pozzo di Borgo.

† Guizot.

ministers; and there is no doubt that it had a political character. The parties in this masquerade, intended, as was announced, to attend a ball which was to be held in the evening, in the same allegorical dresses. The prefect issued an edict, forbidding the ball to take place. The next day, the masqueraders, accompanied by many others, assembled in the court of the prefecture, and evinced, in various ways, their disapprobation of the prefect's conduct. Loud groans were heard, and murmurings and threats passed through the crowd. The prefect ordered the military to be called out, and the *général* to be beat, to summon the national guard; but not a man of the latter appeared at his post. The military were ordered to clear the court and the streets; which they did, without calling on the crowds to disperse—charging them with the bayonet, and wounding those who were not quick enough in getting out of their way. The inhabitants were greatly excited at what they considered a gross invasion of the liberties and immunities allowed during that season. They rose *en masse*, and were joined by many from the vicinity; and the prefect was compelled to take refuge in his hôtel; the soldiers—the 35th regiment of the line—not strong enough to put down the popular rising, being confined to their barracks by their officers. The national guard formed part of the insurgents, who held the city in their hands for two days. On the 15th of March, general Hulot, who had been sent for from Lyons, arrived, with a regiment of dragoons, and a battery of artillery. He soon succeeded in restoring order; but it was thought better, to prevent future collisions, to withdraw the 35th regiment from the city.

A terrible calamity, about this period, broke over France, and, for a time, caused domestic politics and insurrection, and all consideration of foreign events, to be laid on one side. The cholera, that terrible pestilence, visited the country, especially desolating Paris. This disease had been brought by the Russians from the east, where it is supposed always to have existed in a mild form; but it was not till the year 1817, in the month of August, that it assumed the malignant pestilential character which has since distinguished it both in Hindostan and in Europe. In the year just mentioned, it attacked the natives first; from them it spread to the Europeans; and in the following year, from January to May, it raged with great violence throughout nearly the whole of British India; appearing in its most malignant form at Benares, where 15,000 persons died in two months. The army, then under the marquis of Hastings, was visited by the pestilence, and 10,000 of the troops, and 80,000 followers, became its victims. In 1819 it reached Arracan and China; and from the latter country it passed to the Philippine and Spice Islands. In 1820

and 1821, Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, were the seats of cholera; and in September, 1823, it appeared in Astracan, one of the largest Russian towns in western Asia. As soon as the czar was aware that it had entered his dominions, six eminent physicians were dispatched from St. Petersburg to investigate the character of the disease; and a variety of preventive measures were resorted to. These are supposed to have had the effect of retarding its progress; as for five years Russia was free from the plague. It made its appearance again towards the close of 1828, at Orenburg, on the Ural, in European Russia; in 1830 it was experienced a second time at Astracan; and, the same year, it reached Moscow. At first, nine-tenths of those who were attacked with it died; but the active steps which were taken, partly under the superintendence of the emperor Alexander in person, had the effect of retarding its progress, and diminishing its mortality. From Russia, it penetrated to Poland, Prussia, and other parts of Germany; reached England in November, 1831; and was first experienced in France in March, 1832. The nature and character of this disease were the subjects of long and earnest discussions amongst the medical men of all the countries it visited. At first it was considered as contagious; and those affected could scarcely find any one with sufficient courage to give them the necessary attendance: it was looked upon as a species of plague; and the rapidity with which it carried off its victims, was sufficient to justify that opinion. Subsequent visitations have led to a better acquaintance with its symptoms and effects; and the general opinion of the medical men now is, that cholera is an epidemic, and not a contagious disease.

When it became known that the cholera was prevalent in Paris, it is impossible to describe the alarm that penetrated all classes of the people. For some days the number of deaths did not attract much attention. But, as the victims fell by hundreds under its scourge—as the hospitals became over-crowded with patients, and when there was scarcely a house in the faubourgs in which some members of the family had not been attacked, and those who escaped with life were left feeble and exhausted—the popular mind became alarmingly excited; and a rumour was spread, that the public wells and fountains, that the wine sold by the merchants, and even the meat and bread supplied by the butchers and bakers, were poisoned—some said for political purposes. It is to be hoped that was not the case; but the rumour was industriously propagated, and became generally credited amongst the working classes. They congregated in crowds, and many outrages were committed. In those neighbourhoods where the inhabitants were, for the most part, immersed in poverty and ignorance, every one suspected

of being a poisoner, was insulted, beaten, or assassinated. On the 3rd of April, a government clerk—a man deserving the esteem of all who knew him—was stopped and murdered in the Rue de St. Denis. On the 4th, a physician, passing through the Rue de La Fayette, was assaulted by a crowd, and only escaped, in company with one of the inspectors of public health, by taking refuge in a barrack. Later in the day, groups assembled on the Place de Grève; some of whom pursued a man who was called a poisoner, and who took refuge in the Hôtel-de-Ville, from whence they endeavoured to tear him by violence. Two persons were seized by another party, and thrown into the river, near the Pont d'Arcole. A man carrying in his hand a bottle containing wine, would have shared the same fate, if a commissary of police had not come up and drank a part of the liquor. The government, as soon as this popular fury manifested itself, appointed some experienced chemists to analyse the wine of every description found in the houses of about 150 retailers; who discovered nothing, except, in some of the inferior wines, a small infusion of cider. Meat, bread, and sugar-plums, seized because popular prejudice asserted they were poisoned, underwent a similar analysis, and were found to be entirely free from all venomous substances. Individuals, arrested upon public clamour, were repeatedly visited, and interrogated, without any other result than the most convincing proof of their innocence.*

It is not to be wondered at, that, under these circumstances, many families left Paris; but more remained. "The chambers, the tribunals, the functionaries of every class, continued to prosecute their regular labours. The clergy, the public officers, the physicians, the members of pious and charitable institutions, did their duty, many with ardour, and nearly all without hesitation. The king and his family, the ministers, and all the heads of departments, set the example of courage and devotion. Count d'Argout, within whose province the sanitary police were included, traversed the most infected quarters, assisting with his own hands to place the dead in the vehicles which received them from house to house for conveyance to the cemeteries. Christian charity, liberal sympathy, and administrative zeal, united their efforts to struggle with the disease, or to mitigate its results."†

When the disease was at its height, to inspire something like confidence, and diminish that dread of its contagious nature, which was so prevalent, the king proposed, that he and the president of the council should visit the Hôtel-Dieu, the principal hospital in Paris. The cabinet overruled the proposition as far as the king was concerned; but the duke d'Orleans

having offered to take the place of his father, his royal highness and Casimir-Perrier, in company with M. Marbois, the president of the council-general of the hospitals, went, on the 2nd of April, to the Hôtel-Dieu, and traversed all its cholera wards. It is reported, that twelve patients died while they were there; but they were not deterred by this calamity from stopping at the bedsides of the afflicted, and speaking to them kind and encouraging words. M. Marbois was then eighty-seven years of age; and when they left, and M. Perrier joined his colleagues, assembled at the ministry of the interior, he "related, with glowing satisfaction, the courage of the young prince and the old magistrate—the one upon the steps of a throne, the other on the brink of the grave—both collected and calm by the side of the expiring sufferers, whose breath might probably spread death around them."‡

This visit did much to calm the popular agitation; the analysis of the viands and liquids offered for public sale did more; and on the 6th of April, the prefect of the Seine issued a proclamation, in which he announced; that, that evening, tranquillity was entirely restored; and that there had not been discovered, after the most active research, the slightest appearance of truth in the reports of poisoning. From that period popular tumults ceased; and although there was great public anxiety, and a universal sadness pervaded all classes of society, there was an exercise of the most expansive benevolence; and "that lofty and chivalrous courage, for which," says a popular writer, "the French are distinguished, and which atones for so many of their follies and faults," was never more conspicuously displayed. The epidemic continued to rage in Paris for 189 days—its violence being considerably abated towards its close. In the month of April, out of a population of about 900,000, the number of deaths from the disease was 12,700. The total number reported during its continuance, was 18,402; but it is thought that many more fell victims to the scourge.

The long session of the chambers was not terminated when the cholera broke out; and they continued their legislative labours during the time that it was raging most violently in the capital. The chief subjects they were engaged in discussing were, the law of divorce, and the law of marriage. By a law of the 8th of May, 1816, divorce had been abolished. The chamber of deputies passed a law, re-establishing the faculty under which marriages might be dissolved and declared void; but the chamber of peers rejected it. With respect to marriages, Art. 162 of the code civil, prohibited their being contracted between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law; and Art. 163 forbade those between an uncle and his niece, or an aunt and her nephew. Another article, 164, was added, by which

* *Moniteur*, April 5th, 1832. † Guizot. ‡ *Ibid.*

power was given to the king, for grave purposes, to remove those prohibitions. Some other subjects were discussed, of little public interest; and, on the 21st of April, the session was declared to be terminated. It was one of the longest on record.

Though the young duke d'Orleans, and the aged M. Marbois experienced no ill-effects from their visit to the cholera wards of the Hôtel-Dieu, M. Casimir-Perrier, it was remarked, when he joined his colleagues, appeared with his eyes inflamed, his cheeks pale, and the whole expression of his countenance so changed, that his friends, when they looked at him, were struck with apprehension. It was not unfounded. On the 5th of April, there were unmistakable signs that the minister was attacked by cholera; and his indisposition was so much increased, that, on the 17th, M. Montalivet was, by a royal *ordonnance*, declared minister of the interior and president of the council, *ad interim*. M. Perrier lingered till the 16th of May, when he expired, to the general regret of the nation. He was buried on the 19th—a public funeral being accorded to him; and M. Royer Collard delivered an admirable discourse at the grave. He described the rise of the late minister, who had elevated himself to the foremost rank of statesmen; making order and peace his motto. He left, said the orator in his eloquent peroration, “a glory which is pure and unassailable. Emerging like a meteor from the clouded days, in which everything around us seems to be obscured or sinking, it will endure and increase; for it is not the transitory or artificial work of any particular party to which he attached himself. He served the cause of justice, of civilisation, and of true liberty, throughout the whole world. He has fallen too soon! May the honest citizens—the friends of humanity that he has united together—complete his work! Let us elevate above his tomb the standard of order; this will constitute the noblest tribute we can render to his memory.” The minister appears to have been as estimable in his private, as he was honourable in his public character; and the general estimation in which he was held, was proved by the liberality of the subscriptions raised to erect a monument to his memory.

Eminent and popular as was Casimir-Perrier, another great man died on the same day, not from cholera, but paralysis; whose general fame has far exceeded that of the minister—George Leopold Christian Frederic Dagobert Cuvier, the eminent naturalist. He was a native of Würtemberg, where he was born in 1769; but he had been, for many years, established in Paris; and he had pursued his scientific researches in that capital with such zeal and success, that he was acknowledged, long before his death, to be the first zoologist in Europe.

He was a frequent lecturer at the *Lycée*, where his audience always listened to him with a delighted attention; and held several important offices in the department of public instruction. France is peculiarly indebted to him for the finest osteological collection in the world; and the wide universe owes him a debt of gratitude for his contributions to, and discoveries in, zoological science. He visited England in 1818 and 1830; and his death was as much regretted in this country as in France, where an immense concourse of people followed his remains to the grave.

M. Perrier was not the only member of the government who was attacked by cholera; M. d'Argout, and ten other persons in different departments, being struck down at the same time: the minister of the interior, however, was the only one to whom the disease proved fatal. His death rendered a modification in the ministry necessary; but the alteration made was very slight. M. Montalivet retained the office of minister of the interior; and was succeeded in that of public instruction by M. Girod de l'Ain. The king declined to name a president of the council; and the death of Perrier was considered as divesting the cabinet of that independent character which he had imparted to it. He was, in fact, *the* ministry; and, without his guiding hand, the administrative machine was soon found to be out of order. The parties which had been held somewhat in check by his determined character, had never suspended their organisation, nor their correspondence; and when they found that he was incapable of attending to the duties of his office, they took fresh courage. There had been a regular communication kept up between Charles X., at Holyrood, and the duchess de Berri, who had for some time resided at Massa, where she was recognised as regent of France. Their adherents, also, were in constant communication with each other; and as soon as it was known that the minister was unable to attend to his duties, the more ardent of them formed their plans for an insurrection, which they carried out, though the most eminent members of the party resident in Paris—the duke de Fitzjames, viscount de Chateaubriand, and M. Berryer—disapproved of the movement, and endeavoured to prevent it. The republicans were also working to the same end—the overthrow of the government—though not with the same object; whilst the constitutional and dynastic oppositionists desired to remain under a monarchy, but were dissatisfied with the acts and the policy of the government.

Lafitte took the lead of the latter party; and soon after the death of the minister, he called a meeting of deputies at his own house, and proposed that they should address the king on the state of affairs, and the necessity of appointing a ministry with more talent—one that enjoyed the confidence of the country to a greater extent.

This was opposed by M. Garnier Pagès; and it was resolved, that the complaints of the opposition, instead of being made to the king in the form of an address, should be laid before the people in that of a pamphlet, which appeared on the 28th of May. It was entitled *Compte-rendu des Députés de l'Opposition, à nos Commettans*; and was signed by 135 deputies. This pamphlet, which has been termed "a species of political *cantata*, in prose," commenced as follows:—"The undersigned, convinced of the dangers of a system which removes the government further and further from the revolution, to which it is indebted for its existence, consider it, in the present state of France, the most imperious of their duties to give an account to their constituents of their principles, and of their votes. If it has not been in their power to bring back the government to those principles on which its conservation depends, it is at least in their power to indicate their danger." Then followed a *résumé* of the proceedings of the session; M. Odillon Barrot and M. de Cormenin, who drew up the pamphlet, taking care to put the conduct of the government and its supporters, and that of the opposition, in such contrasted lights as were most favourable to the latter. M. Guizot describes the *Compte-rendu* as "an act of rancour and hostility;" and says it "was cold and fruitless." We have no doubt, however, that, in the then strife of parties, it had considerable effect.

Of those parties the legitimists were first in the field. An active correspondence had been carried on, in April, between the duchess de Berri and her partisans at Toulon and Nîmes; and, on the 24th of that month, her royal highness, accompanied by marshal Bourmont, his son, and a few other loyal friends and adherents, left Massa for France, to facilitate the carrying out the plans which had been formed for a legitimist rising in the south and in the Vendée. The vessel in which the duchess embarked, the *Carlo Alberto* steamer, made for the coast of Marseilles; and on the 28th, at midnight, arrived off the point fixed upon as a rendezvous—the Phare de Planier. The night was stormy and dark; but a signal being made from the steamer, by hoisting a lantern at the foremast-head, and another at the mizen, it was soon answered by the friends of the cause on shore; and a boat put off, into which, at two o'clock in the morning of the 29th, the duchess got, followed by Bourmont, MM. de Kergolay, de Mesnard, and de Brissac, who were dressed as fishermen. They landed with difficulty; but the duchess seemed to enter, heart and soul, into the undertaking, and scrambled up the rocks with as much glee as if she were going to a pic-nic. There were many legitimists at Marseilles; and the intelligence of the landing of the duchess was soon conveyed to them. The authorities also heard of that event—it is said, through the imprudence of one of the legitimists;

and whilst marshal Bourmont and others were raising the friends of the Bourbons, the supporters of the reigning dynasty were organising a force to oppose them. A number of the inhabitants of the coast, chiefly fishermen, rallied round the white flag. On the morning of the 30th of April, a party of young men got possession of the keys of the church of St. Laurent, in Marseilles, from the tower of which they displayed the lilies, amidst cries of "*Vive Henri V.!*" "*Vive la Religion!*" "*Vive le Drapeau Blanc!*" A body of the duchess's partisans also took possession of the quarter of La Tourette, the highest point in the city; and whilst one party attempted to get possession of the Palais de Justice, another appealed to about 500 fishermen assembled on the shore, to join their comrades, who had already rallied round the lilies, and to march into the city. This appeal was made in vain, and met with no response; while the military repulsed the attack on the Palais de Justice, and seized MM. de Candole, de Bermond, and de Lachau, who were the leaders of the assailants. Shortly after, the duchess, who remained at the cottage to which she was conducted on her landing, and had seen the white flag waving from the tower of St. Laurent, had the mortification to witness its being again pulled down; and almost at the same moment a note was placed in her hands, containing the words, "The movement has failed: you must leave France."

That, however, her royal highness would not do without visiting the Vendée. Her friends, who were endeavouring to persuade the fishermen to join her, were dispersed by a troop of lancers; and, as the soldiers spread themselves over the country, she had some difficulty in escaping their vigilance. Several of her friends, who got on board the *Carlo Alberto* at Marseilles, were captured by a government cruiser. A young lady, mademoiselle Lebesch, who was on board, was taken for the duchess, and conveyed to Corsica. This, very probably, slackened the search for her royal highness, and enabled her to travel with more security. Marshal Bourmont attended her, having changed his fisherman's dress for that of a peasant; and their adventures, whilst passing from the coast to the Vendée, are said to "exceed anything that ever figured in romance, or was described in poetry." There were royalist proprietors scattered over the district they had to cross, in whose houses the fugitives slept, when it was possible to reach them; and one night, having missed her way, the duchess wandered alone through a wood, till she found a small shed, the door of which she forced open, and there passed the night. At length, on the 17th of May, she reached the château Plassac, near Saintes, in the Vendée, where she assumed the dress of a young peasant lad, and called herself *Petit Pierre*. Her royal

highness had been separated from Bourmont on the journey, and he did not join her again till the 19th of May. That officer and De Kergolay, with the consent of the duchess and a few adherents who rallied round her at Plassac, fixed the 24th of May for a general rising, and summonses were sent to the Vendean chiefs to meet her on the 21st at Mesliers. Whilst passing from Marseilles to the Vendée, she must evidently have kept up a correspondence with her friends in Paris, as they knew of her movements and her intentions; and seeing no chance for the success of her enterprise, they sent M. Berryer to Plassac, to persuade her to withdraw from France. He arrived before the meeting at Mesliers, where only a few of the once redoubtable Vendean legitimists were found, and they were decidedly opposed to any rising—that in the south having failed. Their opposition coming in aid of M. Berryer, the duchess at last yielded, and it was supposed the movement was given up.

On the 22nd, a letter was received by her royal highness from Toulon, which gave such a representation of the state of affairs in the south, that she resolved to persevere in her original intentions. She wrote to that effect to M. Berryer, and concerted with marshal Bourmont that the rising should take place on the 3rd of June, instead of the 24th of May. The Vendean chiefs were again summoned, and some obeyed; but, whatever might have been the result, if one mind had presided over all, and directed the operations from the commencement, and if the chieftains generally had heartily entered into them, the delay and hesitation were fatal. Some of the parties who received orders to move on the 24th of May, never received the countermand. They prepared, however unwillingly, to obey the orders, which had not been withdrawn; and the consequence was, that several small bodies were met and dispersed by the military; and the commanders of others, not finding themselves supported as they expected, disbanded their followers. Wherever the Vendean and the troops of Louis-Philippe met, the former fought with all their ancient valour; and the defence of the château of La Pénissière, near Clisson, by only forty-five Vendean, was as gallant an act as any on record. The little fort was surrounded with a force considerably larger than that within the walls, upon whom a heavy fire was kept up. The Vendean had with them two men who played the trumpet; and, to royalist tunes and cries of "*Vive Henri V.!*" they kept up a fire from every window upon their assailants. At last, the latter set fire to the building; and then, still shouting "*Vive Henri V.!*" and "*A bas les sans-culottes!*" the little garrison rushed out, and fought their way through the besiegers, escaping with the loss of only six of their number.

The rising fixed for the 3rd of June did not take place. Some *gendarmes*, sent by general Dermoncourt to search the château de la Chaslière, found there a paper giving the whole details of the conspiracy, and the names of all those who were engaged as leaders. Forty of the latter were immediately secured, and their seizure led to the dispersion of the bodies of insurgents which had been collected. Some of them were encountered, before they reached their homes, by the government troops, and were treated with the utmost severity; many isolated acts of cruelty being committed. The duchess, who had remained at Mesliers, left that place, when she found all was over, in the disguise of a peasant. As she was known still to be in the country, the departments of Maine-et-Loire, Vendée, Loire-Inferieure, and Deux-Sèvres, were placed in a state of siege; more than 50,000 troops being sent there, although the only foes they had to encounter were the duchess and her two or three followers. Dressed sometimes as a peasant lad, at others as a girl, wearing the thick wooden shoes of the district, the duchess at last reached Nantes, where she thought her pursuers would not look for her, as the town was opposed to her cause. She was accompanied by mademoiselle Eulalie de Korsabice; and there, finding an asylum with some royalists, she remained several weeks; till she was deceived and betrayed by a renegade Jew, named Deutz, who, employed as a spy by the government, wormed himself into her confidence. He had several interviews with her; and, at length, arranged for her capture. The house where she resided was surrounded with troops; the police-officers accompanied them, and entered, pistols in hand: the duchess, with three ladies who were with her, mademoiselles de Korsabice, Mesnard, and Gueborg, had just time to get into a closet, the entrance to which was connected with, and concealed by, the chimney-piece. The police searched the house in vain; they did not discover this closet, in which the four ladies were literally squeezed together, and could with difficulty shift their positions, to allow them by turns to get to the only opening there was for the admission of air—a little aperture, not more than three inches long, to which they alternately applied their mouths. Their search unavailing, the police did not leave the house, but made a fire in the room containing the closet, the heat of which soon became unbearable. Then the ladies came out and surrendered; and, the next day, the duchess was conveyed to the castle of Blaye. Though the *denouement* did not occur till the following year, we may anticipate a little to mention, that, at Blaye, the romance of her royal highness's life ended. During the first period of her confinement, there was great enthusiasm displayed in Paris in her behalf. It was proposed that a civil-list should be raised for her by subscription: Chateaubriand wrote a

pamphlet advocating that measure; in which he said—"Madame, your son is my king;" and, regardless of what might be thought of their conduct at the Tuileries, hundreds of the sons of the first noblemen in France went to the hôtel of the viscount, to thank him for his "loyalty." The chambers were in session; and there were warm debates, in which many peers and deputies evinced the interest they felt in the captive at Blaye. Suddenly, in the midst of these demonstrations, reports, very unfavourable to the character of the duchess, got abroad, and she was placed under severe espionage, and very uncere- moniously treated. This ended on her writing to the government in February, 1833, announcing that she was pregnant, having been secretly married in Italy. She took this step by the advice of her physician, and her treatment at Blaye was immediately changed—every atten- tion required by her situation being thenceforth paid her. On the 10th of May, she gave birth to a daughter, which was declared to be the child of her royal highness and Hector Lucchese-Palli, count of Campo-Franco, gentleman of the bed- chamber to the king of Naples. This ended the career of the duchess de Berri, who was permitted, after the birth of her daughter, to return to Italy; the government feeling satisfied that her *prestige* in France was gone. The state of siege in the departments was put an end to when the duchess was removed from Blaye; and of her followers who were taken prisoners, none were punished with death, being sentenced only to short periods of imprisonment. This was some atonement for the severity exercised by the royal troops in putting down the insurrection.—We may add, that after the arrests which took place in consequence of the disclosures made in the paper found at the château de la Chaslier, marshal Bourmont first joined Don Miguel, in Portugal, and then retired to his castle of Anjou, where he lived in strict retirement till his death, in 1846.

The royalist movement in La Vendée was just frustrated, when a republican demonstration took place in Paris. The *brochure* of the oppo- sition, *Le Compte-rendu*, was not without its effect on public opinion; and the papers in the interest of the republican party were very violent against the government, whom they accused of acting in the spirit of Polignac, and attributed to the measures of the administra- tion the distress and suffering of the people. Even the friends of the government thought that some change was necessary; discussions were carried on between several of the members of the administration on the subject; and M. de Remusat went to England to consult with the prince de Talleyrand, and to ascertain his opinions. In the midst of these proceedings, violent outrages took place on the 5th and 6th of June. It is now known that these outrages were the result of a preconcerted plan, intended

to overthrow the monarchy, and establish a republic; though, at the time, those who were concerned in the movement, denied all pre- meditation or political design, and attributed the events to the spontaneous indignation of an excited populace, irritated and insulted by the soldiers and the police.

On the 1st of June, general Lamarque died at Paris. He was one of the generals of Napo- leon, who had given great proofs of bravery; and, on his death-bed, the ex-emperor had recommended him to the French government, as a worthy recipient of the honour of being named a marshal of France. He was a distinguished actor in "the hundred days;" and when, as a necessity, he had submitted to the restoration of the Bourbons, he never failed to show his at- tachment to the cause for which he formerly fought, and the friends with whom he had acted. As a deputy, he was fearless and eloquent, and frequently distinguished himself in the tribune as an advocate of what were con- sidered popular measures. As he was a great favourite with the people, it was considered that his funeral would afford a good opportunity for making a republican demonstration. The various societies of the "Rights of Men," the "Friends of the People," the "Gauls," the "Organised Municipalities," and the "Associated Union of July," were summoned to attend; and to many, arms and ammunition were distributed.

The general had died at his house in the Rue St. Honoré; and he was to be buried at the place of his nativity, in the Pyrenees. The arrangements were made, therefore, for a pro- cession to be formed in the Rue St. Honoré, and to proceed from thence, by the Boulevards, the Madeleine, the Rue de la Paix, the château d'Eau, and the Place de la Bastille, to the bridge of Austerlitz, where the funeral orations were to be delivered, and the ceremonies to terminate; the procession being dissolved, and the body passing on to its place of sepulture. In pursu- ance of these arrangements, the Rue St. Honoré was thronged by the members of the various societies as soon as day began to dawn. The body, at the appointed hour, was placed upon a splendid car, which was covered with tricoloured flags and *immortelles*; and the procession was formed; a number of deputies—amongst them marshal Clausel, general Lafayette, M. Lafitte, M. Mauguin, and other distinguished members of the "left"—being at its head.

The government, aware that this display was to be made, had, very prudently, taken pre- cautions to enable the authorities to put down any *émeute*. They had, in Paris, 20,000 in- fantry (2,000 being municipal guards), 4,000 cavalry, and eighty pieces of cannon. There was an additional force of 30,000 men, with forty cannon, in the environs, that could be summoned instantly to the support of those in

the capital; and though no reliance could be placed upon the general body of the national guard, there were about 6,000 of that force who belonged to the neighbourhood, who were loyal and trustworthy. The troops in the capital were collected in great force round the palaces and the government offices; but, as was the case in the "three days of July," there were only a few men placed at the arsenal, and some other important posts. All appear to have had orders not unnecessarily to expose themselves, in order to prevent collision with the people, if it were not absolutely called for. Marshal Lobau had the command of the force; and general Jacqueminot was the chief of his staff.

The procession, formed in the Rue St. Honoré, began to move at ten o'clock; and the remarks that were heard, the cries that occasionally rose from its ranks, denoted the feelings that actuated its members. Shouts of "Down with Louis-Philippe!" and "Long live the Republic!" resounded as it passed along; and every opportunity was taken of marking the sense which was entertained both of the government and of the legitimists. The hôtel of the duke de Fitzjames, a distinguished member of the latter party, lay in the line of the procession. As it was passing, the duke came into the balcony and looked on. He happened to wear his hat; but it cannot be supposed that he intended to insult the memory of Lamarque. It was, however, construed into an insult; and he was immediately driven in by a volley of stones, every window in the hôtel being broken. As the *cortége* passed the corner of the Rue du Temple, near the château d'Eau, it was joined by 150 scholars of the Polytechnic school, who were received with loud shouts; and the cries of "Long live the Republic!" "Down with Louis-Philippe!" were renewed. The bridge of Austerlitz was reached without any other demonstration; and there the funeral orations were delivered by general Umenski, M. Mauguin, and general Clausel, from a platform erected near the bridge. As soon as they were concluded the bands struck up the *Marseillaise*, and a man appeared with the red flag, which some say was immediately pulled down, with shouts of "We'll have no flag but the tricolour!" whilst others affirm, that the red cap and the red flag were openly displayed; and that it was this manifestation which deterred the middle classes and the national guard—who had no wish to see the days of the "red republic" return—from joining the movement. The appearance of the flag, however, was the signal for a general agitation; and when general Lafayette was about to get into his carriage, he was surrounded, and urged to go to the Hôtel-de-Ville, and establish a provisional government. Cries of "*Vive Lafayette!*" "*Vive la République!*" were raised; a body of dragoons were, at the same time, seen advancing

towards the bridge; but they had their swords sheathed, and made no manifestations of hostility. Then there were shouts of "The dragoons!—the dragoons!" mingled with others of "To the barricades!" "*Vive la République!*" Several gun-shots were also heard; but where they came from has never been ascertained. They were, however, the signal for the fight; and, with a yell of fury, the people rushed upon the troops.

The dragoons were immensely outnumbered by the populace. The object of the former appeared to be to pass through the crowd, and to cross the bridge; but they were speedily broken up into small parties, and were unable either to maintain their ground, or to force their way forward. They were assailed by showers of stones, and blows of sticks; and, another troop coming up, was saluted by a volley of musketry, which caused many to fall from their saddles, and proved how well the populace were prepared. Finding it impossible to make head against the numbers by whom they were assailed, the commanders of the dragoons gave the word for them to retire. The men extricated themselves with difficulty; and then the populace, who formed the procession, set to work with a will and a determination which carried all before them. Very soon the faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau were in motion. The troops were concentrated in masses round the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Hôtel-de-Ville, the Post-Office, and the other public departments, to the westward of the Place de Grève. To the eastward, if there were any soldiers at all, they were in small bodies, which, when they came in contact with their opponents, were almost invariably defeated. In that direction, several government posts, where only a few men were stationed, were stormed by the insurgents, who distributed amongst themselves the arms found there. The arsenal, in the Rue Popincourt, was one of the places captured, and there they found 1,200 muskets. Confined chiefly to the east of Paris, success seemed invariably to follow the enterprises of the insurgents during the afternoon of the 5th. As they got possession of the streets, barricades were thrown up, and the Rue St. Martin converted into such a formidable position, that a regiment of dragoons, sent to expel the insurgents, was repulsed with loss. Before ten o'clock they were in possession of more than one-third of the capital, including the arsenal, the Galiote, the château d'Eau, the Marais, and the entire 8th arrondissement. In the part of the capital thus occupied, most of the armourers' shops had been plundered.

On the morning of the 5th, the king and royal family were at St. Cloud. When news was brought, in the middle of the day, of the *émeute* which was taking place, the king remarked to the queen—"Amélie, there is a disturbance at Paris; I am going there." "Then I go, too,"

replied her majesty—determined to share danger with her husband. They immediately repaired to the Tuileries, where they were met by the ministers, and where, during the entire afternoon, there was a constant arrival of members of the royal household, or of strangers, bringing news and opinions, and offering counsel. Marshal Soult suggested that orders should be sent to the commanders of the troops within thirty miles of the capital, ordering them to concentrate on Paris without loss of time—a suggestion which was immediately assented to, and the messengers dispatched. No effort was made to disperse the insurgents by an attack from a large body of men, as it was not thought advisable to lessen the force round the palaces and the public offices; and the attitude assumed by the royal troops, during the day and night, was one of defence, not of offence.

During the night of the 5th, a meeting was held at M. Lafitte's, which began to assemble at nine o'clock, and did not separate till after midnight. Lafayette joined only a short time before it broke up. It was then manifest, that what was wanting to insure success to the insurrection, was a master-mind, to assume the direction, and take the lead. If either Lafitte or Lafayette had been a Napoleon Bonaparte, the throne of Louis-Philippe would then have been overthrown. But instead of bold measures and decision, vacillation and timidity prevailed. The situation was discussed; the dethronement of the king was suggested; then milder measures, in the shape of an address and remonstrance. Whatever proposition was made, found opponents, and was withdrawn or rejected; and, finally, it was resolved, on the motion of Lafayette (as is reported), to wait the events of the morrow, and eventually to join the strongest party. During the night, Armand Carrel went to the house of marshal Clausel, with a view to induce that officer to head the movement. He was, however, unwilling to do so, unless the troops revolted and joined the insurgents. Morning, therefore, found the latter determined, active, and bold; with numerous leaders directing their isolated movements, but without a head to command, in whom all could confide, and whom all would obey.

The king and his ministers also remained in council during the night—discussing the questions—should Paris be declared in a state of siege? Should Lafitte, Lafayette, and other leading men of the opposition, be arrested? What steps should be taken with respect to the press? And what other measures were necessary under the pressure of events? The king, though he had himself put the question, "Shall Paris be declared in a state of siege?" was averse to take that step, except in the last resort; and it was postponed for the present. His majesty, also, was opposed to the arrest of

Lafayette and Lafitte, from whom he anticipated no danger; but orders were given to take into custody, MM. Garnier Pagès, Cabet, and Laboissière. Instructions were also sent to the police, to take possession of the printing-offices of the *Tribune*, the *Quotidienne*, the *Courrier de l'Europe*, the *National*, the *Courrier Français*, the *Journal du Commerce*, and the *Corsaire*; and to break in pieces their presses, to prevent them from printing proclamations for distribution amongst the people. Three decrees were also adopted, which appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 6th. By the first, the artillery of the Parisian national guard, and by the second, the military veterinary school of Alfort, were disbanded. By the third, the Polytechnic school was dissolved, and the scholars ordered to be sent to their homes, with the exception of those who had remained faithful to the throne; they were to remain, and form the nucleus of a new establishment. All the ministers, except marshal Soult, were engaged in deliberating upon, and carrying out, the above measures: the marshal occupied himself solely with the military arrangements. He determined to act as he had done at Lyons in the previous November; to converge an overwhelming force on the centre of the insurrection, and crush it at once. The orders that he dispatched to the troops in the vicinity of the capital were instantly obeyed; the national guard of Paris and the environs was also summoned; and whilst not above one-third of the former showed themselves, upwards of 10,000 of the latter arrived (6,000 only having been calculated upon); and it was quite evident, from their demeanour, that they were thoroughly loyal, and resolved to support the throne. Early in the morning of the 6th, not only this force, but several corps of regular troops had arrived; and marshal Soult had not less than 80,000 men and 120 guns at his disposal.

The insurgents had not been inactive during the night. They had taken possession of one of the bridges—thus opening a communication between the north and south divisions of the capital. They had attacked and carried the posts of the Bastille, the Marché St. Martin, and the Blancs Manteaux; they had thrown up a strong barricade across the entrance of the Petit Pont de l'Hôtel-Dieu, and defeated a detachment of troops sent to destroy it; they had invested the prefecture of police; and were making their way, by occupying the approaching streets, and defending them by barricades, to the Hôtel-de-Ville, the Post-Office, the Place des Victoires, the Palais Royal, and the Louvre.—The king and the ministers, at the Tuileries, were apprised of these movements; and recollecting the "three days of July," no wonder that alarm prevailed. Marshal Soult even proposed that the Tuileries should be abandoned; but the proposal was overruled.

The marshal's military measures were very judicious, and adapted to the crisis. He placed 30,000 men on the Boulevards, extending from the Porte St. Denis to the Place of the Bastille; and 30,000 along the quays, from the bridge of Austerlitz to the Pont des Arts—intermingling the national guard with the troops of the line, to secure the fidelity of the former. The insurgents were thus inclosed, and compelled to act upon the defensive. They took their plans accordingly. Men were stationed in the upper stories of all the houses; barricades were thrown up at every accessible point; and the cloister of St. Mèri was taken possession of, as headquarters. There a large force was concentrated, and the most effective means of defence adopted. Fighting began in some of the streets as early as seven o'clock in the morning; but no decided effort was made till all the expected troops had arrived. Then the defences of the insurgents were found of little effect against the fire of artillery, and street after street was attacked and carried; not, however, without considerable loss to the troops. The most difficult effort was to take the cloister of St. Mèri, where an immense number of the insurgents had collected. Four battalions of the Parisian national guard were first sent to the attack, which were soon thrown into confusion by the fire from the houses and barricades. This detachment, after directing a few volleys upon the insurgent position, broke, and fled in dismay, throwing away their arms and accoutrements. The heaviest artillery was then sent to the spot; ten minutes were allowed to the insurgents to surrender; and, that time expired, a terrible fire was opened upon all the points of the position. Defence was utterly hopeless, but it was prolonged for some time. The barricades, however, were knocked down or scrambled over; the houses were attacked, and carried; and, finally, the cloister was taken. The fighting, on both sides, had been most desperate; yet the number of killed and wounded was less than might have been expected. The following figures show the amount:—

	Reg. Troops.	Nat. Guard.	Insurgents.	Total.
Killed.....	55	18	93	166
Wounded.....	240	104	291	635
	295	122	384	801

Many more of the insurgents were supposed to have been put *hors de combat*; but ninety-three dead bodies, and 291 wounded, were taken to the public hospitals; there were, also, about 1,500 made prisoners. The fall of this post crushed the insurrection; and thus Louis-Philippe's throne was, for the time, preserved.*

The king evinced great personal bravery on this occasion. Whilst the struggle was at its

height, he left the Tuileries, on horseback, accompanied by his sons and chief officers, to review and encourage the troops. He traversed every quarter of the city, passing through streets where the dead and dying strewed the ground; while the groans of the wounded were heard in every *café*; and the firing at the barricades and the cloister of St. Mèri was still going on. He saluted the different troops he encountered; stopped wherever a crowd had assembled—with a calm and smiling countenance addressing words of consolation to the wounded national guards whom he met on his way, and “presenting himself before silent and suspicious groups, as if resolved, by his calm demeanour, to defy their savage hostility. To the officers of his suite, who urged him to be more cautious, he replied—‘Fear nothing; I have a stout cuirass in my five sons.’ A report was circulated, on the following day, that, during this progress, a body of insurgents, within reach of the king, and ready to fire on him, were as much deterred by his confident bearing, as by a sense of their own danger.”†

In the morning another meeting had been held at M. Lafitte's. What course would have been adopted if the success of the previous day had been continued, it is impossible to say; but as the accounts received indicated that the insurgents were losing their posts one after the other, it was resolved to send a deputation to the Tuileries, to urge the king to change his system, and to adopt that which it was the object of the *Compte-rendu* to prescribe. The deputation consisted of MM. Lafitte, Arago, and Odillon Barrot, who had all signed that pamphlet. They arrived at the Tuileries just after Louis-Philippe returned from his ride through Paris, and were at once admitted to his presence. The interview was long; and a report of it has been published. The members of the deputation laboured to persuade the king that all the popular discontent, and every popular excess, had been the result of the coercive system adopted and acted upon by M. Casimir-Perrier and his ministry. The *émeutes* at Lyons and Grenoble, and that which had just occurred at Paris—all were to be traced, they said, to the same source; and they urged upon his majesty, now that his arms had put down revolt, to adopt conciliation instead of coercion. “We entreat you, sire,” said Odillon Barrot, who proved himself by far the most eloquent pleader of the three, “to close your ears to those who would urge you to adopt measures of violence in the hour of victory. Permit us to say, that that career, once entered upon, it is difficult to stop. In the name of the law, you have triumphed; still, that triumph must be deplored, for it has been purchased with the blood of the

* Sir Archibald Alison says, that he “visited the theatre of this conflict shortly after. The walls were all perforated by grapeshot or cannon-balls, the windows and doors smashed to atoms, and marks of the most

desperate strife in every room. The only surprising thing appeared to be, how any one, either of the assailants or defenders, survived such a dreadful conflict.”

† Guizot.

French." His majesty calmly and firmly defended the policy of his government; and declared, that those who were responsible for the blood which had been shed in attaining the triumph to which the deputation alluded, were "the miserable wretches who took advantage of the funeral of general Lamarque to attack the government by open force—to fire on the troops of the line and the national guard." His "duty was traced out," he said, "in characters which could not be misunderstood. The revolt was terminated;" and, "during his ride through the city, he had heard the cry of 'Sire, a prompt justice!' He trusted justice would be enabled to resume its course without violence of any sort;" but intimated, that violence would be resorted to, if necessary. The interview ended without any other result. The deputation departed; and the king joined his ministers. In the council then held, a decree, declaring Paris in a state of siege, was drawn out, and signed by the king and the minister of the interior; next morning it appeared in the *Moniteur*. At the same time, it was resolved to issue orders for the arrest of the eminent legitimists, the duke de Fitzjames, viscount de Chateaubriand, and M. Hyde de Neuville; and also of Armand Carrel, editor of the *National*.

On the morning of the 7th of June, Paris presented a striking contrast to the appearance it exhibited on the morning of the 6th. Then, all was noise, bustle, and excitement; the insurgents occupied the most populous parts of the city, and were eager for an affray, in which they anticipated victory. Now, a mournful silence prevailed, except at one spot, the Morgue; to which many an inhabitant of the faubourgs rushed, to search for the bodies of those who were missing; and as the well-known features were recognised, shrieks and lamentations filled the air. There was no commotion in the streets: but the declaration, that Paris was in a state of siege; the transfer of the criminal authority from the civil tribunals to courts-martial, which was the consequence of that measure; the activity of M. Gisquet, the prefect of police; and the arrest of the legitimist and republican leaders, occasioned a deep gloom to overspread the city; and all parties—legitimists, Napoleonists, and republicans—joined in condemning the measures to which the government had resorted. Two court-martials speedily assembled; but the officers placed upon them evinced a great dislike for their office. The two first persons brought before them were acquitted. The third was an artist, named Geoffroy, who was clearly proved to have taken a part in the movements of the 5th—wearing, on the occasion, the *red cap*. He was convicted on the 22nd of June, and condemned to death. He appealed to the Court of Cassation, and that court heard the appeal immediately, and quickly came to the decision, that the conviction must be set aside, as the court that pro-

nounced it was illegal. As was natural, this decision was the cause of great exultation, it being considered a decided victory over the government. The latter acted very wisely. By an *ordonnance* of the 30th of June, the state of siege was abolished; soon after, the three legitimists were set at liberty. The judges at Paris declared there was no charge against the duke de Fitzjames and the viscount de Chateaubriand; and a jury at Blois, before whom M. Berryer was brought, returned a verdict of not guilty. There were a great number of persons, however, retained in prison for their share in the events of the 5th and 6th of June. Some of them were tried by the courts of assize; and seven were sentenced to death; but the punishment was commuted to banishment. Four were sentenced to banishment; four to perpetual hard labour; thirteen to hard labour for periods of from five to ten years; and fifty-four to various short periods of imprisonment: in all, eighty-two.* This was the number punished by sentence after trial; but more than 1,800 were taken prisoners at the cloister of St. Mèri, and in the streets: it was not very creditable to the government of Louis-Philippe, that most of them remained in prison from eighteen to twenty-four months, without being brought before a tribunal.

Though literary men had done so much to place Louis-Philippe on the throne, almost from the first month of his accession, he displayed an enmity to the press. Before the events of June 5th and 6th, the prosecutions of the journals had been numerous; and for four months after that insurrection, they were almost incessant. It is stated, that, from his accession to the 1st of October, 1832, 281 journals had been seized, and there had been 251 judgments against the editors and publishers, who were subjected to imprisonments, amounting, in the collective aggregate, to 1,226 months; and to fines, amounting to 347,550f. (£13,902). In exchanging Charles X. for Louis-Philippe, therefore, the "gentlemen of the press" certainly did not improve their position.

Notwithstanding the unpopularity of the state of siege, and of the political arrests, there is no doubt, that the effect of the suppression of the outbreak of the 5th and 6th of June, was greatly to strengthen Louis-Philippe's government; and it was placed in still more favourable circumstances by the death of the duke de Reichstadt, which removed a competitor for the crown; and by the marriage of Leopold, king of Belgium, with the princess Louise. The former event took place on the 22nd of July, at Schönbrunn, near Vienna. The young prince had completed his 21st year; and had he lived, it is not at all improbable, from the spirit he displayed, that he might have attempted to assert his right to the French throne, as the son of Napoleon. He is

* *Mémoires of M. Gisquet, prefect of police.*

described as having been a "very amiable and interesting young man;" fond of a military life, addicted to historical and military studies, and as evincing, on many occasions, much of the spirit of his father, whose adventures, if he could hear them from the lips of any old participator in his campaigns, always filled him with enthusiasm. His death resulted from weakness and debility, which occasioned his removal from Vienna to Schönbrunn, in the autumn of 1831. For some time before his death, he could only enjoy the air by being taken into the garden in his chair; but he bore his visitation cheerfully, and died with a smile on his countenance.—The marriage of the king of Belgium to the daughter of Louis-Philippe, took place at Paris on the 9th of August. The ceremony was performed in the Lutheran church of Paris, by the protestant minister; and at the chapel of the Tuileries by the bishop of Meaux, Leopold being a member of the reformed, whilst his bride belonged to the Roman catholic church. This alliance not only cemented the friendship between France and Belgium, but also drew closer the relations between the courts of Paris and London, from the intimate connection of Leopold with the latter. After the ceremony, the newly-married pair left for Brussels. The parting seemed very painful to the members of the Orleans family, who, in all the phases of their fortunes, have always manifested a strong attachment to each other.

This event was shortly followed by another of considerable interest, intended to assert the importance and inviolability of the marriage tie, and defend public morality. We have already given a brief *résumé* of the doctrines of the St. Simonians.* Subsequent to the period at which this sect first came into public notice, there had been a schism between Enfantin and Bazard, who were amongst the earliest and most earnest disciples of St. Simon; and the former, with a number of followers, had established himself at Menilmontant, where a community was formed which had everything in common. The stage had become so licentious, and ladies of the highest rank were in the habit of going so frequently to see theatrical representations of the most improper kind, that the government thought it right to bring the law to bear upon a society which inculcated the doctrine of a community in women, as well as in goods, and professed to seek for the emancipation of the female from marriage; "that being the prison in which the jealousy of the male confined her." The king's procurator had, therefore, orders to proceed against the Père Enfantin, Michael Chevalier, Barrault, Duveyrier, and Olinde Rodriguez, for having violated the 291st article of the civil code, which prohibits meetings of more than twenty persons; and also with out-

raging public morality. The trial took place on the 27th of August, and assumed somewhat the character of a theatrical exhibition, as the accused appeared in court in the costume of their order, and were accompanied by several women, attired in elegant blue dresses; who, at the request of the accused, were allowed to sit near them in court, that they might be aided by their advice; for, in the words of the Père Enfantin, "it was in the eyes of beauty they sought the inspiration which was to defend them." The accused defended themselves with some ingenuity, and more eloquence; but they were found guilty, and sentenced, Enfantin, Duveyrier, and Chevalier, to one year's imprisonment, and a fine of 100f. each; Rodriguez, and Barrault, to a fine of 50f. each, and no imprisonment. The court declared the society of St. Simonians to be dissolved; but their doctrines have never ceased to be promulgated.

As time progressed, Louis-Philippe became convinced that his ministry was inadequate to discharge its duties satisfactorily, and that it must be modified or changed. Never popular—as the tendency of its measures became better known, that unpopularity increased. Then administrative capacity was evidently wanted, for nothing had been done to maintain the proud position in which the government stood after the defeat of the insurrection of June 5th and 6th; on the contrary, it had been materially weakened. It was a convenient and obliging ministry to the king. Its members were, according to M. Guizot, "faithful, judicious, and courageous; all thought as the king did, or allowed themselves to be easily persuaded; and not one among them impeded him with obstacle or opposition." But "they wanted influence and eloquence in the chambers," as well as popularity *out* of them; and it was necessary that they should be reinforced by members possessing those qualities. His majesty applied first to M. Dupin, who demanded that M. Montalivet and general Sebastiani should leave the cabinet, and that there should be a president of the council. Nothing resulted from this negotiation; and a few days after, Louis-Philippe appointed marshal Soult to the office of president of the council, vacant since the death of M. Casimir-Perrier; empowering him, at the same time, to reconstruct his ministry. It was understood, that general Sebastiani and M. Montalivet must retire, and they at once put their offices into the hands of the king. The duke de Broglie was sent for, and offered the ministry of foreign affairs, which he had no objection to accept; but he refused to take office unless M. Guizot was also a member of the cabinet. This led to doubt and discussion; for that statesman had not given satisfaction to the public as minister of the interior; and it was thought that his unpopularity would make the new ministry

* See *ante*, pp. 440, 441.

as unacceptable as the old one, though it might be improved in talent. However, after some delay, the difficulty was adjusted by appointing that statesman to the office of public instruction, instead of the interior, to which it was, at first, proposed to nominate him: the other members of the cabinet were—*president of the council*, and *minister of war*, marshal Soult; *minister of foreign affairs*, the duke de Broglie; *minister of the interior*, M. Thiers; *minister of finance*, M. Humann; *minister of justice*, M. Barthé; *minister of commerce and public works*, M. d'Argout; *minister of marine*, admiral de Rigny. M. Montalivet was appointed administrator of the civil-list. The *ordonnance*, announcing the new ministry, appeared on the 11th of October. It was accompanied by another, summoning the chambers to meet on the 19th of November; and followed by a third, creating sixty new peers. This was a highly objectionable measure; which the first act of M. Guizot, as minister of public instruction—the re-establishment of the class of moral and political sciences in the Institute of France—did not atone for. No great objection could be taken to the new peers personally. The list included “house magistrates, general officers, members of the Institute, influential proprietors in their departments, great industrial leaders, old members of the chamber of deputies, and some important civil functionaries.” M. Guizot refers to it to prove, that he and his colleagues had not sought, in selecting the men whose names were found there, “complaisant partisans, but honourable, steady, and useful supporters of the system they were about to found.” But such an exercise of royal and ministerial power is incompatible with a free constitution; and, however unexceptionable may be the persons nominated, the result must still be dangerous to liberty.

As soon as the new ministry was formed, a circular, drawn up by M. Thiers, but signed by Soult, was sent to the prefects. It explained the principles of the government to be founded on those of the national system, which was the system of his predecessor. “Order within and peace without,” would be his object; “every attempt at disorder at home would be effectually repressed;” whilst the “firm determination” of himself and colleagues was, “to preserve the peace of the world.” That peace, however, notwithstanding this determination, was, in one part of Europe, soon interrupted.

We have briefly stated the merits of the question between Holland and Belgium in previous pages;* and the result of the French expedition to the latter country. The interval had been spent in negotiations; and as they appeared interminable, and the king of Holland persisted in holding the important citadel of Antwerp, and some other forts on the Scheldt, the gov-

ernments of England and France—having been the chief agents in procuring the recognition of the independence of Belgium by the other great powers—were desirous of completing their work. On the 22nd of October, a convention between them was concluded at London, being signed by prince Talleyrand and lord Palmerston; by which the two powers undertook to summon the kings of Holland and Belgium to take measures, before the 2nd of November, for withdrawing their troops from the places which they held in each other's territories, in conformity with the treaty of November 15th, 1831. If the king of Holland refused to comply with the summons, an embargo was to be placed on all Dutch vessels in the harbours of England and France; an English and French squadron was to be fitted out, to blockade Dutch ports, and capture the merchant vessels of Holland; and if the Dutch troops remained on the Belgian territory after the 15th of November, they were to be expelled by a French army, which would immediately enter Belgium for that purpose. As there were no Belgian troops in Holland, it was against that power alone that the convention was really directed; and as Austria, Prussia, and Russia refused to become parties to it, and the conference which had been so long held in London between the ambassadors of the five powers, was broken up, the idea became prevalent that Europe was again on the eve of a general war.

At the time, England was not at all prepared for war. She was under that government which, coming into office with the words “reform, peace, retrenchment,” for its motto, had commenced a career of reduction in the military and naval armaments, that, in after years, called for an expenditure four or five times as large as the original saving, to restore the army and navy to anything like a respectable footing. It was impossible for her war minister to organise a land force to dispatch to the continent; but five ships of the line, under Sir Pulteney Malcolm, were sent to blockade the Scheldt; in conjunction with three French ships of the line and five frigates, commanded by admiral Villeneuve. France had an army of 396,000 regular troops, all perfectly equipped, besides upwards of one million of her population enrolled as a national guard. As soon as the convention was signed, her government ordered an army of 48,000 infantry, 9,000 cavalry, and 6,000 artillery and engineers, under marshal Gérard, to march to the Belgian frontiers. At the same time that these orders were given, the terms of the convention were made known to the king of Holland, who was summoned immediately to recall his troops from Antwerp and the neighbouring forts. His majesty positively refused to obey this summons: in consequence, on the 18th of November, the French army crossed the Belgian frontier at Charleroi, taking

* See *ante*, pp. 446—448.

the route to Antwerp, and arriving before that fortress on the 28th. Before the siege commenced, a negotiation took place between marshal Gérard and general Chassè (who still commanded the citadel), as to the position which the city of Antwerp was to occupy. The general had no objection to the city remaining neutral; but he was determined that that neutrality should be real, and not merely nominal. He therefore declared his intention, if the batteries of the city were brought into action against the citadel, to open a bombardment upon the former; which, it was well known, must do incalculable damage. The inhabitants of Antwerp were in a state of intense alarm till the result of this negotiation was known: all that could do so left the city; those who remained, employed themselves in throwing up barricades, and other modes of defence. It was settled, however, that the neutrality of the city should be declared and respected; that the besiegers should confine their works to the open country, on the south-east of the citadel; and that the besieged should restrict their fire in that direction. Under these provisions, ground was broken on the 30th of November; and the works were carried on so actively, under the direction of the duke d'Orleans, that the bombardment was commenced on the 4th of December, from eighty-two pieces of heavy artillery, and twenty-two mortars.

These proceedings were not disregarded by the northern powers. As Prussia had the most to fear—her Rhenish provinces being the first that would be attacked, should war ensue—assurances were given to her ambassador at London, that nothing was contemplated beyond the expulsion of the Dutch from the fortresses of the Scheldt; and that there were secret articles to the convention, binding France to withdraw her troops as soon as this was effected. These assurances were transmitted to Berlin: the reply was, that “not only would Prussia be no party to the attack on Holland, but would oppose it by all the military means in its power”—a reply not exactly to the point, as no attack was directed against the power named, except to compel her to evacuate Belgium; and she could prevent it entirely, or terminate it whenever she pleased. Prussia did not rest here. The king ordered the 7th *corps d'armée*, which had been stationed in Westphalia, to pass the Rhine, and take up a position between Aix-la-Chapelle and Guelders, in order to cover the frontiers of that river to the right of the Meuse, opposite Belgium and Holland; and the 8th corps, stationed on the Rhine, was ordered to act as a reserve. These movements were announced to the diet at Frankfort by the Prussian representative, in a protocol, in which the course taken by France and England was represented as one of extreme danger to the peace of Europe; and the necessity of the measures of precaution taken by Prussia was enforced.

To this protocol, Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and all the other German powers gave their adhesion. The French government met those precautions of Prussia by stationing 40,000 troops on the Moselle, to watch the Prussian *corps d'armée* which had been brought down to the Rhine.

Hostilities were confined, however, to the citadel of Antwerp—a noble and commanding fortress, situated above the town, on the right bank of the Scheldt, and completely commanding the harbour. It was built in the 16th century, by the duke d'Alva, to command the city, and control the navigation of the river. Always a place of great strength, it had been rendered more formidable by Napoleon when he occupied Antwerp, and made it one of his grand naval arsenals. On the west side, an advanced work, called the “*Tête de Flandre*,” when the siege commenced, could, by its fire, greatly impede, if not entirely prevent, any further progress up the river. On the land side, to the east and south-east, there were strong outworks, the principal of which were the lunette of St. Laurent, on the south-east; and the forts of Montebello and Keil, to the eastward. The rampart was flanked by strong bastions; and the works were further strengthened by wide and deep ditches, kept constantly full of water from the Scheldt. The garrison consisted of 5,000 men: and 180 guns were mounted on the works, in the most eligible places for defence.

The lunette St. Laurent was the point upon which the principal attack was made when the bombardment opened. An almost incessant fire was kept up upon it; and a mine was run under one of its bastions. This was sprung in the night of the 14th of December, when, a breach being rendered practicable, the lunette was gallantly carried by assault. For eight days more there was a constant interchange of firing, the besiegers and besieged vying with each other in endurance and gallantry. By the 23rd, the walls were breached in several places; an assault was imminent, which the garrison were too much weakened and worn-out to resist; and general Chassè, having done all that honour could demand, hung out a flag of truce. Firing immediately ceased; negotiations commenced; and the same day the terms of surrender were concluded. The general agreed to surrender the citadel, with the forts of Lille and Liefkenshoek, further down the river; and he and his gallant troops were to be permitted to leave the fortress with all the honours of war, and return to Holland. The king, however, refused to ratify these terms, because the other forts were not under the orders of general Chassè; and the result was, that the garrison, quite incapable of making a longer defence, preferred an unconditional surrender as prisoners of war, to returning to Holland under a pledge not to serve against France

during the existing hostilities.—The French troops spent Christmas-day in their cantonments; and, on the 27th, began to withdraw from Belgium.

During the siege, the northern powers remained quiescent. Notwithstanding their disapprobation of the recent steps taken by England and France, they felt that it would be most prudent to be satisfied with expressing that disapprobation by words, rather than supporting it by force of arms. The king of Holland, therefore, found it was of no use persevering in the defence of what he deemed his just rights; because, though he could, no doubt, have coerced Belgium with comparative ease, it was like a boy battling with a giant for his small state to oppose England and France. He therefore succumbed to circumstances; and again negotiations were resorted to. During their progress, on the 6th of March, 1833, a convention was concluded at London, between England, France, and Belgium; by which it was agreed to demolish five of the principal forts, that served as barrier-fortresses on the frontiers of France. They had been first constructed by the whig government of queen Anne, to defend Europe against France; had been strengthened at the cost of the tory government of George III.; and the king of the Netherlands had undertaken to preserve them. That obligation, had it remained in force, must have fallen upon Belgium: the convention relieved her from observing it. The negotiations between Holland and Belgium closed on the 19th of May, when a convention between them was signed, settling the limits of the two kingdoms, as fixed by the five powers in the treaty of the 15th of November, 1831. Of the disputed territories, Limburg was divided between the two states; Luxembourg was definitively adjudged to the king of Holland, with the title of grand-duke. Holland, on her part, bound herself not to recommence hostilities against Belgium; reopened the navigation of the Scheldt, and also that of the Meuse, to Belgian ships, which were to pay the same dues as the treaty of Mayence affixed to German vessels. The allies restored all Dutch vessels captured by their cruisers; and set at liberty all prisoners—soldiers or sailors—who were in their custody,

As the time approached when the chambers were to meet, the activity of the republicans appears to have been renewed. Driven from the streets, they assembled in private; and secret clubs and affiliated societies were spread over the land. The law had attempted to prevent the existence of these societies, but it could not prevail. The leaders endeavoured to promote their doctrines, and increase their followers, in the workshops and manufactories; and they were well served by the liberal press. The fruits of their agitation were seen on the 19th of November, when the session of the chambers

was opened by the king. His majesty went in state to perform the ceremony. The *cortège* was led by a carriage, in which were the queen and her daughters, followed by another containing the ministers; then came the king on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant staff. The entire line of road, from the Tuileries to the Palais Bourbon, was lined with troops; there were also many people, by whom the king was loudly applauded. The procession had reached the Pont Royal, amidst these marks of public approval; but at that point a pistol was discharged at his majesty, who, on hearing the report, bent over his saddle: he, however, quickly recovered his self-possession, raised his hat, bowed to the crowd, and passed on. He had commenced his speech before the peers and deputies knew what had taken place. It was then announced that his majesty's life had been attempted, and intense emotion was excited—an emotion of "indignation, rather than alarm," according to M. Guizot; who adds—"Public feeling had not yet become deadened to assassination."

The speech delivered by Louis-Philippe on this occasion was written by M. Guizot, to whom that task was generally allotted, he tells us, when he was a member of the cabinet. It commenced with alluding to the legitimist and republican insurrections in the west, and in Paris; and remarked, that "a recent event, decisive of the public peace, had destroyed the hopes of the former party." The expedition to Antwerp was mentioned, and its success anticipated; pleasure being expressed at the prospect of the English and French flags floating together at the mouth of the Scheldt. The policy of the government was explained, nearly in the words, and quite in the spirit, of the circular of M. Thiers; and, his majesty said, it was "the system the chambers had strengthened by their co-operation, and which was upheld with so much constancy by the able and courageous minister whose loss they all deplored." Persistence in that system would do much. "Yet a few efforts, and the last traces of disquietude, inseparable from a great revolution, would be effaced. The feeling of stability would re-enter all minds; France would regain confidence in its future; and then would be realised the dearest wish of his heart—that of seeing his country raised to the pitch of prosperity to which it was entitled to aspire; and of being enabled to say, with truth, that his efforts had not been wholly ineffective in working out its destinies."

On his return to the Tuileries, Louis-Philippe again received many loud plaudits from the crowd; and they appeared to be given, in some quarters, with a hearty good-will, and not to be the mere expression of hired *claqueurs*—as was, and is, too often the case in French assemblages. The knowledge of the attempt at assassination,

and of the king's bold bearing, had spread through the multitudes assembled between the Palais Bourbon and the Tuileries; and the circumstance was frequently alluded to as the king passed, with expressions of admiration at his conduct. He reached the Tuileries in safety; and there, in the bosom of his attached family, gave vent to those feelings which had been concealed in the chamber and in the streets.—The police had instituted a strict search for the assassin, as soon as it was known that the attempt had been made; but although it seemed impossible that the shot could have been fired, and the person who discharged the pistol remain invisible to the crowd, yet all those who were questioned professed ignorance. One female said the shot was fired close to her; and the assassin made use of her shoulder as a rest for his pistol to steady his aim: but she knew nothing of him. Several persons were arrested; and the strongest suspicions were entertained against a young man, named Bergeron; but no positive proof could be adduced, on his trial, that he was in the neighbourhood of the place where the shot was fired; whilst he called several witnesses to depose that he was seen in another direction. To questions, he replied, that "he took part in the republican insurrection of June;" and that, "if he had never *said* the king deserved to be shot—and he did not recollect saying so—he *thought* he deserved to be." There was not considered sufficient evidence to convict him, and he was acquitted; the other men who were arrested were discharged without trial.

At this period, according to M. Guizot, it was the spirit of revolution which the ministers had to struggle with, and which they could only restrain by the policy of resistance. Far from being intended "to reduce the liberty, progress, or amelioration of the people, or to diminish anything that adorned and honoured human society, that policy," says the statesman, who assisted in carrying it out, "defended all those agencies, as well as general order, against their true and common enemy," which he characterises as "a mortal, flattering, and lying foe."

The policy of resistance, adopted by the government, was opposed by the policy of concession, advocated by the party of "the left." Between the two, a third party was forming; which the minister we have just quoted describes as "a little camp, very mixed in itself; composed of honest irresolute and timid intriguers; of judicious, but hesitating minds, disposed to find wisdom in fluctuation; of vain and pretentious spirits, without boldness or power, but exacting and officious; of well-meaning, but weak hearts; of susceptible and jealous self-lovers." In the deputies, the members of this rising party chose M. Charles Dupin

for their leader; and the ministers adopted him as the government candidate for the presidency of the chamber. M. Lafitte was the opposition candidate, who received only 136 votes; whilst M. Dupin had 234. The ministers were also successful, probably from a similar coalition, in the election of vice-presidents. They put forward MM. Berenger and Delessert, who received, respectively, 270 and 255 votes; their opponents, MM. de Schonen and Dupont de l'Eure, having only 179 and 136. The government was equally successful in carrying the address brought forward by their supporters, which was adopted by the chamber; the ayes being 233, the noes 119.—It was anticipated, from these signs, that the session would be got through with less difficulty than had, in late years, attended the legislative work of the cabinet.

In December, M. Thiers and the count d'Argout exchanged offices—the former becoming minister of public works, the latter minister of the interior. In his new character, the first measures which M. Thiers brought forward, were two important projects—one for fortifying Paris; the other for carrying out a number of public works in the capital and the departments. The idea of fortifying Paris was not a new one. Vauban suggested that the capital should be rendered capable of defence against a foreign enemy, in consequence of the reverses which Louis XIV. sustained; and which rendered the invasion of France a probable event. The danger passed away; and the proposal of Vauban was neglected and forgotten; till Napoleon, after the battle of Austerlitz, alarmed at the easy capture of Vienna, formed a design to fortify Paris, which he did not carry out.—When M. Clement Tonnerre was minister of war, in 1826, he laid a memoir before the cabinet, proposing that works should be constructed round Paris, to defend it from domestic insurrection; at that time, a danger which threatened much more nearly than foreign invasion. Charles X. and his ministers would not enter upon the discussion of a subject which they thought would increase the irritation of the people. The recent events in Belgium, however, having rendered the northern powers seriously indisposed to France, and revolution being constantly raising its head at home, the ministers of Louis-Philippe resolved to undertake a project which their predecessors had only talked about; and the minister of public works, in consequence of a resolution of the cabinet, brought it before the chamber. The plan was to surround Paris with forts or citadels, whose cross-fire would at once command all approaches to the city, and also cross over it, so as to threaten every part of its interior. These forts were to be well garrisoned; and in one or more of them, a safe and commodious refuge for the sovereign,

in case of need, was to be provided.—The opposition, as soon as this project was known, took the most active means to defeat it. It was before the chamber about three months, during which time the violence of its opponents increased. The press described the forts as intended not for the defence, but the government of Paris; and every night, tumultuous crowds collected in the streets, crying, "*A bas les forts detachés!*" "*A bas les bastilles!*" These manifestations alarmed the ministry, and they withdrew the proposition; at the same time, they commenced, on their own authority, to build detached forts in the vicinity of the capital, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants.

M. Thiers was more fortunate with his project for public works; though that, also, met with great opposition. He demanded a credit for 100,000,000f. (£4,000,000), to be appropriated in the completion of public works which had been commenced, rather than to commence and carry out new ones; though many of the latter class were described as wanting. It was the work of completion, however, which M. Thiers most dwelt upon. "Every government," he said, "for the last forty years, impatient to imprint a trace of its existence upon the soil of the country, had hastened to erect edifices, to excavate canals, to open out roads. But, more solicitous to commence works of their own than to complete those of their predecessors, they had left eternal scaffoldings round the edifices in the public squares, and beds of canals were still dry in the fields. The government of Louis-Philippe had conceived that its mission was to finish,

rather than commence. This would, at least, be in the spirit of novelty, and be conformable to the spirit of the government of July. That government, coming after forty years of experiments of every kind, had for its object to resume, complete, and strengthen all that had been done before it. It would only, therefore, be in harmony with itself, when it preferred completing old undertakings to commencing new ones."* The project underwent long discussion; but, finally, M. Thiers obtained what he required; and, out of the gross sum, 24,000,000f. (£960,000) were appropriated to Paris. The Arc de l'Etoile, the Eglise de la Madeleine, the Panthéon, the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, the Eglise de St. Denis, the Ecoles des Beaux Arts, the Hôtel du Quay d'Orsay, the Monument de la Bastille, the Chambre des Deputies, and the Institution des Sourds et Muets, were finished, and rendered standing ornaments of the capital, by the expenditure of that sum. In the interior, canals were sunk, and roads made; and not only was the public convenience greatly promoted, but thousands of workmen were employed, and discontent, to some extent, appeased.

On the 18th of September, 1832, Charles X. left Holyrood House, and retired to the Austrian dominions, finally taking up his residence at Goritz, in Illyria. He highly disapproved of the attempt of the duchess de Berri to revolutionise France; but was unable to prevent it. The subsequent disclosures respecting the duchess's secret marriage, and the birth of her daughter, were sources of great uneasiness to the ex-king.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DUCHESS DE BERRI; THE BUDGET OF 1833; PROPOSAL TO ABOLISH PENSIONS; TREATY ON THE SLAVE-TRADE; THE DEPUTIES AND THE PRESS; CLOSE OF THE SESSION; AFFAIRS OF GREECE; REBELLION OF MEHEMET ALI AGAINST THE SULTAN; OPENING OF A NEW SESSION OF THE CHAMBERS; REPEAL OF THE LAW OF JANUARY 16, 1816; THE BUDGET; LAWS OF THE SESSION; PROPOSAL TO DISSOLVE THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES; THE KING'S TOURS; SOCIETY OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN; EVENTS IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1834; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS; CORRESPONDENCE WITH FOREIGN POWERS ON DISARMING; LAW AGAINST PUBLIC CRIES; DUEL BETWEEN M. DULONG AND GENERAL BUGEAUD; DEATH OF M. DE BOURRIENNE; LAW AGAINST ASSOCIATIONS; DISTURBANCES AT LYONS; RIOT AT PARIS; THE BUDGET FOR 1835; OTHER PROCEEDINGS IN THE LEGISLATURE; DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES; RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS; THE GERARD MINISTRY; OPENING OF THE NEW CHAMBER; INVESTIGATION, BY THE PEERS, INTO THE RECENT DISTURBANCES; RESIGNATION OF MARSHAL GERARD; THE "THREE DAYS' MINISTRY;" THE TREVISO CABINET; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1835; DEBATE ON THE AMNESTY.

THE political horizon appeared calm when the year 1833 opened; and Louis-Philippe took the opportunity, accompanied by the queen, of visiting the north of France; and, on the 10th of January, they had an interview with the king and queen of the Belgians at Lille. On his return to Paris, his majesty found the chambers engaged in discussing the affairs of the duchess de Berri—a project for repealing the law of

January 16, 1816, which ordained that the 21st of January, the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI., should be observed as a day of national mourning—and the budget. The earliest discussions were connected with the duchess de Berri; the table of the deputies being covered with petitions on the position of her royal highness. Some, from the adherents of her cause, condemned

* *Annuaire Historique.*

her imprisonment, and censured the conduct of the government in terms which it would have required very little legal ingenuity to convert into treason. Others were as decidedly opposed to legitimist pretensions, and demanded the immediate trial of the duchess. On the 5th of January, ministers were called upon to explain the course they intended to pursue with respect to her royal highness. There were warm debates on the subject; which was ultimately referred to a committee, whose report recommended, that all the petitions which were of a treasonable or seditious character should be referred to the minister of justice, and that the chamber should pass to the order of the day on the others. The deputies accepted this report—the effect of which was to leave the matter in the hands of government—though it was strongly resisted by Odillon Barrot, Brûqueville, and other members of the “left.” The duchess, in consequence, remained a prisoner in the castle of Blaye, till liberated under the circumstances already detailed.* While these proceedings took place in the chambers, there were warm quarrels on the same subject between the republicans and legitimists out of doors. In one instance they led to a duel between Armand Carrel and M. Roux Laborie, in which the former was wounded. The violence of the legitimists induced the government to substitute general Bugeaud for M. Choussier, as governor of the castle of Blaye, and to prosecute viscount Chateaubriand for exciting hatred and contempt against the government in the pamphlet, in which he asserted that the young duke of Bordeaux was his king. The editors of six newspapers were also tried for reporting a speech which he addressed to the young students, who gave him an ovation. All were acquitted; as were the two ladies in whose house the duchess had been sheltered at Nantes; who were charged with harbouring and concealing an enemy of the state.

The project for repealing the law of January 16, 1816, was not disposed of till the following session. The budget was productive, as usual, of much discussion, and was not finally adopted till the end of April. The expenditure was estimated at 1,120,394,804f. (£44,815,792); of which sum, 218,195,549f. (£8,727,822) were devoted to the national debt; 130,793,430f. (£5,231,737), to the sinking fund and floating debt; and 305,547,288f. (£12,221,891) to the army. The revenue was estimated at 1,133,870,547f. (£45,343,821); and it presented a marked increase in several of its principal branches. But although, from the statement of the general expenditure, contrasted with the receipts, there appeared a small surplus on the latter, there were extraordinary expenses enumerated by the minister of finance—M. Humann—for which he asked a loan of 167,000,000f. (£6,680,000). This was the

* See ante, p. 461.

cause of long debates; in the course of which a member of the opposition—in direct violation of Article 60 of the charter, providing that “the military in active employment, the officers and soldiers on half-pay, the widows, and the pensioned officers and soldiers, should preserve their rank, honours, and pensions”—proposed, on the 27th of February, that all pensions granted between April 1, 1814, and July 20, 1820, should be revised; the object being, “to erase all such as had been awarded for services not performed in the national armies; those for particular services to the princes of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon; and those enjoyed by recipients who did not combine all the conditions required by the existing laws.” This amendment was firmly opposed by the cabinet; but two members of the administration—M. Dubois de Nantes, inspector-general of the university, and M. Baude, councillor of state—supported it. It was negatived; and a cry arising of—“*Vive la Charte!*” M. Dubois retorted with a shout of “*Vive les traîtres!*” “*Vive les Chouans!*” For his vote and his cries he was dismissed, as was M. Baude; and their friends raised a discussion in the chamber on the 1st of March, which ended in a ministerial triumph. The event had a good effect, as far as strengthening the ministers went, as their *employés* found, that they must vote with the government if they wished to preserve their situations.

In the month of March, the slave-trade came under the consideration of the legislature, in consequence of the signature at Paris, in that month, of a supplementary treaty between England and France, for confirming and extending the provisions of the treaty of 1831, by which that odious traffic was suppressed. That treaty conferred, under certain limitations, the right of search upon English and French ships of war appointed for the purpose. In the exercise of that right, they could stop and visit the merchant ships of either country, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there were slaves on board, or whether there were any signs which warranted the conclusion that the vessel searched was engaged in the slave-trade. One of the circumstances deemed sufficient to establish this presumption, was, “a greater supply of water being on board than the wants of a crew of the merchant vessel required.” Many deputies thought that the operation of this treaty might lead to serious disputes between the two countries, and severely condemned it; but it ultimately received the approbation of the chamber.

During the session the chamber involved itself in a quarrel with the press. The *Tribune* (republican journal) had already undergone several prosecutions, without in the least softening its asperity or altering its principles. During the discussions on the budget, some articles, severely reflecting on the conduct of the majority of the

deputies, appeared in its columns. In one, it was asserted that the deputies would vote any sums that were asked of them; and the chamber was called a "*Chambre prostituée*." This article was brought before the chamber by M. Viennet, who described it as a violation of its privileges. The matter was referred to a committee, and its report recommended, that the responsible editor should be summoned to appear at the bar of the chamber; which body should try him, and, if he were found guilty, pass the sentence. The members of the party of the "left," generally, opposed this report; contending that such a proceeding would be a violation of the liberty of the press and of the charter, as well as of the principle that no man should be a judge in his own cause. The report was defended, on the ground that, by the laws of the 25th of March, 1822, and of October, 1830, the chamber had a right to punish such a breach of privilege. The debate was the cause of several most disorderly scenes in the chamber, and led to a personal altercation between M. Persil and M. Dupont de l'Eure: the report, however, was adopted. The responsible manager of the paper, M. Lionne, was summoned to appear before the tribune; which he did, in the presence of a great crowd of his followers, on the 16th of April. M. Godfrey Cavaignac, and M. Armand Marrast, two of the principal editors, were admitted to defend him, and they spoke with great ability and boldness—M. Marrast telling the deputies, in the course of his speech, that "their intentions might be excellent; but they had voted, in two years, more secret-service money than the Restoration had done in six." M. Lionne was found guilty, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and a fine of 10,000f. (£400), by a majority of 256 to 50. The *Tribune*, however, was not silenced. The new conductor was even more violent than the old one; and had not been in office long before he was prosecuted for sedition. Being found guilty, he was sentenced to an imprisonment of five years, and a fine of 20,000f. This made the eighty-sixth prosecution, and the seventeenth condemnation, which that paper had endured since August 2, 1830.

Soon after the discussions on the budget and the subject of the press had closed, the king, on the 25th of April, attended, and prorogued the chambers—putting an end to the session. His majesty addressed the peers and deputies in a brief speech, in which he congratulated them on the improved state of the country at home, as exhibited in the increase of many branches of the revenue, which proved the increase of comfort and industry amongst the people; and on the state of the foreign relations—France being at peace with all the world. "Events," said his majesty, "had proved, that the differences between Holland and Belgium might be settled without compromising the peace of Europe; and

though the state of the East was a subject of anxious attention, there was reason to believe that a speedy *dénouement* would restore peace to those countries." The king assured the chambers, that, in the East, as elsewhere, France had pursued the conduct, and occupied the rank, which was worthy of her.

In that quarter, the affairs of Greece, and the dispute between the sultan and the viceroy of Egypt, had occupied the attention of the French cabinet. In the former country, after the declaration of independence, England and France wished the government to be vested in an upper and lower chamber, with an elective president, who should choose his requisite officers. Russia demurred to this arrangement; and it was ultimately arranged, that there should be an elective senate and chamber of deputies; and that the emperor of Russia should nominate the first president. Nicholas nominated his private secretary, count de Capo d'Istria, to that office. He was assassinated on the 9th of October, 1831, at Napoli; and the senate then chose his brother, count Augustin de Capo d'Istria, to succeed him. For the next few months, the affairs of the new power were involved in anarchy. In the strife of parties all concern for the public good was lost; and, to put an end to such a destructive state of things, France, England, and Russia, the powers which had mainly contributed to the establishment of Grecian independence, came to the determination that the government should be a constitutional monarchy. The crown was first offered to prince Leopold, of Saxe-Cobourg; but he preferred that of Belgium. Several months elapsed before any choice could be made; at last, Otho, the second son of the king of Bavaria, was elected to the throne, on condition that he should embrace the faith of the Greek church. He was elected king on the 25th of January, and arrived at Napoli on the 6th of February, to the great joy of the people. The two or three previous months had been employed, by the discontented, in attempts to establish a republic; and the insurrection was with difficulty put down by the aid of French troops. The allies guaranteed a loan of £2,400,000 to the new king, to be raised in London; and by a subsequent treaty with the Porte, signed at Constantinople on the 21st of July, the frontiers of the new kingdom were extended to the north, as far as the frontiers of Thessaly and Albania—embracing the entire district properly called Greece.

The sultan was threatened with the loss not only of Greece, but of Egypt and Syria. Since the autumn of 1831, his imperial highness had been engaged in a war with one of his vassals, Mehemet Ali, pasha of the former country; whose aim was to add Syria to his dominions, and render himself independent of the Porte. Ibrahim Pasha, his eldest son, who had distin-

guished himself in the Morea, previous to the battle of Navarino, had the command of his armies; and on the 15th of December, 1831, he commenced the siege of Acre, always considered as the key of Syria; and which Mehemet Ali had long desired to possess. The siege continued for more than six months; but on the 2nd of July, 1832, the place was taken by assault. Ibrahim subsequently defeated the Turkish forces at Homs, on the 6th of July; at Beylau, on the 29th of the same month; and at Konieh on the 21st of December; after which he advanced as far as Kutahieh, near Scutari; and there his progress was arrested. Alarmed at the successes of the Egyptians, the sultan had, previous to the battle of Konieh, applied to England for that assistance which had been rendered from the same quarter on previous occasions. Unfortunately, alike for the sultan and for England, the answer which the government at London was compelled to return was, that they had not the means of rendering the assistance required, however anxiously they might wish to do so. Probably France might have been then applied to if a recollection of Napoleon's attempt on Egypt, and the war then going on in Algiers, had not warned the Porte of the danger which would inevitably attend the presence of a French force in Syria. Russia was the only power left, from whom any effective aid might be expected. To the czar, therefore, the sultan applied; and the answer was, an offer of a Russian fleet, under admiral Greig, with 5,000 men on board, to serve in the Mediterranean; and of an army of 25,000 men to enter the Danubian provinces; in which it was apprehended the spirit of insurrection might spread. The proffered aid was accepted; and no time was lost in dispatching it. It was on the 2nd of February, 1833, that the Reis Effendi claimed assistance from the Russian ambassador at Constantinople; and on the 20th, the Russian ships which were stationed at Sebastopol, arrived in the bay of Bourgas, near the mouth of the Bosphorus. Short as the time was, however, between the application for Russian assistance and the arrival of the Russian fleet, a change, in the interval, had taken place in the views of the Porte.

The French government had not suffered the rebellion of Mehemet Ali, and its successful progress, to pass unobserved. The king and his ministers deemed it a most desirable opportunity for advancing French interests in the East; and whilst a courier was sent to Mehemet Ali to suggest terms of accommodation, admiral Roussin was dispatched to Constantinople, with a French fleet. The French *chargé d'affaires* communicated to the Porte intelligence of the steps taken by his government, and obtained from the Reis Effendi a promise to decline the Russian succours. Accordingly, on the 17th of

February, the Turkish minister sent a memorandum to the Russian ambassador, requiring that the march of the auxiliary troops should be arrested, till it was known whether Mehemet Ali was inclined to enter into negotiations with the Turkish authorities. On the 21st, the day after the arrival of the Russian squadron, near Buyukdere, a firman appeared, signed by the Reis Effendi; in which he declared, that the Porte accepted the mediation of France, for the conclusion of an arrangement with Mehemet Ali; and that, if the viceroy of Egypt would accept the districts of Acre, Tripoli, Jerusalem, and Nablous, and abandon his other conquests, the sultan would command that hostilities should cease, and renounce the foreign aid for which he had applied. On the 22nd, admiral Roussin dispatched a message to Mehemet Ali, requiring him to agree to the terms which the sultan had suggested, and to withdraw his troops from the other parts of Syria. This summons to the Egyptian pasha was followed, on the 23rd, by a note, sent to the Russian ambassador by the Reis Effendi, expressing the sultan's acknowledgments for the friendly succour which the emperor had granted to the Porte; but stating, that the affairs of Egypt were in the course of arrangement, through the mediation of France, upon terms conformable to the wishes of his highness; and he therefore requested, that the Russian fleet might leave the Bosphorus with the first fair wind. The fleet was not withdrawn; and Mehemet Ali, on the 6th of March, refusing the proffered terms, another division sailed from Odessa, conveying a numerous *corps d'armée*, which was embarked at that port. On the 6th of April this force was disembarked on the Asiatic shore, and cantoned on the Mountain of the Giant, within sight of Constantinople.

England and France appear to have made no remonstrance against this movement; but they ordered their consuls to strike their colours, and withdraw from Smyrna, then in the hands of the Egyptians; and occupied themselves with endeavours to obtain, at St. Petersburg, a settlement of the eastern question, at the same time that they urged the adoption of a more lenient policy with respect to the Poles. Lord Durham acted at the Russian capital on the part of England; and marshal Mortier on that of France. The result of the interference on behalf of the Poles, was, declarations and professions of great liberality being observed towards them in civil matters, with perfect freedom in religion; but these were accompanied by an "organic statute," dated the 13th of April; which set forth, that "the kingdom of Poland was for ever united to the empire of Russia, and formed an integral part of it." With respect to the East, the appearance of Russia on the scene, convinced Mehemet Ali that he had no chance of maintaining a successful contest; for if he beat Turkey,

he must inevitably succumb before the troops of the czar. He therefore declared his wish to accept the proposals made by France; and hostilities were arrested by the issue on the 6th of May, by the Porte, of what was called "A Firman of Amnesty." In this document, the sultan declared his acceptance of "the assurances of devotion and of fidelity which had been given to him by the governor of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, and his son Ibrahim Pasha; and accorded to them," in consequence, "his imperial benevolence." This benevolence consisted in confirming Mehemet Ali in the government of Egypt and Crete; and granting to him the territories of Damascus, Tripoli, Seyd, Safid, and Aleppo, and the districts of Jerusalem and Nablous; with the privilege of conducting pilgrims to the holy places. Ibrahim Pasha was also invested anew with the title of Sheik-al-haram of Mecca, and of the district of Djedda. These were terms highly advantageous to Mehemet Ali, who immediately withdrew his troops from Kutahieh, and recrossed the Taurus. Shortly after that movement, the Russian fleet and army, on the demand of France and England, retired from the Bosphorus. But, as they had saved the Porte from the humiliation of completely succumbing to one of its vassals, Nicholas instructed his ambassador at Constantinople, to make that the ground of demanding some marked concession to Russian interests. This led to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, signed on the 8th of July; and justly described as "one of the most important diplomatic acts of modern times." Ostensibly, it is merely a treaty of alliance, confirming former treaties, and pledging each power to aid and assist the other, if attacked. But there was a secret article, in the following terms:—"The Ottoman Porte shall be bound, in virtue of its obligations towards Russia, to close the Straits of the Dardanelles; that is to say, not to permit any ship of war, of a foreign power, to enter those Straits under any pretence whatever." This "separate and secret article," was declared to "have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the patent and public treaty." The first vessel it was enforced against was a corvette of the French navy, which, on arriving at the entrance of the Dardanelles, was refused leave to pass to Constantinople, where both English and French ships of war had been in the habit of resorting. Explanations were demanded; and, ultimately, the existence of the secret treaty was discovered. But, from that time, Russia reigned mistress of the Euxine, whilst her influence at Constantinople became irresistible, and continued so for nearly two decades.

The prorogation of the legislature* was only for twenty-four hours. An *ordonnance* appeared in the *Moniteur* of April 25th, summoning the

members to reassemble on the 26th. The reason for this singular proceeding was, according to M. Guizot, that the budget for 1834 could not be introduced in the previous session; and M. Humann had the desire, "by preparing, presenting, and debating, without intermission," that budget, to "put an end to the provisional credits for the public expenses, a grievance incessantly complained of by men of order in financial matters." When the deputies met, as the decree convoking them had appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 25th, scarcely twenty-four hours before they assembled, M. Mauguin objected to the legality of the second session, on account of the shortness of the notice. The minister of justice overruled the objection; and the business of the session was proceeded with.

The first subject that came before the chamber of deputies, was one which had been frequently discussed: it was now brought to a conclusion. The deputies had passed a law to prevent the performance of religious ceremonies on the 21st of January. The peers were averse to entertaining the subject; but it was brought forward again, early in 1833, under the simple proposition to repeal the law of the 16th of January, 1816, which ordered all public offices to be closed on that day; also the law-courts, theatres, and other places of amusement; and ordained that masses for the dead should be said in all the churches. The project, carried in the deputies, was altered in the peers, and made to consist of two clauses, viz.—"1. The 21st of January shall continue to be a day of national mourning. 2. In other respects, the law of the 16th of January, 1816, is repealed." Thus amended, the project was carried by a majority of thirty-one. The deputies, after they reassembled, by 232 to forty-three, restored it to its first shape. Many of the peers, when the bill was thus sent back to them, were disposed to reject it altogether. Others did not wish to provoke a collision with the deputies. The result was, that, substituting for the words, "21st of January, 1793," the phrase, "the fatal and ever to be deplored day of the 21st of January"—the upper chamber adopted the proposition by a majority of twenty-five. The amendment of the peers was strenuously resisted by the deputies on the left: but, supported by the government, it passed by a large majority.

The budget for 1834 was brought forward by M. Humann, soon after the chambers reassembled. The total amount asked for was 1,039,318,931f. (£41,577,767); which showed a considerable reduction from the expenditure for 1833. The minister proposed an increase of the sums appropriated to justice, foreign affairs, public instruction, and interior and public worship; and a decrease under the other heads of expenditure; that for the army being reduced from 305,547,288f. (£12,221,891) to 226,299,942f. (£9,051,997). The receipts were estimated at 1,042,193,157f.

* See *ante*, p. 473.

(£41,687,726). This was the statement of the ordinary revenue and expenditure. But the minister wished to meet the amount of provisional credits of former years; and thus he created a deficiency of 40,000,000*f.* (£1,600,000); which he provided for by abolishing 20,000,000 *rentes*, redeemed by the sinking fund, instead of adding them to that fund; whilst he raised an additional 20,000,000*f.* of revenue by an augmentation of the spirit tax. M. Humann carried his financial proposals, with two exceptions. Though M. Thiers was defeated in his first attempt to obtain money for the fortifications of Paris, works of considerable strength had been commenced on the great roads leading to the Boulevards; which marshal Soult declared to be merely carrying out a project formed by the emperor Napoleon during the "hundred days." In the budget for 1834, the minister asked for a grant of 2,000,000*f.* (£80,000) towards the expenses of these works; contending that the existing law invested the executive with the power of fortifying any cities it chose; and that the chamber was bound to find the funds. The vote was rejected by a large majority; but the works were continued, till apprehensions of a public commotion led to the discharge of the workmen employed. The other grant refused was one of 18,000,000*f.* (£720,000), to complete the plans suggested by Napoleon, of joining the palace of the Tuileries to that of the Louvre. The ministers had engaged to apply 2,000,000*f.* per annum out of the civil-list, to carry on this work. It was asserted that they had not fulfilled the engagement; and the chambers, suspecting that, restrict the grant as they might, part of it would find its way into the privy purse of the king, rejected it.

There were several laws passed this session, which were of considerable importance. One, brought forward by M. d'Argout, introduced a more complete and judicious organisation of the duties of departmental and municipal councils. A law, proposed by admiral de Rigny, regulated the exercise of civil and political privileges in the colonies; and established a legislative system for all outlying dependencies of the kingdom. M. Guizot introduced and carried two projects, which had a very beneficial operation. One related to what was termed the "expropriation" of private property to public purposes. It provided, that where the property of individuals was taken, and applied to purposes of public utility, that the sum to be paid for it should be fixed by a jury, whose composition was determined by the law. His second project was for establishing a system of primary instruction. Its principal provisions were, that elementary schools and superior schools should be established, for the purpose of educating the young: that the principles of religion and morality, reading, writing, the elements of the French language and of arithmetic, with the legalised system of weights and measures, should be

taught in the elementary schools; and in those of the superior class, the elements of geometry, linear drawing, surveying, natural philosophy, natural history, singing, history, and geography: that any individual, eighteen years of age, might open a primary school, having obtained a certificate of good conduct, and of his possession of the necessary attainments, from the *maire*, or three of the municipal councillors. Independently of the private institutions, a public primary school was to be established in each commune, and placed under the management of two committees, one of the commune, the other of the *arrondissement*. To this school those children only were to be admitted whose parents were declared, by a certain number of the municipal councillors, to be unable to pay a school fee. The minimum salary of the teachers in these schools was to be 200*f.*, and of the superior, 400*f.* per annum. This system has, since 1833, been at work in France, to the great advantage of the people.—Of the laws which the ministers failed in carrying through the chambers, one was a project for regulating the declaration of military law, and the establishment of military tribunals; which they introduced in consequence of the Court of Cassation having declared the placing Paris in a state of siege in the previous year, and the substitution, during its continuance, of courts-martial for courts of law, illegal.—The business before the chambers being all disposed of, they were prorogued on the 26th of June. A few days previously, the question of the occupation of Algeria being raised, marshal Soult declared, that it was the intention of the government not to relinquish that country, but to encourage its colonisation, and extend the French dominion further into the territory, if it were found necessary or convenient.

When the session closed, the position of the government appeared to be better than when it opened. The suppression of the movement in the west; the successes at Antwerp; the important legislative measures which they had succeeded in carrying—all added to the ministerial *prestige*; and for some time internal quiet had prevailed, as well as external peace. Many friends of the government thought that this was a favourable opportunity for dissolving the chamber of deputies; as, in the state of public feeling, a good majority might be safely calculated upon in the new chamber, which would be secured for the next five years. The propriety and desirableness of this course were pressed upon the cabinet by several persons; but, after mature consideration, the ministers resolved not to adopt it; and they inserted the following paragraph in the *Moniteur*:—"For some time, the question of dissolving the chamber of deputies has been argued. Many persons have thought that such was the intention of government; these reports are void of all foundation. The government has no motive for abridging the legal duration of a

chamber which has lent such a loyal and effective co-operation to the monarchy and the charter of 1830."

After the prorogation of the chambers, the king made excursions to Normandy and Calais. His majesty was received with cordiality in most of the places he visited; and a number of addresses were presented to him. One of them, from the municipality of Rouen, alluded to the advantages to be derived from freedom of commerce; and the *maire*, in his speech, also enlarged on the beneficial effects of free trade. The king, in reply, expressed his wish "that commerce should enjoy the greatest possible freedom; and that it should be emancipated from every restraint; because he believed its freedom to be one of the greatest means of augmenting capital, of founding great fortunes, and of increasing the general prosperity by means of their circulation. It was, nevertheless, a path that could not be advanced upon without great circumspection. They must hear and consult all interests; and he could only then say, that the subject should have his most earnest consideration." The president of the civil tribunal at Bernay, in his address to his majesty, spoke of the attachment of the people to civil freedom, and to liberal institutions; and said "it was very desirable that truth should reach the ear of royalty." "No doubt," replied Louis-Philippe, "it is right that truth should reach the ear of kings; but it should also reach the ears of the people. Nations have now their flatterers, as kings once had; and their popular adulators know well how to pervert the truth by their sycophancy—to intimidate it by insult, or obscure it by calumny. It was for time and public reason to do justice to truth; and it was only by rejecting the glosses given by passion and partiality, that the public mind could succeed in arriving at a sound judgment, and in discerning its true interests. It would be then, also, that it would learn justly to appreciate the real advantages it enjoyed, and desist from putting them in hazard by pursuing chimeras, and recalling misfortunes which they had caused to weigh upon France." These replies were well received; and Louis-Philippe returned to the Tuileries, impressed with a good opinion of his people.

In the metropolis, the ministers had no such reliance upon the loyalty of the citizens. There were unmistakeable signs of dissatisfaction evinced at the progress of the fortifications; and apprehensions were entertained of an *émeute* on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. That day passed off quietly; but information the ministers received caused them to believe that there would be disturbances during the anniversary of the "three days;" and as one means of allaying the popular discontent, an official notice appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 23rd of July, stating that "the government had

suspended the works on the detached forts, which would not be resumed without a vote of the chamber of deputies." Still, orders were given for the populace to assemble, emanating from the committee of the Society of the Rights of Man; and the soldiers of the garrison and the police had orders to be on the alert. Several arrests were made; a large quantity of balls, cartridges, and gunpowder was seized; and probably these measures preserved the peace of Paris on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of July.

The indications of approaching disorder, however, did not pass away from the political horizon. The proceedings against the press appear to have increased the fervency of its friends; whilst the recent arrests raised the passions of the republicans to an unwonted pitch. The societies and clubs also, instigated by the press, became, if possible, even more active, towards the close of 1833, than they had been in 1832. The former Society of Friends of the People had, since its dissolution, been reorganised as the Society of the Rights of Man; which was governed by eleven directors, and divided, to evade the law, into 162 sections of nineteen members each—a section being found in every corner of Paris. So many societies were formed and organised to co-operate with this body, that, in what the directors called "An Order of the Day," issued towards the close of 1833, they stated—"The committee announce to you, that the Society of the Rights of Man considers itself, at this moment, as the parent association of more than 300 societies, established in all parts of France, being devoted to the same principles, and moving in the same direction." What those principles were, the society did not leave in doubt; for the central committee of eleven, in October, published an exposition of them; in which they said—"Inheritors of the mission which the genius of the national convention had undertaken—desiring that society should be brought back to its true end—uniting, at the same time, to enfranchise society, and ensure its progress—the republicans are called upon, in the first instance, to seek out the guides which, while improving, will prevent it from wandering. It is in this spirit that, from its origin, the Society of the Rights of Man adopted, as the expression of its principles, the declaration presented to the national convention by the representative of the people, Robespierre. The central committee unites itself to that adoption."* The badges, names, and ensigns of the revolution were revived by this society; some of the sections took the names of St. Just, Marat, Babœuf, Robespierre, Couthon, the 21st of January, War against the Castles, Abolition of ill-acquired Property, and other revolutionary designations. The more moderate republicans were shocked at the violence of the extreme men; but the latter were

* *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

the most numerous, the most energetic ; and they impelled the former in their course. "It was sad to see an illustrious and magnanimous old man, like Lafayette, and a young writer of lofty mind and character, M. Armand Carrel, embarrassed in timidly disavowing, and without success, the senseless or atrocious turpitudes which they should have trampled under foot with indignation and contempt."* In the exposition or manifesto above quoted—which was signed by MM. d'Argenson, Audry de Puyraveau, and other parties—it was stated, that "a permanent committee was formed, for the purpose of recruiting all around it, and everywhere propagating its doctrines," which included "equality, fraternity, universal suffrage, a single legislative assembly, an elective, temporary, and responsible executive or central power, and a republican federation of Europe." These doctrines were promulgated at popular assemblies, and through the press. The government had between twenty and thirty members of the society arrested and brought to trial ; who, during the proceedings, in connection with their witnesses, caused the greatest confusion in court, refusing to acknowledge the presiding authorities as their judges. They were all acquitted, on the 21st of December, except one, who insulted the court by telling the advocate-general—who charged the accused with aiming at a general division of property—that "he was a liar." He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. MM. Dupont, Michel de Bourges, and Pinart, the advocates who defended the accused, were suspended from the exercise of their profession—Dupont for one year ; his colleagues for six months each.

There was little in the foreign relations of France to take the attention of ministers from the events which were transpiring at home. In July, Don Pedro landed in Portugal, to assert the rights of his daughter against her uncle, Don Miguel. France supported the queen ; but whilst England sent a fleet to aid Donna Maria, under Sir Charles Napier (which, just before Don Pedro landed, captured, off Cape St. Vincent, the whole of Don Miguel's squadron), the government of Louis-Philippe confined itself to good wishes. Those wishes were gratified ; for, on the 23rd of September, Don Miguel was expelled from Lisbon, and Donna Maria entered her capital as queen. On the 29th of September, Ferdinand VII. of Spain died ; and as he had, on the 25th of March, 1830, abolished the Salic law, by which females were excluded from the throne, his daughter, Isabella, succeeded him. Her uncle, Don Carlos, had, however, proclaimed himself the legitimate heir ; he raised the standard of rebellion as soon as the death of the king was known. France supported the claim of Isabella to the crown ; and sent a *corps d'armée* to the frontier, to be ready

should her interests in any way be endangered. At present that was not the case ; and the troops remained inactive in their cantonments.

The legislative chamber was opened on the 23rd of December. In his speech, the king, addressing the peers and deputies—after expressing his pleasure at the reception he had met with in his tours—informed them, that "the tranquillity of France had not been disturbed since their last session." During that period, the country had been "in the enjoyment of order and peace. Throughout the realm, industry and labour met with their reward. The population, occupied and peaceful, felt assured of the stability of the institutions, and of the fidelity of their sovereign in watching over them. That public security was the pledge of national prosperity." These results had been obtained by guaranteeing rights, by protecting interests, and by an equitable and moderate policy. That policy would be persevered in with energy and patience. "But an unceasing vigilance was necessary. Insensate passions and culpable manœuvres were at work to undermine the foundations of social order. To which would be opposed, with the loyal concurrence of the chambers, the firmness of the magistrates, the activity of the administration, the courage and patriotism of the national guard and of the army—the wisdom of the nation, enlightened as to the danger of the illusions which those who attack liberty, in pretending to defend it, sought still to propagate. Thus would be ensured the triumph of constitutional order, and the progress of civilisation. Thus they would at length put an end to revolution, and fulfil the wishes of France." His majesty felt certain that the chambers would second him "in his endeavours to promote the increase of national wealth ; to open to commerce and industry new sources of prosperity ; and in spreading comfort, combined with labour, throughout all classes of the population." Alluding to foreign affairs, his majesty congratulated the chambers on the probability of the maintenance of a general peace. As soon as the government of the queen, Maria II., was established in Lisbon, he had renewed his diplomatic relations with Portugal ; and, on the death of Ferdinand VII., had acknowledged that monarch's daughter as Isabella II. He "continued to be intimately connected with Great Britain ; and had every reason to hope, that the difficulties which retarded the conclusion of a definite treaty between the kings of Belgium and the Netherlands, would compromise neither the great interests of Belgium nor the tranquillity of Europe."

M. Dupin was again elected president by 220 votes out of 279 ; but in one of the elections for vice-president, the ministers were defeated. They put up M. Persil against M. Beranger, who was supported by the "left," and the *tiers*

* *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

parti, as the new section of the political world—which first made itself distinguished in the session of 1833—was termed.* This party was more liberal than the *Doctrinaires*; less violent than the party of the left; and professed to regard the wants and wishes of the calm and impartial adherents of liberty and order, rather than the wild demands of republican agitators. Firm monarchists, they wished to check, and not encourage, the licentiousness of the press; and it was chiefly on financial questions that they evinced the least disposition to be troublesome to the ministers, who generally received their votes. Aiming at the ultimate possession of power, they had no wish to weaken or embarrass the means of exercising it.

In the course of the debate on the address—which lasted several days—general Bugeaud observed, that “someone had dared to assert, that two of the deputies had signed an odious declaration; he hoped they would not remain silent on this point.”—M. d’Argenson immediately mounted the tribune; acknowledged having signed the manifesto of the Society of the Rights of Man; and declared, that the principal article of his political creed was equality, recognising the sovereignty of the people, as declared in 1830. In that manifesto he had found the elements of human happiness; and therefore he had signed it.—MM. de Puyraveau and Deludre said, they, also, had signed the manifesto; and M. Garnier Pagès, though he had not mixed himself up with the society, avowed his republican opinions, which he defended with some warmth.—The ministers protested against such doctrines being promulgated in the very sanctuary of the constitution. The keeper of the seals, especially, dwelt on the mischief which must inevitably be the result of such conduct. “The republican members were sincere, no doubt; but if some violent tumults were to be the consequence of their speeches, they would not be justified by the honesty of their intentions.”—The Carlists attributed the evil to the men who had brought about the existing order of things; and who, having proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, were scarcely justified in denouncing men who declared for a republic, so many of the adjuncts of which they had introduced. “France,” said M. Berryer, “is monarchical in her habits, her recollections, and her interests; above all, she is monarchical when considered in relation to the other powers of Europe. But, practically, France is a republic. She is republican in the principles which have been so long triumphing—by the still-increasing division of property—by the complete abolition of all privileges and all social distinctions—by that individualism which is every day penetrating deeper into, and interrupting, social life—by the greater

number of the institutions which she possesses—and, finally, she is republican, by the innumerable national guard in arms over the whole kingdom.” The debate branched also into long disquisitions upon the foreign relations of France; and ended in the address, as proposed by ministers, and slightly altered in committee, being carried by a large majority.

The year 1834 opened under the ostensibly favourable influences alluded to in the royal speech; and the partisans of Louis-Philippe’s dynasty really hoped, that “the partial re-establishment of order, and the defeat of parties hostile to the government, would reassure the middle classes, and give a new impetus to commerce and industry.” At the same time, the prospect of peace abroad led to a correspondence between France and the other great powers, on the subject of a general reduction of the enormous military armaments which each kept on foot. M. de Broglie took the initiative, and pressed the subject on the consideration of the other powers; all of whom appear to have acquiesced in the reply which the prince de Metternich gave on the part of Austria. “We desire,” he said, “nothing more ardently than a general disarmament. We have as much need of it as France; but the initiative must come from you. You must first re-establish order in your own country, before we can reduce our forces. You have a propagandism which devours us; secret societies fully organised; a press which respects nothing. Even at the tribune declamations are incessantly launched against our policy and our acts. Begin with repressing these threatening evils, and the disarmament will follow as a matter of course.” M. Broglie could not deny these facts; he could only ask for time; and the remonstrances of the Austrian minister strengthened the desire of himself and colleagues to put down the republican faction, which was at the bottom of all the evil. They had a large force round Paris; and the streets of the capital were constantly patrolled by the military, so that they had little apprehension for its safety, even if another insurrection broke out. But they were anxious to do away with the cause of discontent, and to introduce such a state of things, that a large military force would not be necessary to keep the peace. To effect this desirable object, they deemed it necessary to restrain the press, and put down the clubs.

The press was the great weapon of the popular agitators, and that against which the government could offer the least effectual defence. It was rendered more offensive by a practice, which had grown up, of public criers parading the streets, selling the most inflammatory pamphlets, proclaiming their titles, and sometimes reading portions of their contents. Some of the most popular of these productions were the *brochures* of a few pages each, entitled the *Republican*

* See ante, p. 470.

Catechism, the Catechism of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the Select Works of Maximilian Robespierre, and the Republican Calendar. The last was ornamented with a portrait of Robespierre, surrounded with bright rays; and it was dated—"In the year of the Republic, '42." These pamphlets were filled with the most seditious and anarchical doctrines—furious diatribes against the king and all the higher classes—and violent abuse of *employés* of all kinds, from the highest to the lowest. Several of the persons who made themselves most conspicuous as public criers were apprehended; but it was found, that if they had made the previous declaration required by the act of the 10th of December, 1830, there was no law that interfered with their vocation. After this decision, M. Rodde, the manager of a popular journal, called *Good Sense*, attired himself in the ordinary blouse and cap of the criers, and, placing himself on the Bourse, he distributed papers, and defied the authorities to interfere with him. Through these "criers," "more than 6,000,000 copies of inflammatory or insensate publications were distributed within the space of three months."* To such a height had the practice reached, that the cabinet, as one of their first acts to restrain the press, were determined to put a stop to the vocation of the criers. With that intent they submitted a project of law to the chamber of deputies, by which the crying, vending, or distributing of writings in the public thoroughfares was prohibited, except to those who took out a licence; and those who did so, were subjected to the authority and superintendence of the municipal powers. In introducing the matter to the deputies, the count d'Argout, minister of the interior, read, in the tribune, several passages from the pamphlets, which excited loud exclamations of anger and disgust.

The debate upon this project was interrupted by a very unpleasant occurrence. On the 25th of January, the ministers asked the permission of the chambers for leave to prosecute M. Cabet, a deputy, who had published seditious articles in a paper called the *Populaire*. Leave was given. On the following day, M. Larabit alluded to this proceeding—defended M. Cabet, and accused marshal Soult of arbitrary conduct; grounding his charge upon an order of the day, addressed to the officers at Strasburg. General Bugeaud interrupted the speaker, and exclaimed, "Military men must, above all things, obey!" To this, M. Dulong, deputy for L'Eure, and son-in-law of Dupont de l'Eure—a republican, a man of great abilities, and who was one of the leaders of that party—said, "Must an officer obey, even to become a gaoler!" As general Bugeaud had been sent to take the command of the castle of Blaye whilst the duchess de Berri was imprisoned there, he considered these words an insult. An

* Guizot.

angry dispute ensued, which was followed by a challenge; and the parties fought on the 29th, when Dulong was shot through the head, and died before the next morning. The event caused a great sensation in Paris, more especially as a report was circulated—which was, no doubt, untrue—that the court had used its influence with Bugeaud to prevent a reconciliation, hoping, as he was a good shot, to get rid of an opponent. This report, however false, was circulated by Dulong's friends, and believed by the populace: it was determined, in consequence, to make a public demonstration at his funeral. The number of persons who followed him to the grave was immense; but the military were stationed, also, in great numbers, so that they could at once repress any attempt at riot or insurrection. Probably the knowledge of these precautions was the cause that none was made. M. Armand Carrel, and several leading members of the republican party, made funeral orations. That of M. Carrel produced the greatest impression. He stood bareheaded by the side of the grave, and spoke with all his fervid eloquence, inspired by friendship; and, no doubt, a real belief that his cause was the cause of truth and justice; for Armand was honest and honourable, though mistaken. He concluded his address as follows:—"We live in one of those corrupt periods of the world, in which the conscientious man, unless he chooses to give the lie to truth, ought to be ready to back his words with his sword. Dulong understood the sad age in which he lived. His life no more belonged to him than ours to us. His life belonged to truth; and when she demanded it of him, he laid it down and fulfilled the covenant."—Immediately after the funeral, M. Dupont de l'Eure resigned his seat as a deputy. He had long meditated taking that step, in consequence of the conduct of the government and of the chamber; but the immediate cause of his resignation, he said, was the death of his friend. He declared, that the government had not the will, nor the chamber the power, to control the dangers that threatened France; and he would no longer be connected with a body which could not carry out the purposes for which it was created. With respect to M. Cabet, whose articles in the *Populaire* gave rise to these unpleasant occurrences, the chamber gave the leave required for his prosecution. He was accordingly tried before the court of assize, found guilty, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment; to be fined 2,000*fr.*; and to be deprived of his civil rights for two years after his liberation.

The quarrel between general Bugeaud and M. Dulong was followed by a singular scene in the chamber of deputies, two days after, which gave rise to much comment. The proposals before the chamber were, to grant pensions to the widows of general Daumesnil, governor of

the castle of Vincennes; and of general Gérard, who had distinguished himself during the "three days of July." When the vote was first taken, by the members rising who were in favour of the proposals, there was a majority of ayes; but when they deposited their balls in the ballot-box, both pensions were negatived; that to madame Daumesnil by 145 to 104; and that to madame Gérard, by 170 to 63: the presumption is, that, by open voting, both would have been carried.

The public indignation in Paris, occasioned by these events, was somewhat diverted by the intelligence received of the death of M. de Bourrienne, who had been the schoolfellow, and then the secretary, of Napoleon. In the latter capacity his name frequently occurs in this history. Unfortunately, the love of money was his prevailing passion. Defalcations and peculations, while he held the post of *chargé d'affaires* at the court of Saxony—to escape from the consequences of which he had to refund 1,000,000*fr.*—were his ruin. He attached himself to the Bourbons, after 1814; and became a deputy for the department of Yonne. In 1828, he took refuge in Belgium, to avoid his creditors; and there he wrote his well-known *Memoirs of the Emperor*. In 1830, he lost his reason; and died in a lunatic asylum at Caen, on the 7th of February, 1834.

The government was not diverted, by the occurrences out of the chambers, from proceeding with the project against public criers; which was passed, in the deputies, by a large majority, though there were 122 noes. The peers adopted it on the 16th of February. As soon as it was enforced, riots followed. It was first attempted to be carried out in the Paris Bourse, and some of the streets connected with it. The populace resisted the police, and a violent affray ensued, in which one man was killed. After several somewhat desperate encounters between the police and the mob, which continued for several days, the practice of "public crying" in the streets of the capital was effectually repressed. But the sedition broke out at Lyons, Marseilles, and St. Etienne; several officers of the police were dangerously hurt; one was assassinated: the officers, in their turn, became inflamed against the populace, and in all probability afforded grounds for the complaints of harshness and cruelty which were made against them by some of the deputies opposed to the government.

It was evident that there was, in all classes of the population of Paris, at this time, many persons so decidedly inimical to Louis-Philippe, that they were inclined to sanction the proceedings of either republicans or legitimists, when opposed to the government. This feeling was not only manifested in the public journals and the public meetings, but extended, in some cases, to the jury-box. On the 15th of February, while the bill against public criers was before the peers, the count de Kergolay was

tried before the court of assize, at Paris, for refusing to vote as an elector, because he would be obliged to take an oath to Louis-Philippe; which he described, in a letter to the president of the electoral college, as "an oath contrary to the fundamental law of the country, and the will of the nation." He also avowed, in the same letter, his fidelity to Henry V., and protested against "the royalty of August 7." M. Dieude, responsible editor of the *Quotidienne*, was tried at the same time, for inserting the letter of count de Kergolay in his journal; and also for publishing an account of a visit of deputations to the duke de Bordeaux, at Prague, on his birthday, when addresses were presented to him, in which he was styled king of France. These were certainly gross offences against the existing government; but the jury acquitted both the accused. Louis-Philippe's ministers, however, evinced no hesitation or timidity at this time. They determined to persevere in their policy of "resistance:" and, having carried their project against "public criers," a few days after its promulgation, on the 25th of February, the minister of the interior presented to the deputies a project against associations.

The criminal code, as already observed, prohibited the formation of associations, consisting of more than twenty persons, without the authority of the government. The proposals of the minister were—1st. That no society should be formed, however small its number, without the previous sanction of the government. 2. That the punishment for violations of the law should be increased, and the penalties extended to the members of all clubs and societies—the officers only being punishable under the code. 3. That infractions of the law should be tried, if they amounted to treason, by the chamber of peers; if to sedition, by the law-courts; but if only to misdemeanour and an infraction of police regulations, by the prefect of police, without the intervention of a jury. Such a law could only be justified by stern necessity; and it ought to have been a temporary enactment. The party of the "left" denounced it as a violation of the first rights of society, and as infringing every principle of liberty. One of the speakers on that side of the chamber contended, that "the right of association had its foundation in christianity, no less than in the rights of man. What was the object of the government in depriving the people of that right? It was to liberate itself from all popular control. It would proscribe the rights of man, because they constituted a democratic power. But disturbance sprang from discontent, not association." That discontent, another speaker observed, had its origin "in the disastrous system which the ministers had hitherto pursued." And M. Garnier Pagès contended, that "by proscribing political associations, the government proscribed

all the past life of its own statesmen. It was from those societies that the king had chosen his councillors. And how were they to distinguish innocent from dangerous societies? Who was to be the umpire between them? If one Frenchman wished to unite with others, to strengthen and propagate christianity—if another was anxious to unite with his fellows to extend works of beneficence to the working and humbler classes—if a third desired to diffuse sound doctrines and acknowledged truths, those lights which sustained morality, and prepared for the future happiness of mankind—if a fourth wanted to secure for his country the independence of elections, and to expose the shameless venality and corruption of electors—he was their man—he would unite with them, despite the government and the law.”—The ministers maintained, that “the proposed law would be no infringement of the charter, in which clubs were never mentioned. The history of political clubs proved that they sowed disorder, and reaped carnage. Every right, in civilised society, required to be regulated by law. A previous licence was required for anonymous societies, formed for the purposes of beneficence; was it not reasonable, then, to require such a licence for political associations, which were the cradles of sedition, the schools of discord? The proposed law was essential to the public safety; and the apprehensions entertained as to its abuses were entirely chimerical. Government had no interest in interdicting associations for the purposes of religion, beneficence, science, or literature; it was concerned only in the putting down political associations—the strongholds of the factious, the intrenched camps of treason.” The remark of M. Garnier Pagès, that the king had chosen his councillors from the members of political societies, was aimed at the duke de Broglie and M. Guizot; the former of whom had permitted the members of the Society of Friends of the Press to meet at his house; and the latter was a prominent member of that association, which took for its title the motto, “Help thyself, and heaven will help thee.” Both ministers ably defended their conduct in connecting themselves with those associations. In the course of the debate, Alphonse de Lamartine—who had been elected a deputy, when travelling in the east, by the legitimist constituency of Bergues—first distinguished himself in the chamber, by speaking in support of the ministerial measure.

The debate was continued through fifteen days. Various amendments were proposed; two of which went to limit the duration of the law—one to five, the other to seven years. The government was successful in opposing them all; and the project was adopted, as introduced by the count d’Argout, by 246 votes to 154. It was immediately sent to the chamber of peers;

and there it was passed, after some debate, by a majority of 127 to 64. While the project was before the chambers, the societies were not quiescent. They held repeated meetings, distinguished for the numbers that attended them, and the boldness of the language of the speakers, some of whom even went so far as to address threats to the government; while at most of the meetings a resolution was passed, declaring that, if the project became law, the members of the societies would not obey it.

The passing of this law was succeeded by a ministerial crisis. While the decrees of 1806 and 1807, issued at Berlin and Milan, were in force, many vessels, belonging to merchants of the United States, had been detained and confiscated. For these losses the government of that republic had constantly demanded compensation. The question had been brought before every successive cabinet; and, at last, on the 4th of July, 1831, general H. Sebastiani concluded a treaty with the United States’ minister, by which the French government agreed to pay, as compensation, 25,000,000*f.* (£1,000,000); deducting from that sum 1,500,000*f.* (£60,000), the amount of claims for “damages” and “losses,” made by French subjects against the government at Washington. The original demand of the latter had been for 70,000,000*f.*, more than double the amount it agreed, by the treaty, to receive. When M. Humann became minister of finance, he directed his attention to this treaty, and to the means of meeting the obligation. He introduced a project of law in 1833, which he was not able to carry, from the pressure of other business; and he reintroduced it on the 10th of March, 1834, prefacing it with a long report from a committee to whom it had been referred, recommending its adoption. The project, which authorised the finance minister to pay the 25,000,000*f.*, was not very warmly discussed; but, on the 27th of March, the first article, which contained the substance and principal enactment of the measure, was negatived by a majority of seven: 176 voting against, to 169 for it. The duke de Broglie immediately resigned his office; and general Sebastiani, who had become a member of the government, as a minister without a portfolio, also withdrew.

The cabinet had to be reconstructed, although only one minister, with a portfolio, resigned; for, when the question was discussed, who should succeed M. Broglie?—it was hinted that M. Barthé and the count d’Argout had little influence in the chamber, where their assailants were much more active than their supporters. They were not unwilling to resign their offices, and the king agreed to accept their resignations. After an interregnum of four days, the necessary arrangements were made—admiral de Rigny taking the portfolio of *foreign affairs*; M. Jacob succeeded him as *minister of the marine*; M. Thiers

again took the department of the *interior*; M. Duchatel being made *minister of commerce and public works*; and M. Persil was appointed *minister of justice*, in the place of M. Barthé; the latter was nominated president of the Court of Accounts (vacated by the venerable M. de Marbois), and created a peer. Count d'Argout became governor of the bank of France. The cabinet met, for the first time, on the 5th of April; and the first subject brought before it was, the information just received of a republican insurrection at Lyons.

The riots in Lyons, in November, 1831,* were Communist and Social; the workmen—led and directed by the Society of Mutualists, composed of foremen; and by that of Ferraudians, whose members were labourers or journeymen—abjuring politics. When those riots were put down, the workmen were left in a depressed condition; they had not gained the advanced wages they demanded; many of them had lost friends or relatives; most of them had suffered in their worldly goods; and no wonder that a feeling of irritation was rife amongst them. This feeling the republican anarchists sought to enlist in their behalf, and direct to their purposes; and that in connection with movements abroad, as well as at home. We have already stated, that the revolutionists of France had their agents and correspondents in most other countries of the continent. They were spread all over Germany, Poland, and Italy; and the discontent they excited in the former country, broke out into open violence at Frankfort, on the 3rd of April, 1833. The students headed the outbreak, in the course of which the rioters or insurgents captured the guard-house, and liberated the persons confined there for political offences. Before the rising was quelled, there was a severe conflict between the people and the military, in which five soldiers were killed, and twenty wounded. The loss on the part of the students and populace was greater; but the exact number of killed and wounded was never ascertained. The diet, in consequence of this outrage, on the 13th, passed a series of resolutions, by which additional restrictions were imposed on the press; the different states of the German confederation were bound to aid each other to put down internal revolt; political meetings were prohibited; the diet of each state was to assess upon the inhabitants in general the losses caused by revolutionary outbreaks; and if any state resisted the federal laws, the whole strength of the confederation was to be brought against it.

About this time we first begin to hear of the now sufficiently notorious Giuseppe Mazzini. A native of Genoa, he was bred to the law, which he soon deserted for politics. Previous to 1830, in connection with some gentlemen of Genoa, he established a literary journal in that city, which

* See *ante*, p. 451.

had a very short career, being suppressed by the authorities. In 1830, he joined the *Carbonari*; but was soon denounced to the police, arrested, and, after six months' imprisonment, was released, as he undertook to leave Italy. He went to Marseilles, where he established a paper called *Young Italy*, and founded a society in connection with it. In his paper, and through the agency of the society, he propagated that idea, of which he has since been the constant supporter, that "the freedom of Italy, both from foreign and domestic tyranny, can only be attained by a union of all the separate states into one nation. Romans, Piedmontese, Tuscans, Neapolitans, Lombards, Venetians—all must merge their separate interests in the one common name of Italians; and, under this name, form a single and powerful European nation." After some months employed in organising his plans, a conspiracy was formed, having Genoa for its centre, and which spread through all Italy. The aid of a number of Poles, who had fled from their country to France after the suppression of the revolution at Warsaw, in 1831, was secured. They had been obliged to leave France, and had gone to Switzerland. Austria and Prussia demanded that the federal government should also expel them from its territory; but, before the authorities of Berne came to any determination, whether to comply with or resist this demand, the intelligence of a conspiracy in Piedmont reached Switzerland; and many of the Polish refugees, joined by Italians who had been obliged to leave their own country, made their way, through Savoy, to the seat of the contemplated outbreak. Mazzini himself went to Switzerland, and the outbreak was to have taken place in 1833. "Savoy was to be entered in arms: a movement excited in that quarter, was destined, on the one side, to pass the Alps, and raise Italy; and, on the other, to cross the frontier and spread through France. General Ramorino, who had acquired some fame in Poland, was to assume the military command. In 1833, for good reasons, or under doubtful pretexts, the general departed, returned, hesitated, and delayed. The project was adjourned. On the passionate remonstrances of Mazzini, it was resumed towards the end of January, 1834. It was then arranged amongst the conspirators, that, at the moment when the expedition began its march, the operatives of Lyons should demand an increase of wages, suspend labour in all workshops if the demand should be refused, and thus deliver over to the movement an idle, irritated, and suffering population."†

The two movements took place in February. An insurrection broke out in Savoy; and the Lyonnese workmen, under the direction of the Mutualists—who were in correspondence with Mazzini and his friends—by a majority of 1,297

† *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

to 1,044, resolved to strike for higher wages than the masters, who wanted a reduction, chose to give. The minority held out at first; but were compelled, by the violence and intimidation practised towards them, soon to join the "turn-out." The Italian insurrection, undertaken without any prospect of efficient support, notwithstanding the widely-spread conspiracy which Mazzini had undoubtedly organised, was soon put down; and the insurgents dispersed themselves about France and Switzerland; some coming to England. Thus the Lyons workmen were left to themselves; and, by the end of February, the looms of that city were again in motion; but that more was expected of them is evident from an intercepted letter of one of their leaders. "They refuse to work," he says, "and are unwilling to commence. They say the first step belongs to the republicans. They deceive themselves. At all events, necessity will force them, in a few days, where they should already have been led by patriotism and duty. The groups we have formed sing the *Marseillaise*, in the Place des Terreaux. They have just been reassembled in the streets adjoining the square of the Hôtel-de-Ville. They will finish before long."

March, however, passed over without any other manifestation than a murmuring discontent, fed by the articles in the three papers of Lyons—the *Gleaner*, the *Precursor*, and the *Echo of the Manufactory*—all described as republican, declared enemies of the monarchy of 1830, and anxious for its overthrow. The secret societies (with which those of the workmen, after February, became amalgamated) were also very active. The *Carbonari* had its "invisible committee" at Lyons—a central committee of the Society of the Rights of Man also sitting there, to direct the movements in the city and neighbourhood; whilst Godfrey Cavaignac, Garnier Pagès, and others, came occasionally from Paris, their object being to create and keep alive a desire for revolution. On the 5th of April, the first *émeute* took place, on the appearance, before the tribunal, of some of the leaders of the workmen, who had been arrested on a charge of sedition and combination. A large crowd assembled, who insulted and ill-treated a witness and the king's attorney, M. Chegaray. The president of the court summoned the military. A small party arrived, from whom the workmen took their weapons, experiencing but little resistance; and the president, in terror, adjourned the court and the proceedings till the 9th, to the great exultation of the crowd, who considered they had gained a triumph over the law.

The 6th and 7th appear to have passed over without any tumultuous manifestations. But, in the interval between the 5th of April and the 9th, the committee of the Society of the Rights of Man made their arrangements. They resolved, that a rising should take place on the 9th; and

"that hostilities should commence at eleven o'clock, after the judges had opened the session. As to the plan of operations, a first line of barricades was to be commenced at once in every quarter of the city: the approaches to these were to be defended by firing from the windows and roofs; and during that time a second line, better fortified, and more difficult to carry, was to be formed, offering a fresh obstacle to the soldiers, in case they should succeed in carrying the first. The insurgents were well supplied with powder, obtained by smuggling from Switzerland; bullets were not wanting; but muskets were scarce. Members of the society were instructed to traverse the neighbouring townships, and to disarm the national guard. The insurgents were divided into sections; and to each a post was assigned."* General Aymard, who commanded the military, aware that something was contemplated, but not knowing what, stationed his force in different parts of the city, so as to command all those quarters where the workmen most congregated; and the various divisions had strict orders to keep up a constant communication with each other.

On the 9th, the correctional tribunal met, and proceeded with the trial which had been postponed from the 5th; and the military took up the positions assigned to them. At half-past eleven, a great many workmen assembled in St. John's-square; to whom a proclamation was read, in which the recent appointments of the king—especially that of M. Persil to be minister of justice; and the nomination of M. Barthé to be a peer of France—were severely condemned; the first being stigmatised as a "renegade;" the second as a "purveyor for the scaffold." The law against associations was also censured: "by abolishing them," said the authors of the proclamation, "they seek to prevent the working classes from maintaining themselves in necessity and sickness; above all, from attempting to help each other in ameliorating their wretched lot." At the close, the workmen were thus addressed:—"Labourers, soldiers, all you children of heroic France, will you submit to the evils with which you are menaced? Will you consent to bow your necks under the yoke of infamy prepared for your country? No. It is French blood that flows in your veins; they are French hearts that beat in your bosoms; you cannot, therefore, become assimilated to vile slaves. You will all understand each other to save France, and to restore to her the just title of the first of nations."

As soon as this proclamation had been read, barricades were thrown up at the different angles of the square; at the same moment a general insurrection took place throughout the whole city. The prefect immediately apprised general Buchet, who commanded the troops nearest the

* *Narrative of the Insurrection in Lyons, in April, 1834; by an Eye-witness: written in May, 1834; but first published in Guizot's Memoirs of my Own Time.*

square, and ordered him to attack the barricades. This was done with success, the insurgents being put to flight. Fighting continued in almost every part of the city during the day; and while it was going on, the tocsin was sounded from the steeple by the insurgents; and republican proclamations were distributed, the substance of which was, that Louis-Philippe had forfeited the crown, and that Lucien Bonaparte was appointed consul. For five days the contest was continued; during which time bulletins, dated the 21st, 22nd, &c., of Germinal, and the 42nd year of the republic, were circulated amongst the insurgents, conveying intelligence of the progress made for or against them. They were about 3,000 in number; all of them evinced the most determined courage; and, like the men of Paris during the "three days of July," they generally abstained from pillage. The troops under general Aymard, with reinforcements received during the five days, amounted to 8,000 men; and they evinced the best spirit throughout. Street-fighting is the most dangerous a soldier can engage in, but not a man appears to have shrunk from danger; and during the five days there were many spirited encounters, in which both insurgents and troops displayed a daring and heroic valour; the former being at last overcome by numbers, and the great disparity of arms. They maintained themselves in Croix-Rousse, and several other quarters, till the 13th; and in the night between the 13th and the 14th, they made a general retreat, their loss in killed and wounded being about 500. The Hôtel-Dieu received 150 of the latter. The troops lost twenty-four killed, and 298 wounded. A great many of the public and private buildings in Lyons and the suburbs were damaged by cannon-balls and musket-shot, and some entirely destroyed; but the gross damage was not so great as might have been expected. Still, it was long before the city recovered from the effects of the outbreak, which destroyed all confidence between the employer and the employed; and a considerable period elapsed before it was renewed; although it appeared, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants of Lyons, when the prisoners, wounded, &c., were examined, that scarcely one-tenth belonged to the workmen engaged in the silk manufactories; there were six strangers for one Lyonnese. While masters and men were thus alienated from each other, a strong bond of union was formed between the higher classes, the tradesmen, the authorities, and the military. "Orders of the day" from the authorities, and votes of thanks from the principal citizens, expressed the gratitude felt to the troops; and on the 15th, all fighting having ceased, the mayor of the city issued a proclamation to the inhabitants; in which he said:—

"You have seen, my dear fellow-citizens, that

the men who for a long time have meditated the subversion of the government of July, have not recoiled before the consequences of their chimerical projects. While organising civil war, they applied themselves to mislead, by false theories, a population until then peaceable and industrious; and preluded this civil war by a compulsory suspension of labour, by menaces, and by violating the sanctuary of justice. Why is it that, until this day, our efforts have been unable to conjure down the storm? Because the voice of authority, usually so well understood by the Lyonnese, has been stifled by political passions. Vanquished in the bosom of the capital, by the events of June [1832], the factious spirits of all the provinces have selected Lyons as their rallying-point. Here, as in Paris, their criminal attempts have failed. The triumph of the friends of law and order has never been for a moment doubtful; and the struggle would have been short, if the duty of husbanding the blood of our defenders had not necessitated the employment of artillery. For the second time our unfortunate city has become the theatre of sanguinary encounters; and the sad experience we have lately endured will teach a great future lesson to us and to all France. Let the population resume confidence. Let all renew the course of their ordinary avocations. We rely on the good feeling of our fellow-citizens to hasten the return of peace and order."

That the leaders of the insurrection had organised civil war is evident; for simultaneous efforts were made at Vaise (where an armed man, at the head of sixty armed followers, told the mayor and the affrighted inhabitants, that "the dispute was not about a penny-a-yard wages, but on the great question between Louis-Philippe and a republic"), Oullins, and some other towns in the neighbourhood of the city, and in numerous places at a distance. In the neighbouring districts it had no success; it found there sometimes weakness, but never sympathy. Unfortunately, this was not the case everywhere; in a certain number of towns the associates of the Rights of Man endeavoured to support their friends at Lyons; and thus made manifest the extreme danger which a momentary reverse there might have produced. "At Avignon, at Nismes, and at Marseilles, a smothered and menacing agitation announced a terrible explosion." The mail was intercepted for three days; and, if it "had been delayed a single day longer, public tranquillity would have been dangerously compromised. At Clermont, Grenoble, Chalons, Luneville, Auxerre, and Vienne, tumults, or attempted tumults, presaged more extensive risings. The movement even passed the frontier; and Ferney felt the rebound of Lyons. At Arbois, the republic was formally proclaimed. Finally, at Paris, and at Etienne, scenes of blood concluded the mournful drama in which Lyons

assumed the leading character, and in which every town in France seemed ready to take a part.* At St. Etienne, the struggle was desperate. There was only a very small armed force there, stationed at the manufactory of arms. They defended it with determined bravery: had it been taken—though it would have had no effect on the general movement—the consequences, in all probability, would have been disastrous to the town.

As intelligence of the outbreak at Lyons reached Paris, of course it caused great agitation amongst the people, and increased the cares of the ministers. The republican societies in Paris were prepared to second their friends in the country, upon the first dawn of success. M. de Kersausie, a gentleman of Brittany (who had been fifteen years in the army, and was nephew, by his mother's side, to La Tour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France), had become, according to M. Guizot, "an ultra-democrat, a republican, a member of the central committee of the Society of the Rights of Man, and a despiser of all hesitation." He had organised 1,200 men, into what he called the Society of Action; and they were ready, implicitly, to follow his directions. After the first day's insurrection, the *Tribune* announced the successes of the republicans; stating, that "the troops had become gradually disheartened; and the general had applied for a truce of twelve hours." These statements were denied in the ministerial papers, and in the chambers; but the public were inclined to believe them. To check, if he could not entirely prevent, the circulation of falsehoods, M. Thiers ordered the arrest of the known leaders of the Society of the Rights of Man; only Godfrey Cavaignac and Kersausie escaping: the latter was captured the next day. The society appointed a second committee, the members of which were also arrested; and seals were affixed to the presses of the *Tribune*. If the insurrection continued, MM. Guizot and Thiers had agreed, that one of them, accompanied by the duke d'Orleans, would repair to the army in the south; whilst the other would remain at Paris, to watch over the king, and the general cares of the government. The receipt, on the 13th of April, of a telegraphic message, announcing that "Lyons was delivered; that the suburbs were taken; that communications were everywhere restored; and that the mails had recommenced running," rendered this step unnecessary. This information was published in the *Moniteur*, at 2 P.M. the same day, with the addition that Paris was tranquil, though "the accomplices and instigators of the Lyonnese anarchists meditated sinister projects. A great many were arrested. Authority was on the alert, and would put them down with energy. It was the duty of the government to warn the madmen who might be disposed to promote disorder, that considerable

forces were ready, and that repression would be as prompt as decisive."

The capital, however, was not to escape without an *émeute*. About 5 P.M. on the 13th of April, the word appears to have been passed amongst the republicans, "to act;" for barricades were simultaneously thrown up in the streets of the densely inhabited faubourgs, on both sides of the Seine; while cries of "Long live the Lyonnese!" "Long live the Republic!" resounded amongst the people employed in their erection. As M. Baillot, a young officer of the national guard, was carrying an order to the *maire* of the 12th division, he was shot dead. M. Chapuis, colonel of the 4th legion, and several officers, when reconnoitring the barricades, were fired at, and severely wounded. These acts showed the desperate character of the insurgents. They were not very numerous; and closely pressed on all sides by the troops of the line and the national guard, they concentrated in the cloister of St. Méri, where they made their stand in the previous June. M. Thiers accompanied general Bugeaud to reconnoitre the position during the night. Several persons who were with them were shot; and it was impossible to discover who fired the guns. When the attack was made the next morning, the insurgents fled "into narrow and winding streets, and there, lying in ambush behind their barricades, they fired without being seen, and escaped without being seized." In the Rue Transnonain, a captain was wounded; he was placed on a barrow; and his soldiers were conveying him away, when several shots were discharged from a house, one of which killed him. The soldiers immediately broke into the house, and massacred every one they found there—a circumstance which the commander of their brigade, general Lascours, was called upon to explain in the chamber of peers. The contest was soon over; the ministers were enabled to announce to the public, and to the chambers, that in Paris, as in Lyons, the insurrection was put down. The peers and deputies immediately suspended their sitting, and went in a body to the king, to congratulate his majesty that anarchy was suppressed.†

The next day, the 15th of April, the chamber of peers was required, by a royal decree, to sit as a court of justice (in compliance with an article of the charter) upon the parties engaged in the treasonable transactions. The same day, the minister of the interior introduced a project of law, to regulate the conditions under which arms and munitions of war might be held; and to define the penalties to which those persons would be exposed who held them contrary to those conditions; or who, when allowed to possess arms, made an improper use of them. This project passed through its various stages with little opposition, either in the peers or deputies; its necessity had become too obvious. The

* Narrative of an Eye-witness.

† Guizot.

legislature, however, was not disposed to let the ministerial measures pass without being narrowly examined. The budget for 1835, in particular, caused many long and animated debates. Introduced by M. Humann early in the year, it did not finally pass till just before the session closed. The sum demanded for the expenditure was, 1,063,669,937f. (£42,546,797); of which sum, 238,414,486f. (£8,556,579) were appropriated to maintain an army of 316,409 men, and 65,445 horses, with a reserve of 25,370 men. The navy estimates amounted to 66,215,917f. (£2,648,636).^{*} Of the naval and military expenditure, a large sum was appropriated to the armaments required for Algiers; and M. Passy, who was chairman of the committee to which the budget of the minister of war was referred, strongly recommended the abandonment of that conquest, which, he said, could not be maintained with an army of less than 25,000 men, which cost France 30,000,000f. per annum, whilst the revenues derived from the territories were not much more than 1,000,000f. He was supported by several other members; but their ideas were not popular in the chamber, which sanctioned this part of the expenditure, with the exception of one item, which was reduced from 400,000f. to 150,000f. The gross sum required for military purposes was reduced by 15,000,000f. The minister also asked for 1,000,000f. (£40,000), for the relief of the Lyonnese, who had suffered most from the rebellion; and for 400,000f. (£16,000), to defray the expenses of celebrating the "three days of July." The chamber refused the first sum entirely, and reduced the latter one-half. The revenue was estimated to produce 1,051,880,927f. (£42,074,237); not equal to the expenditure: and several charges standing over from the preceding year, increased the deficiency to nearly 75,000,000f. (£3,000,000). This deficiency M. Humann proposed to supply, not by increased taxation, but by a loan.

In the session of 1834, the question of free trade, or protection, was warmly debated in the French legislature. All the producers and manufacturers, with the exception of the vine-growers, were protectionists; whilst the latter class and the merchants, though not favourable to entire freedom of trade, were very anxious that the highly restrictive and prohibitive system which prevailed in France should be relaxed. The merchants complained that all their operations were cramped, and confined within narrow limits, because they could not take those commodities which other nations were enabled to export, in exchange for the manufactures and products of France. The vine-growers wanted access to the markets of Europe, and particularly to those of England, from which they were excluded; whilst the sale for their produce at home did not give them re-

munerative prices. When M. Thiers was minister of commerce, he proposed several innovations upon the prohibitive system; and M. Duchatel, his successor in that office, was equally disposed to liberate trade from some of its shackles. The deputies, however, did not adopt the proposal to reduce duties which was submitted to them; but they authorised the ministers, where they thought it expedient, to substitute import duties for absolute prohibition. In consequence, three *ordonnances* were issued, signed by M. Duchatel; the first of which removed the prohibition from English fine twists, Cashmere shawls, unprinted silk handkerchiefs, wax, and some other articles, the importation of which was permitted on the payment of high duties. The second allowed the importation of East India produce from English ports. The third lowered the duties on woollen and linen goods. The duties on cotton goods, iron, coal, and sugar, remained at the former high rates.—Another important law was passed in 1834, relating to the *majorats*, or incomes, which, when Napoleon reorganised the peerage, were attached to the possessors of titles—the minimum amount being 6,000f., or £240 per annum. This session, a project was introduced into the chamber of deputies, to abolish the *majorats*; and to prohibit the holder of a title from making any exclusive provision for the successor to his honours—who should only share his possessions with his other children. The project was popular with the deputies, who adopted it. The peers were very much disposed to have rejected it entirely; they did so far alter it, as to preserve all existing *majorats*, only prohibiting the formation of new ones; and, with that amendment, when put to the vote, there were sixty-one ayes to fifty-seven noes—only four majority.

The session closed on the 24th of May. Four days before, death had removed a very formidable enemy from the path of Louis-Philippe. M. Lafayette expired at his house in the Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris, on the 20th, surrounded by his friends, of whom he had a great many. He was in his 77th year; and few persons had led a more active life. He married the daughter of the duke de Noailles, at the age of seventeen; and three years after, he went to America, and took part in the war of independence, raising and equipping a body of men at his own expense. After he returned to France, he sided, from the first, with the friends of the revolution, though he never gave any countenance to their excesses; and he remained true to his principles, even during the *furor* which, for a time, prevailed in favour of the first emperor. Subsequently to his retirement from the command of the national guard, he had confined himself to domestic life; though, that his advice was not wanting to those who were desirous of procuring more liberty for France, was proved by papers seized at Lyons

^{*} *Annuaire Histoire.*

and other places; amongst which were found letters from the veteran, giving both counsel and encouragement to the republican agitators. In his last days, also, he took an interest in the trial of twenty members of the Society of the Rights of Man, who were indicted before the tribunal of the correctional police, for exciting the workmen to form combinations. The trial commenced on the 29th of April, and extended into May; ending in the conviction of eight of the prisoners, and the acquittal of the others. The convicted were sentenced—three to be imprisoned for three years; one for six months; and four for two months. A few days after the sentence was pronounced, Lafayette was no more. His death was considered a national calamity; and the citizens of Paris gave him a magnificent funeral, on the 22nd of May. An immense assemblage attended his obsequies. His pall was borne by the French general, Fabvier; the Polish general, Ostrowski; the *chargé d'affaires* of the United States, an elector of Meaux, M. Odillon Barrot, and M. E. Salveste. This selection was made, that those nations and interests with which he had been intimately connected, might be represented at his funeral. The corpse was interred at the cemetery of Piepus, on the Boulevards, by the side of that of the marchioness. Being a private burying-ground, no orations were permitted to be delivered over the grave; and, the funereal ceremonies ended, the crowd quietly dispersed.

On the 25th of May, an *ordonnance* appeared, dissolving the chamber of deputies, and summoning the electoral colleges for the 21st of June, to proceed with the new elections. The result was considered, at the time, favourable to the ministry—the opposition losing nearly one-third of its strength. More than one-half of the deputies returned to the new chamber, were classed in the *Moniteur* as decided ministerialists; and the number of the *tiers parti*—generally favourable to the government rather than to the opposition—was also increased. M. Thiers came forward for one of the arrondissements of the capital, and was returned, in opposition to M. E. Salveste, its former representative. M. Lafitte, also, was defeated in Paris, but was returned by one of the departmental colleges. There were fewer legitimists elected than had seats in the former chamber; not more than fifteen members of that party being returned to the new one. For the time, therefore, the ministers appeared to have nothing to apprehend, though public discontent was far from being allayed. And there was room for discontent, for the condition of France certainly was not improved by the recent revolution; whilst the army had been doubled, and the general expenses of the government were one-third more than they were under Charles X. In many parts of France the workmen had been

reduced to great penury, and that exposed them to the seductive machinations of those who were desirous of making Louis-Philippe follow Charles X., in order that a republic might be established on the ruins of the monarchy. The press had been subjected to prosecutions, much more numerous, and punishments more severe, than those with which it had been visited under the elder branch of the Bourbons; and in almost every prison in the kingdom, persons were incarcerated for political offences. Small as was the number of voters, compared to the population, corruption was said to prevail amongst them to a great extent; and personal liberty was repressed by the numerous soldiers and national guards which patrolled the streets of every large town. These unpleasant social features were accompanied by increased taxes, and a great depression in trade; and whilst the opponents of the government attributed all to the unnational policy of the king and his ministers, the latter ascribed the increase of the army, and of course of the expenditure—and the stagnation which appeared to repress industry, and bring privation and poverty to the workmen, as well as to many of their employers—to the continued agitation which the republican party kept up, and to the riots and insurrections of which that party was the cause. When the elections closed, early in July, however, the republicans appeared to be paralysed by the suppression of the insurrections at Lyons and Paris; the legitimists were equally disheartened by the failure of the insurrection in the west, and the subsequent *exposé* with respect to the duchess de Berri. A strong, a prudent, a wise, and an honest government, might, therefore, by patriotic and truly constitutional measures, have permanently established the Orleans family on the throne.

The ministry, however, was divided amongst themselves; and marshal Soult, their head, was at variance both with his sovereign and with his colleagues. He differed with the latter on the question of the army, which they considered he wanted to increase beyond reasonable bounds; and with the king with respect to the government of Algiers. That conquered country had hitherto been governed by military men—generals Clausel, Berthezène, the duke of Rovigo, and Voirol, having succeeded each other. In 1833, a commission of military and naval officers had proceeded to Algiers, to make a thorough survey of the French dominions there. On their return, another commission, at the head of which was the duke Decazes, had examined all the facts collected by the first body; and had drawn up an elaborate report, founded upon the information thus obtained. The impression produced was, that the military government of Algiers was a very bad one; that, in the words of M. Guizot, it was “the most infected with abuses it was impossible to forestal;” and that it was requisite, “immediate measures should be

adopted, to substitute a civic chief for the generals, and a legislator to supersede the conqueror." The king desired to send out a civilian as the next governor; marshal Soult resisted his sovereign's wish, and maintained, that a soldier alone was competent to govern such a country. His majesty was at a loss how to act, for he did not wish to part with Soult, who was, generally, rather too much in the habit of complying with all his sovereign's wishes. The marshal's colleagues, however, were very anxious that he should be dismissed or retire, as "the occasion seemed to them favourable for ridding themselves of a president who had become more troublesome than useful, and whom they endured as impatiently in the cabinet"—into which he appears to have carried his military habit of command—"as they found it difficult to support him in the chamber." Before the question was settled, the king, on the 8th of July, left Paris for the Château d'Eu. M. Guizot accompanied his majesty, commissioned, by his colleagues, to induce the king to allow Soult to retire; Thiers being, in the meantime, employed in persuading marshal Gérard to accept the office, which would, in that case, be vacated. The intrigue succeeded. Louis-Philippe returned to Paris on the 13th of July, to preside at the distribution of prizes given at the close of the exhibition of manufactures, which had taken place that year at Paris; and, on the 18th, it was announced, that marshal Soult had resigned his offices of president of the council and minister of foreign affairs, which were conferred on marshal Gérard. The colleagues of the marshal appear subsequently to have repented of the share they had taken in this transaction. "It was an error, and a double error, on our part," writes M. Guizot.* "We were wrong in insisting upon a civil governor for Algeria; that day was far from having arrived. We were wrong in seizing that opportunity of breaking with marshal Soult, and of driving him from the cabinet. He caused us parliamentary embarrassments and personal annoyances; but he never opposed, and often essentially served, our general policy." * * * "The retirement of the duke de Broglie had already weakened the cabinet; that of the duke of Dalmatia aggravated the evil; and we soon discovered, that the door by which he went out, remained an open breach for the enemy we contended with."

As the charter required that a new chamber of deputies should assemble within three months after its election, a second session for 1834 was opened on the 31st of July; not to transact business, but merely to comply with the requirements of the law. The king met the assembled mem-

bers, as usual, and delivered a speech, prepared for him by M. Guizot; in which everything was made to appear in the brightest colours. His majesty said—"He met the peers and deputies with the most lively satisfaction, feeling happy at seeing them around him at a moment when the national suffrage had manifested itself with so much *éclat*." The way in which that suffrage had been exercised, "had consecrated that liberal and moderate policy which, in previous sessions, the chamber had so loyally maintained. France now wanted repose, under the guidance of those tutelar institutions which her wisdom and courage had preserved untainted. Wherever any criminal attempts had raised a deplorable struggle, the national cause had triumphed." * * * "They were now gathering the fruits. Industry and commerce increased in activity. He had viewed with happiness the results of that activity in the great exhibition, which had shown how many triumphs were assured to them—how many hopes they were justified in conceiving." After expressing a hope that the increasing prosperity of the country would allow them to provide for the public expenditure out of the ordinary resources of the kingdom, his majesty noticed the relations of France with other powers, upon the state of which he had to congratulate himself: "with the king of Great Britain, the queen of Portugal, and the queen of Spain, he had entered into a treaty, which had already produced the most salutary influence towards the re-establishment of peace in the Peninsula;" * * * "the state of the east was tranquillising; and everything promised that the peace of Europe would not be disturbed."

When the election of president took place, the votes were distributed amongst five candidates—MM. Dupin, Lafitte, Royer-Collard, Bignon, and Odillon Barrot. The first was the ministerial candidate, and received 247 votes, including all those of the *tiers parti*; the second, the candidate of the "left," had thirty-three; the third, supported by the legitimists and a few royalists, found twenty-four supporters; whilst the fourth, who was a Napoleonist, had four; and the fifth, who represented the "extreme left," only three. The whole number of votes given was 311. The president took possession of the chair—some days being spent in verifying the returns of the members—on the 9th of August. He made a brief speech on that occasion, in which he chiefly dwelt upon the necessity of economy. "The financial condition of the country," he said, "must occupy their minds beyond any other matter. Vainly had the chamber declared, in three successive addresses, that it was necessary to labour, without rest, to place the expenses in equilibrium with the revenue; and to confine the ministers rigidly within the allocations of the budget. The contrary had always happened; the expenses had continued, more and more, to

* We have abridged the account of this "ministerial crisis," from Guizot's *Memoirs of my Own Time*; as he appears to be the best authority on the subject.

overbalance the receipts; and the limits of the legislative credits had been constantly exceeded. Nevertheless," he continued, "the chamber held the initiative in taxation: it fixed the amount of taxation with which the country ought to be burdened; and it ought not to allow the hand to be forced after the blow, by the tardy allegation that it must pay what, in spite of itself, had been once expended. If the existing legislation was insufficient to parry this abuse, a more effectual remedy must be looked for. Assuredly the chamber ought to direct its most serious attention to that point, on pain of seeing the sovereignty annulled which belonged to it, in the matter of subsidies; and of falling, in the eyes of the nation, from the rank it occupied, and ought to maintain, in the constitution."

This speech was indicative of the course which the *tiers parti* would take in future. The members of that party did not conceal their opinion, that, with peace abroad, and insurrection put down at home, the army ought to be reduced, and other savings made in the war department. The extravagance of marshal Soult was complained of; he was in the habit of incurring expenses, quite heedless of the voice of the chamber; and this caused a general feeling of satisfaction to prevail at his retirement.

The address, in reply to the royal speech, was drawn up by M. Etienne, a member of the *tiers parti*. It certainly was not ministerial. It took very much the tone of M. Dupin's speech. "The cabinet and the policy of resistance were not attacked; but still less were they supported: congratulations were lavished on the victories which restored order; but care was taken not to side with the victors, and to leave glimpses of desire for another standard."* It also declared, that it "was absolutely necessary to establish an equal balance in the finances of the state." It was thought that the ministers would have divided the chamber on several paragraphs in this address; but, for some reason or other, though they pointed out defects and objectionable passages, they passed these over, and accepted it in its original form. The members of the "left," and the *tiers parti*, immediately proclaimed that "the cabinet had received a heavy check." There was, however, no opportunity of seeing the effect at that time, as no other business was brought before the legislature; and the chambers were prorogued, on the 16th of August, to the 29th of December.

The chambers prorogued, the question of an amnesty to political offenders came before the cabinet, and was earnestly and ardently taken up by the public. By the charter, the chamber of peers was authorised "to take cognizance of high treason, and of all attempts that threatened the security of the state;" and, in exercise of the judicial functions, was empowered to sit during

* M. Guizot.

† *Memoirs of my Own Time.*

the prorogation of the deputies. When the legislative session closed, therefore, the peers constituted themselves into a criminal tribunal, and appointed a certain number of their members a committee, to inquire into the origin and character of those disturbances which had agitated so many parts of the country. Thus, in the first instance, the peers acted rather as *juges d'instruction*, conducting a most important inquiry, than as a supreme tribunal. The inquiry was likely to extend over a considerable space of time, as it embraced, not only the facts of actual riot or sedition, but the existence and constitution of societies, and the character of public journals, with the tendency of their leading articles; and that, not only in Paris, but all over the kingdom. There were several hundred persons in various prisons, waiting the result of this inquiry, though many, arrested with them at the time of the insurrections, had been discharged. It was soon after the appointment of the peers' committee, and before it had proceeded far with the inquiry, that a general amnesty for all the incarcerated republicans began to be talked about. It does not appear in what quarter the idea first originated; but it very soon acquired form and consistency, being earnestly pressed upon the government by many friends of the accused; and as earnestly advocated by all the journals attached to the opposition. Marshal Gérard—who is described as being "brave and resolute in the field of battle," but "singularly timid and wavering in the arena of politics"—took up this question in the cabinet very warmly; supporting the proposed amnesty, which was opposed by the king, and by nearly all his colleagues; MM. Thiers and Guizot especially. Those ministers "looked upon the substitution of a pardon and oblivion of offences, for a prosecution and punishment of them, as an act of senseless and improvident cowardice, which would redouble the ardour and confidence of the enemies of established order, while it would petrify both in its defenders."† The disputes in the cabinet—warmly carried on, and leading to no adjustment—were continued through September and October. On the 29th of the last month, marshal Gérard resigned. MM. Guizot and Thiers, not liking the position of the cabinet, which they considered to be "aggravated and enfeebled," also resigned on the 31st; and their example was followed by admiral de Rigny, MM. Duchatel and Humann: only admiral Jacob and M. Persil retained their offices.

The king made little opposition to the retirement of his ministers, and he sent for count Molé in the first instance. That statesman obeyed the summons of his sovereign, and reluctantly accepted the commission to "reconstruct the cabinet." As he tried rather to re-arrange and re-form the old materials, than to find new ones, he failed. Then M. Persil advised the

king to offer the principal offices to the heads of the *tiers parti*. His majesty consented, and, after a few days' delay, on the 10th of November the new ministry was announced. The duke de Bassano accepted the offices of president of the council and minister of the interior. His colleagues were general Bernard, MM. de Brenon, Charles Dupin (brother to the president of the chamber of deputies), Passy, Teste, Sauzet, and Persil. It is unnecessary to name the offices to which these men were appointed, for they scarcely entered upon them before they resigned. Their only public act was to issue an *ordonnance*, convoking the chambers to meet on the 1st, instead of the 29th of December. Unknown to the political world, the names of the new ministers, when announced, were received with shouts of derision; they were also ridiculed in the journals, and felt their situation so unpleasant, that, on the 14th, they resigned: and this short-lived administration has since been known as the "three days' ministry." The king then sent for his old advisers, and the cabinet was reconstructed, with only two new members. Marshal Mortier, duke of Treviso, became its head, as president of the council and minister of war; and admiral Duperré succeeded M. Jacob as minister of marine.

The French minister of foreign affairs, in the course of 1834, did not find many questions pressing upon him for adjustment. The dispute between Holland and Belgium had been settled by treaty; and whilst the former country restricted her intercourse with France to the mere interchange of diplomatic civilities, the government of Belgium appeared disposed to cultivate a most intimate connection with that of Louis-Philippe, and to forward French interests to the utmost extent of its power and influence. One of its acts was considered as showing, most conclusively, a species of subserviency to France, which did not tend to raise the Belgian character in the estimation of Europe. When the legislature was discussing its financial and commercial measures, it was resolved to raise the duty on linen goods imported into Belgium, from about five to ten per cent. Those linens were introduced from Germany and France—mainly from the former country. When the law was passing through the chamber, a proposition was made to exempt French linens from the increased duty; which was carried by 48 to 15.

In Spain, the war between the Carlists and the supporters of Isabella II. was carried on with fury, and great barbarity, at times, on the side of both the Carlists and the friends of the queen. In Portugal, also, Don Miguel, though compelled to abandon Lisbon, still kept his standard displayed in the interior, and refused to relinquish his claim to the throne. On the 22nd of April, a treaty was signed at London, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, Spain, and

Portugal (lord Palmerston, prince Talleyrand, the marquis de Miraflores, and Don Peter de Moraes Sarmento); the object of which was, to compel Don Carlos (who was then in Portugal) and Don Miguel to withdraw from the Portuguese dominions. For this purpose, the queen-regent of Spain (Donna Isabella being a minor) engaged to send a body of troops to Portugal, to co-operate with the army of her most faithful majesty. The king of Great Britain undertook to co-operate, by the employment of a naval force, in aid of the operations to be undertaken by the troops of Spain and Portugal. And France, if her co-operation was deemed necessary, was "to do whatever might be settled by common consent, between the king and his three august allies." An amnesty was to be proclaimed in Portugal; and incomes secured for both Don Miguel and Don Carlos, suitable to their birth and rank, if they consented to abandon their pretensions. This treaty was the prelude of Don Miguel's defeat. After some minor skirmishes between his troops and the army of the queen, he took shelter in Santarem. That town surrendered, and the pretender capitulated, on the 26th of May; and, being permitted to leave the country, he embarked, on the 31st, at Evora, for Genoa. He was to receive an annual pension, and agreed never to return to Portugal, or to attempt, in the future, to disturb either the tranquillity of that country or of Brazil.

In pursuance of the agreement between Spain and Portugal, the Spanish general Rodil had crossed the frontiers with a large and well-organised force. Don Carlos and his troops, vastly inferior in number, fell back, as Rodil advanced, upon the situation then occupied by Don Miguel, on the Tagus. The Spaniards pursued; and the advanced guard of Rodil fell in with the rear-guard of Don Carlos, and captured the entire baggage of that prince and his family. "I may venture to say, that neither Don Carlos, his wife, family, nor attendants have been able to save a single change of linen," wrote general Rodil, in the despatch sent to Madrid, announcing his success. The unfortunate pretender to the crown of Spain, with his family and a few attendants, who would not desert him—his army was entirely dispersed—joined Don Miguel at Santarem. When that prince surrendered to the duke of Terceira, Don Carlos placed himself in the hands of the latter, and was sent to Evora, with Don Miguel. General Rodil—under orders received from his government—called upon the Portuguese commander not to permit the prince to leave Portugal, without he took upon himself the same obligations as those which had been imposed on Don Miguel. The Portuguese commander intimated that he could not interfere. Application was then made to the government at Lisbon, and also to the British ambassador.

Whether the ambassador and the Portuguese authorities thought, that if Don Carlos quitted the Peninsula, the terms of the treaty of the 22nd of April would be complied with, it is impossible to say. But no restraint was laid upon him by the latter, and the former appears to have furnished the means for his departure. The same day that Don Miguel embarked for Genoa, Don Carlos embarked on board the British man-of-war *Donegal*. That vessel immediately sailed for England; and, on the 13th of June, arrived off Spithead, where a special agent from the British government went on board, for the purpose of endeavouring to persuade Don Carlos to enter into the engagements required by the Spanish government—viz., “never to return to the Peninsula to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom by his unfounded pretensions; and to fix his future residence in some country where it would occasion no uneasiness to the Spanish government.”* The prince positively refused to enter into any such stipulations: and as he had been received on board the *Donegal* as a free man, the British government felt that he could not be detained by their authority. He, therefore, was permitted to land at Portsmouth, which he did on the 18th of June. He immediately proceeded with his family to the neighbourhood of London; and having established them in a comfortable residence, he resolved—contrary to the advice of the bishop of Leon, one of the few who accompanied him—to join his adherents in the north of Spain. He left London secretly on the 1st of July; was at Paris on the 4th; at Bordeaux on the 6th; and on the 8th at Bayonne; from whence he crossed the frontier, and entered Spain before it was known that he had left the British metropolis—so well were his arrangements made, and so faithful were those persons he had to trust. It was on the 10th of July when he first showed himself amongst his adherents in Spain; and as soon as his presence in that country was known, the minister, Martinez de la Rosa, applied for aid from England and France. The former sent supplies of arms and ammunition; the latter organised a foreign legion for the service of the queen, and strongly reinforced its army on the frontier. The Spanish cortes, on the 30th of August, voted the perpetual exclusion of Don Carlos from the throne; and then began that desolating civil war, which for so many years raged in Spain.†

In November, prince Talleyrand resigned his post as ambassador for France to Great Britain. He had obtained leave of absence, and forwarded

* Statement made to the cortes, on the 7th of August, by the Spanish minister for foreign affairs.

† The wife of Don Carlos—Donna Maria Francisca de Asis, the second daughter of John, king of Portugal—after her royal husband left England, retired to Alverstoke rectory, Hampshire, where she was attacked by cold, followed by bilious fever, of which she died on

his letter of resignation from his château at Valençay. He did not take that step without hesitation; for he liked London, and the performance of his ambassadorial duties always appeared to be a pleasure rather than the reverse. The various complications in politics—the changes in parties, his own feeble health, and his advanced age (being then in his eightieth year), however, caused him to decide upon retirement. In England he had always acted cordially with earl Grey, but was never on very good terms with lord Palmerston. The conservatives came into office after his resignation was known to the two governments, but before it had been publicly announced, and his successor appointed. The duke of Wellington immediately wrote to him, and urged him to resume his appointment. He, however, declined; and general Sebastiani was named his successor. This event was “considered, particularly out of doors, as an unfavourable symptom of the state of the government. General Sebastiani had more real capacity than European reputation. As regards French policy, the change sensibly diminished good appearances and outward authority.”‡

The chambers met, as summoned by the “three days’ ministry,” on the 1st of December. There was no particular point in the king’s speech—who alluded to most of those events, at home and abroad, which have been mentioned in these pages as occurring since the prorogation of the chambers; professed his continued adherence to that policy which he described as having hitherto been eminently beneficial to France; and expressed, as usual, his reliance on the support of the chambers. M. Dupin was re-elected president; but, as he was supported by the parties of the “right” and the “centre,” in opposition to that of the “left,” it was no proof of the ministerial strength. An amendment was proposed to the address; on which that strength was tested, after a discussion of even more than usual acrimony. The amendment implicated the policy of the government, which was assailed in general terms; but no specific charge, that could be readily dealt with, was made: the recent changes in the ministry were, however, dwelt upon as proofs of the want of concord and harmony amongst the statesmen to whom the executive authority was intrusted. The cabinet was also charged with subserviency to the king; and the chamber was earnestly called upon to preserve its independence. The deputies were told, by several speakers, that, “when everything reeled around them, in the midst of the sudden and unforeseen changes of the 4th of September—a little more than two months after the prince’s departure for Spain. Her funeral took place on the 16th, the corpse being interred at the foot of the altar in the Roman catholic chapel, Gosport. The bishop of Leon, at the grave, pronounced an eloquent eulogium on her character, which appears to have been truly estimable.

‡ M. Guizot.

power—when everything tottered to the ground, shaken by intrigue and ambition—it was for them to strengthen themselves on the solid basis of principle and national dignity.” They were exhorted “to be faithful to themselves and their noble independence;” in that case, “they had nothing to fear. Heretofore they had denounced, as a serious danger, the perpetual instability of men and of measures—an instability which had gone far to lessen the importance and the influence of political power. Let that be a warning to them to preserve their own firmness and independence. Never were those qualities in public men more necessary to the country, or to the royalty which they had sworn to defend, and to which they would always form a rampart and a barrier, equally against the malevolence that attacked, and the recklessness by which it was compromised.”*

The aim of the opposition was evidently to raise up in the chamber of deputies a counterpoise to the prerogative of the crown; and although neither the amnesty, nor any other measure, was directly and distinctly advocated, the supporters of the amendment made it sufficiently clear that they would, if possible, compel the ministry to abandon their policy of “resistance,” and embrace one of “concession” to the popular demands, or give place to those who would take up the latter line of action. The ministers in vain endeavoured to draw forth some definite charge against the government, or the proposal of some tangible measures upon which the opinion of the chamber might have been tested. One of the principal speakers on the “right” side was the minister of public instruction, M. Guizot. He did not, he said, “intend to discuss the terms of the address, as he did not find that its principles were seriously contested. He would not provoke a debate upon nothing.” For himself and his colleagues, he protested that “their principles were still the same; and at the moment when it should be decided that the chamber had no longer confidence in the administration, they would resign. Other men would take their places. If they succeeded, so much the better; the experiment would be complete; it would then be known what was the intention of the chamber. If it should then find itself deceived, it would acknowledge its error by restoring power to those whom it had dispossessed. They [the ministers] brought no accusation against the chamber, but they did say to the deputies—‘Do you, or do you not, give your support to the administration?’” M. Guizot alluded to the “uncertainty” which prevailed in the chamber, and extended his remarks on that subject to some length, dwelling on the necessity of the deputies giving a frank and cordial support to the king’s government, or of at once declaring that ministers did not possess

their confidence. M. Sauzet spoke to the same effect. “The chamber,” he said, “was doubtless entitled to refuse its support to the ministry; it might even prefer an accusation against them, if it found in their conduct during the past, serious grounds for suspecting them for the future. This, however, was one of those desperate remedies which were reserved for situations where no other extrication of affairs was possible. When that signal was once given, it was as much as to say the royal prerogative had been pushed to the wall, and that already the thunder of revolution was heard in the distance.” The amendment was negatived, and the original address carried by 184 votes to 107.† It appeared, therefore, that at present the chamber was not disposed to declare that it had no confidence in the king’s advisers. The address was voted in the peers with less opposition; and the government had no reason to complain of a want of support in that chamber.

Scarcely had the two chambers voted their addresses, than the peers were violently attacked in the columns of one of the Parisian journals. After the events in Lyons and Paris, in the spring, as the *Tribune* continued its republican principles, it was suppressed by the government. Its place was taken by the *National*; which walked so nearly in the footsteps of the *Tribune*, that Armand Carrel, its responsible editor, and three other parties engaged in its management, were arrested and imprisoned, between April and December. On the 10th of December, an article appeared, in which it was contended, that the chamber of peers was not competent to try the parties—who had been arrested, and were still in prison—on a charge of being connected, actively or by complicity, with the insurrections. A more violent and abusive article had seldom appeared, even in the Parisian press. It was of a character so disgraceful, that it was impossible for the peers to overlook it, with any regard for themselves. They accordingly summoned M. Rouen, who was then the conductor, to appear at the bar of the chamber; and M. Armand Carrel obtained permission to leave his prison, for the purpose of assisting in the defence of his colleague. His speech was a repetition of the offence of the *National*; and, unfortunately for the ministers, he was able to show, that one of their number—M. Thiers—had himself, before he attained his then position, assailed the peers in language only a little less violent than that complained of. In 1830, he had said of the chamber—“The peers have, evidently, no other care than to watch fortune, to see on which side she is going to incline. We must deal vigorously with all these poltroons.” The peers did not, however, think that M. Thiers’ misconduct, on a former occasion, was any excuse for, or palliation of, that of M. Rouen, whom they sentenced

* *Moniteur*, Dec. 6th, 1834.† *Moniteur*, Dec. 7th, 1834.

to two years' imprisonment, and to a fine of 10,000f. (£400).

The chambers did not enter upon any business of importance during the month of December, which closed with a long and animated debate, in the chamber of deputies, upon a motion that an amnesty should be granted to the prisoners waiting to take their trials for sedition and rebellion. Many personalities were interchanged between the various parties; and, after unavailing recrimination and abuse—in which both ministerialists and oppositionists indulged—the

motion was negatived by 209 votes to 181—a considerable falling-off from the majority on the address. On this question there was great excitement out of doors. A general feeling appeared to exist in favour of the amnesty; and one even still more general—that the prisoners should be tried by the ordinary tribunals, and not by the peers. This feeling was displayed in various ways; and the government took every precaution to prevent any popular demonstration, such as had, on previous occasions, disturbed the peace of Paris.

CHAPTER XVII.

MESSAGE OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT; VOTE FOR BUILDING A HALL OF JUSTICE; THE TOBACCO MONOPOLY; ANOTHER MINISTERIAL CHANGE; MINISTERIAL MEASURES; SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE WITH THE UNITED STATES; TRIALS OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS; FIESCHI'S ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF THE KING; ARREST OF THE ASSASSIN; FUNERAL OF THE KILLED; NEW LAW OF REPRESSION; SESSION OF 1836; ANOTHER CHANGE OF MINISTRY; TRIAL OF FIESCHI AND HIS ASSOCIATES; EXPLANATIONS OF THE PARTY LEADERS; MINISTERIAL MEASURES; FRENCH FINANCE; FOREIGN AFFAIRS; VISIT OF THE DUKES D'ORLEANS AND NEMOURS TO GERMANY; ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE LOUIS-PHILIPPE; TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE CRIMINAL; RESOLUTION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE NOT TO LEAVE HIS PALACE; ARMAND CARREL SHOT IN A DUEL; AFFAIRS OF SPAIN; CHANGE OF MINISTRY; DISPUTE WITH SWITZERLAND; LIBERATION OF THE MINISTERS OF CHARLES X.; DEATH OF THAT MONARCH.

THE new year found the ministers more occupied with the approaching trials of the political prisoners, than with any other matter. On the 7th of January, the message of the president of the United States, delivered to the congress on its opening, was received in Paris. It held out a threat to France, if she did not settle the claims which the citizens of the union had upon the government: and, when the language used by general Jackson became publicly known, it excited a great sensation in the country. The ministers, at the time, appeared to pay little attention to the subject. It led, however, to the recall of the French ambassador from Washington; and the offer of his passports to the ambassador of the United States, at Paris, Mr. Livingstone; but he did not apply for them, preferring to wait for express instructions from his government. These facts were not known at the time; and the apparent apathy of the cabinet to what the French people considered a gross insult, was much complained of. The ministers were not apathetic; but, at the time, other matters called for their attention. One of the first votes they asked for, after they met the chambers in 1835, was, for the sum of 360,000f. (£14,400), to be appropriated to the erection of a hall in which the state trials might be held. The opposition—who, if they could not obtain an amnesty, wished that the trials should take place before the ordinary tribunals—opposed the grant, as the money was to be applied for

an object of which they disapproved; and also for a temporary building, which, the purposes it was required for being answered, would be lost to the country. They proposed, that a permanent building should be erected, to be used by the peers, at all times, when sitting as a court of justice; and that the sum of 1,280,000f. (£51,200) should be voted, instead of the smaller sum asked for by the ministers. The committee to whom the matter was referred, reported in favour of the larger grant; but the ministers succeeded in throwing out the report, and in carrying their own proposal, though only by a majority of twenty-eight, the members of the *tiers parti* voting against them.—The next ministerial proposal was, to continue, for five years, the government monopoly of tobacco, which was to expire on the 1st of January, 1837. The defence for the monopoly was, that it produced a revenue of 50,000,000f. (£2,000,000), which, if lost to the government from that source, must be made up from some other, and would render new taxes necessary. The project was carried by a small majority; but the chamber subsequently agreed, by a majority of 101, to appoint a committee, to inquire into and thoroughly examine the subject, with a view to prevent another prolongation of the monopoly from being asked for. The ministers opposed the appointment of the committee; but the adoption of the motion by so large a majority, showed them that they were not so secure in

the support of the deputies as they had anticipated they would be.

It was found, also, that marshal Mortier—though he commanded great respect in his profession, being an excellent soldier—possessed few of the requisites necessary as a minister, particularly in one who was regarded as the head of the cabinet; though, in fact, since the death of Casimir-Perrier, Louis-Philippe had been, practically, his own president of the council. Early in 1835, some disorders occurring in the Polytechnic school (which was under the control and management of the war department), in order to escape from the responsibility of repressing them, and punishing the offenders, the marshal proposed the transfer of the school to the department of public instruction, which M. Guizot would not consent to. The marshal reluctantly acquiesced in this decision, which rendered him dissatisfied with his position; and, soon after, on the 20th of February, he resigned his offices; another motive which prompted him to do so, being the rivalry, in the cabinet, between M. Thiers and M. Guizot, with whose several pretensions he felt incompetent to deal. Thus another ministerial crisis ensued; for, unable at the moment to agree upon a president of the council of whom the king approved, all the members of the cabinet followed the duke of Treviso's example. His majesty—tired of what he conceived the tyranny of the *Doctrinaires*, whose maxim was, that "the king should reign, not govern"—sent for marshal Soult, summoned general Sebastiani from London, and held several conferences with M. Dupin. Some time was spent in negotiations with these statesmen, not one of whom would take upon himself the responsibility of forming a ministry. At length the chambers became impatient; and, on the 11th of March, the position of the king, without a cabinet, formed the subject of a long debate. Then his majesty agreed to make the duke de Broglie, the chief of the *Doctrinaires*, once more his president of the council, and minister for foreign affairs; marshal Maison was appointed minister of war; admiral de Rigny, who resigned the foreign office to the duke de Broglie, remained in the cabinet as a minister, without a portfolio; and admiral Duperre, MM. Duchâtel, Humann, Persil, Thiers, and Guizot, resumed the offices they had previously held under marshal Mortier.

As soon as the ministry took their places in the chamber, its dissolution and reconstruction were brought forward by the opposition, and a debate of two days ensued. The principal speakers against the ministry were MM. Mauguin, Odillon Barrot, Garnier Pagès, and Sauzet, who revived, in all its shapes, the question of the amnesty. They had anticipated such a change in the government as would have led to a change of policy, and to the discharge of the numerous prisoners. The revival of the *Doctrinaire* cabinet

disappointed them; and they gave vent to that disappointment in long and angry speeches. The duke de Broglie spoke ably in defence of the policy which the former cabinet had pursued, and which the present intended to adopt; and a large majority accepted the explanations of the president of the council with marked cordiality.

After this debate, the ministers tested their strength in the deputies, by asking for 1,200,000f. (£48,000), as secret-service money. The minister of the interior, upon introducing the vote, observed, that the country was still in a state of great general excitement; that the approaching trials called for an extraordinary display of vigilance; that extensive means were necessary to prevent the country from going through another revolution; that it had been found necessary to increase the number of the police, and enlarge their powers; that the money was absolutely necessary; and that its refusal would be considered as a declaration that the chamber had no confidence in the ministry, who would immediately resign. The opposition moved a reduction of the grant to 1,000,000f., or £40,000; but, though the *tiers parti* voted for the amendment, it was lost by a small majority. On the vote for the original sum being put, it was carried by a majority of 130. The ministers, for the time, therefore, felt themselves secure, and immediately set about an active performance of their duties. Laws, regulating the duties of municipal authorities; settling more precisely the responsibility of ministers, and other agents of power; modifying, in a way favourable to the emancipation of the slaves, the criminal legislation of the colonies; and providing for the construction and preservation of cross-roads in France (a very necessary measure), were passed. M. Duchâtel, leaving these general measures to the care and attention of his colleagues, occupied himself with introducing into the chamber a project to modify the customs' tariff. The committee to whom it was referred, recommended the maintenance of the existing legislation in all its material parts; but suggested the extension of the power of the government, during the recess, to relax those provisions of the tariff which totally excluded cotton-twist, iron, "and such other materials as were necessary in various branches of industry." Also, that high protecting duties should be substituted for entire prohibition. The discussion on this report was so extended, that no decision was come to. M. Duchâtel, during the recess, however, exercised the limited power intrusted to the government, by reducing the import duties on iron and coal.

The American question had threatened serious consequences. Irritated at the rejection, by the French chamber of deputies, of the proposal to carry into effect the treaty concluded by general Horace Sebastiani, for adjusting and settling the claims of American citizens, for

compensation for losses occasioned by the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon I.—the president of the United States, general Jackson, in his message sent to congress upon the opening of the session, December 2, 1834, introduced the passage referred to at the commencement of this chapter as being very severe and menacing against France. “Since France,” he said, “in violation of engagements undertaken by its minister resident here, has so delayed its resolutions on the subject that they cannot be communicated to this congress, I propose that a law should be passed, authorising reprisals on the property of Frenchmen, if, in the ensuing session, a law is not passed for the payment of the debt. This is not done in the view of intimidation; France is too well known to permit of such a thing being thought of; but only to demonstrate the fixed determination of the government of the United States to cause its rights to be respected. The French government, by doing what itself has recognised to be just, will spare the government of the United States the necessity of taking their redress into their own hands, and save French properties from that confiscation which the American citizens have so long suffered, without either reprisals or indemnity.” This firm language on the part of the American president, not uncalled for by the circumstances—only it should have been directed against the state, and not against individuals—was replied to in the despatch recalling the French ambassador from Washington, in firm but temperate terms. “From the high consideration in which the United States were held by the French government and people,” said the minister for foreign affairs, “an alliance with them had always been considered as an unalterable rule in the national policy of France. The king’s government would not attribute to the people, or to the government of the union, the sentiments which the president had expressed. In his message to congress, he cast a reflection upon the national honour, which they would preserve by a persistence in that policy which had always been that of the government of the king—the policy of honour and integrity.” The threatened breach between the countries was healed by the United States’ congress refusing to pass such a law as the president recommended. The French chamber, shortly after, by a majority of 289 to 137, agreed to ratify the treaty, and pay the 25,000,000*f.*, minus the sum required to satisfy claims which French citizens had against the United States.

The budget for 1836 was not brought in quite so early in the session as usual. The minister of finance estimated the expenditure at 1,001,904,935*f.* (£40,076,197), and the receipts at 994,985,987*f.* (£39,799,439); showing a deficiency of 6,918,948*f.* (£276,759). The number of troops was stated by the minister of war to be

309,000; and 230,000,000*f.* (£9,200,000) were asked for as the expenditure of the army. Various reductions were, however, made by the chamber in this estimate; amounting, in the whole, to a sum very nearly equal to the deficiency.—The discussions on the budget—and, indeed, upon most of the other subjects that came before the deputies—were, this session, frequently interrupted by the presentation of petitions calling for an alteration in the franchise; the number of electors to 32,500,000 inhabitants, being, under the existing law, not more than 180,000. This prayer was reasonable enough; but in most of the documents it was united to others, more or less objectionable—such as for the abolition of the oath of fidelity to the constitution; for universal suffrage; for the abolition of the money qualification required of the members; and for the payment of the deputies for their attendance. The party of the “left” repeatedly endeavoured to draw the attention of the chamber to these petitions, but the subject was always set aside by passing to the order of the day.

Whilst the deputies were thus attending to the duties of legislation, the peers were occupied with the proceedings preliminary to the trials of the numerous state prisoners. The committee appointed the previous year, to inquire into the origin and character of the disturbances, was now divided into two. One of these bodies examined the evidence, and drew up the act of accusation or indictment; the other inquired into the cases of the different prisoners, and determined who should be put upon trial and who discharged. Several hundred were included in the latter category. Of those who were to appear at the bar of the court, 121, from Lyons, Luneville, and Paris, it was arranged should be tried first. Those from Lyons and Luneville were brought to Paris, and lodged in the prisons of the Conciergerie and the Abbaye; the Parisians were confined in the dungeons of St. Pélagie.

After these preliminary arrangements were made, two other questions arose—1st. Had the chamber of peers a criminal jurisdiction in this case—the charter saying, that “everyman should be tried by his peers?” 2nd. What rule should be observed with respect to the defence of the prisoners? In reply to the objection raised by the friends of the prisoners against the peers’ jurisdiction, it was urged, that the charter declared the chamber of peers to have “cognizance of the crime of high treason, and of offences against the state, which shall be determined by the law.” It was replied, that no law had yet been made to define the crimes which should be included in this provision of the charter. However, the peers decided, with five dissentient voices, that they did possess the jurisdiction.—With respect to the defence of the accused, baron Pasquier, the president of the chamber, assigned members of the Parisian bar to take

charge of it; but the prisoners unanimously signed a declaration, in which they refused to consign their cause to those gentlemen; saying, that "they would not accept anything from the hands of their enemies." The gentlemen of the bar were not disposed to take up cases in the face of such a declaration from the parties interested; and those of Paris unanimously resolved not to accept any briefs for the defence, sent to them by the chamber of peers. This resolution was met by a royal *ordonnance*, issued on the 31st of March, allowing the prisoners to select any regularly admitted counsel to conduct their defence; but providing, that those gentlemen who had the privilege of pleading in the Cour-Royale of Paris, should alone be called upon by the court of peers to act, in cases in which the prisoners did not retain counsel in their own behalf. The council of discipline of the Parisian bar (of which M. Philip Dupin was the president), met the day that this *ordonnance* appeared, and passed resolutions, to the effect that it was illegal; that advocates could not be compelled to plead before an exceptionable tribunal, whose jurisdiction and forms of proceeding were not defined by law; and that the resolutions should be communicated to the advocates who had been appointed *ex officio*, not as an injunction, but merely as an opinion, which they were at liberty to act upon, or not, as they might think fit. The procureur-general brought these resolutions before the Cour-Royale, which annulled them, and the advocates intended to appeal to the court of cassation, with full confidence of success. On the receipt of assurances, however, that no advocate would be forced upon an unwilling client, and that a letter to the president of the chamber of peers, from any counsel appointed *ex officio*, and who was unwilling to plead, would ensure his being excused—the matter was not pushed any further on the part of the members of the bar.

The accused, however, and their friends, were by no means satisfied. There were two committees of the republican party—one in Paris, the other in Lyons—appointed to assist the prisoners, and give them advice as to their conduct. Instigated by these men, the prisoners refused, as a rule, to place their defence in the hands of lawyers. They wanted violent and ardent party men to appear at the bar, who would beard the judges, and inflame the spectators by their impassioned harangues. Naming, therefore, Michel de Bourges, and some other eminent liberal members of the French bar, the committee of republicans, at Paris, selected Armand Carrel, the abbé de Lamennais, MM. Garnier Pagès, Audry de Puyraveau, Raspail, and Daniel O'Connell, as the men in whose hands the interests of the accused should be trusted. The selection was not allowed; the committee was informed that the defence must be left in the hands of the

lawyers; and this decision was announced as a most unwarrantable act of tyranny.

The trial commenced on the 5th of May, in the large and noble hall built especially for the occasion. On the roll of the peers being called, 164 answered to their names; of the remainder, thirty-seven—including prince Talleyrand, marshals Gérard and Soult, baron Pontecoulaut, and the marquis of Deux-Breze—formally declined attending. The latter, in his note to the president, said, he regarded the trials as odious and impolitic, as the accused were not at all more criminal than those who took part in the revolution of July, 1830. When the peers were sworn, the question was raised, whether the ministers, being, in fact, the prosecutors, could sit as judges? A large majority decided that they could; but, having asserted the right, and obtained a decision in their favour, they did not exercise it.

When the court had assembled, the 121 prisoners were brought in, and accommodated with seats opposite those which the peers occupied. Twelve members of the bar appeared for the defence, most of whom had been appointed by the court. The Paris committee for conducting the defence—MM. Godefroi, Cavaignac, Armand Carrel, Chilman, Granges, Guinard, Landolphe, Lebou, Pérhonnir, and Vignute—were also present; and some members of the Lyons committee; fifty-nine of the prisoners coming from that city. Both these committees advised the accused, when called upon to plead, to refuse doing so. The prisoners obeyed; and a scene of great confusion ensued. To preserve order was impossible. All the prisoners shouted and talked together; and, after attempting for some time in vain to still the tumult, the court adjourned, without having made the slightest progress in the trial.

For several days these proceedings were renewed. The court ordered the most violent of the prisoners to be removed; and when they were taken away, the remainder stood up, and shouted that they were all equally innocent or guilty, and should all be treated alike. This state of things continued from the 5th to the 9th of May. The court then deliberated, and resolved, that any prisoners who interrupted the proceedings while the act of accusation was being read, should be removed; that the reading should go on in their absence; but that they should be brought back to court when the witnesses were examined relating especially to the part of the case with which they were connected. So many were removed, that at last only twenty-eight were left at the bar; but the noise raised by them was so great, that neither peers, nor prisoners, nor audience could hear one word of the act of accusation, which was read, or attempted to be read, by the clerk. Through the remainder of May, and the entire month of June, the peers continued their attempts to conduct the proceedings with something like decorum; but they found it

impossible to make the least progress with the trial. It had, from the first, been found, that the arrangement by which all the accused were included in one indictment, was the worst that could be adopted. After two months' patient endurance—during which time we are informed that "the peers conducted the proceedings with a temper, moderation, and dignity beyond all praise, extorting the admiration even of their enemies"—on the 11th of July, they sat in conclave, and resolved that the cases should be separated. This resolution was followed by the escape of a number of the accused—those connected with Paris, who were confined in the prison of St. Pélagie. From that prison a subterranean passage was made to a house beyond the walls, the proprietor of which was in the secret. It is said to have been ready soon after the proceedings commenced; but the men confined there refused to avail themselves of it till the arrangement of the peers to separate the cases, and try the prisoners singly, or in groups, as the particular charges might require, rendered it more than doubtful whether the triumph which they had calculated upon from their numbers would be achieved. The new course of proceeding adopted by the court, deprived them of the means of interruption and annoyance which they had hitherto so successfully employed; and they determined, therefore, to avail themselves of the means provided for their escape. They had numbers of friends and accomplices out of doors; and having crept through the passage, which was forty-five feet long, two feet and a-half high, and three feet broad, they found themselves safe in the garden of the house alluded to; from whence they made their way to the street, where vehicles in abundance were waiting for them, in which they got clear off. Twenty-eight made their escape—that number comprising the principal Parisian offenders.* It was believed, at the time, that the government and the police connived at this transaction; and it is difficult to imagine how the undertaking could have been successful, if the latter had been on the alert.

During the trial, the opposition journals resorted to various modes of annoying the judges; and made repeated appeals to the public in behalf of the accused, whom they termed the victims of injustice. Several documents appeared, imputing sedition and disloyalty to some of the national guards; and declaring, that members of the jury, who had returned a verdict of guilty against the editor of the *Réformateur*, for a seditious libel, had only done so through the influence of threats. Names were attached to these documents, to give them weight, which proved to be fraudulent forgeries. A letter also appeared in the *Tribune* (which had been re-established) and the *Réformateur*, professing to be addressed to the accused by a

number of persons, whose names were affixed to it. In this letter, the prisoners were vehemently urged to persevere in their resistance to the "usurped power of an illegal tribunal;" and they were assured of public sympathy and support. It concluded with the phrase—"The judges' infamy constitutes the accused's glory." Ninety-one names were attached to this letter; two of them, MM. Cormenin and Audry de Puyraveau, being members of the chamber of deputies. The duke de Montebello moved, in the chamber of peers, that all the parties whose names were thus attached to a "libellous and insulting document," should be prosecuted; and the peers sanctioned the proposal. When the case came on, M. Cormenin denied signing the letter; but M. de Puyraveau refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the peers over him as a deputy, and would not appear. As the trial proceeded, it was shown, that the letter had reached the office of the *Réformateur* (according to the evidence of the editor) without any signatures; and that he had affixed the names of parties which were in type (for what purpose was not stated) in his office, and sent a copy, thus signed, to the *Tribune*. Two persons, MM. Michel and Trelat, owned the authorship of the letter, which they justified; and the latter was excessively abusive in his defence. The parties summoned (all of whom appeared, except M. de Puyraveau), with four exceptions, denied cognizance of the letter, and expressed their disapprobation of its contents; they were, of course, discharged. Of the four, two said they had no connection with the letter, but approved of all it contained: they were ordered to be imprisoned for one month; and one was fined 500f., the other 2,000f. The other two, who refused to enter into any explanation, were also sentenced to be imprisoned one month; and to pay a fine of 2,000f. M. Audry de Puyraveau was adjudged to pay 2,000f. fine, and to be imprisoned for a month, after the prorogation of the chamber. The editors of the *Réformateur* and of the *Tribune*, in which the letter appeared, were fined 1,000f., and subjected to one month's imprisonment. And MM. Michel and Trelat were fined 10,000f. each; but whilst the former was sentenced to one month's, the latter was adjudged three years' imprisonment, on account of the violent and abusive language used in his defence. The editor of the *Réformateur*, pending these proceedings, made a violent attack on M. Folivet, a member of the chamber of deputies; which led to his being summoned to the bar of that chamber, and condemned to pay a fine of 10,000f., in addition to imprisonment for one month.

The violent and disgraceful conduct of their friends seriously injured the cause of the accused. After the appearance of the letter, and the punishment of those connected with it, no further interruption was given to the progress

* *Annuaire Histoire*, 1835.

of the trials, which continued for nearly four months from the time they were first opened. Throughout that lengthened period, the peers were indefatigable in their attendance, and gave the most patient attention to the cases as they came before them. It was determined, that the trials of the parties who had escaped, where evidence had been taken, should be concluded, and judgment recorded in their absence. The advocates for the prisoners made no very strong objections to this course; and they rested their defence for those who still remained—ninety-three in number—chiefly upon the events which had preceded the elevation of Louis-Philippe to the throne; dwelling with much force upon the difficulty of making the people believe, that acts, similar to those which were deemed worthy of the highest praise, when directed, in 1830, against Charles X., should become criminal in 1834, when employed against Louis-Philippe. Only the cases of the fifty-nine prisoners from Lyons were gone through, when the court suspended its sittings. Most of them were found guilty. Seven were sentenced to transportation; two to be imprisoned for twenty years, three to fifteen, nine to ten, four to seven, nineteen to five, and four to three years; twenty of those who escaped, were sentenced to various penalties, being convicted *par contumace*;* but as they were not heard of, the punishment was never inflicted.—Thus ended the first series of trials; which were, says Louis Blanc, “to the republican party engendered by the revolution of July, a serious, but not a decisive, defeat.”

The progress of the trials was marked by repeated conspiracies to assassinate the king. “Between the autumn of 1834 and the summer of 1835, seven projected crimes of this nature were discovered and defeated by the authorities; some conceived and followed up with profound obstinacy; others dreamed of by frenzied imaginations, and by that detestable ambition of celebrity, no matter at what cost, which great social disorder is sure to excite.”† These discoveries filled the royal family with alarm; and as the *fête* of the “three days of July” approached, the queen and madame Amélie became impressed with a sense of some calamity, created, no doubt, by the rumours which were rife in many quarters, that an attempt on the king’s life would certainly be made before the *fêtes* were over. The 28th of July was fixed for the review of the troops in Paris, and the national guards. The day was fine; the inhabitants of the capital appeared to be all out in the streets; and gaiety and good humour prevailed as the king proceeded from the Tuileries to the Boulevards, accompanied by the duke d’Orleans, the duke de Nemours, the prince de Joinville, the duke de Broglie, marshal Maison, admiral de Rigny, M. Thiers, marshal Mortier, and marshal Lobau.

* *Moniteur*, August 14th, 1835.

† M. Guizot.

The queen and the princesses proceeded to the hôtel of the Chancery, in the Place Vendôme, where they were to be joined by his majesty, and the troops were to defile before them. Admiral Duperre, M. Duchâtel, M. Humann, M. Persil, and M. Guizot, also went to the Chancery, to join the queen; and, after their arrival, more than an hour passed, during which, news was received of the progress of the review; and the reports of the fine appearance of the army, and of the good feeling and loyalty displayed by the regular troops and the national guard, were very cheering. Soon all was changed. “A few minutes after twelve, on the boulevard of the Temple, as the king was passing calmly along the ranks of the national guard, and a little in advance of his train, a burst of flame, from a window on his left, suddenly flashed across his eyes. ‘Joinville,’ said his majesty to his son, at that moment the person nearest to him, ‘this concerns me;’ and, at the same instant, a storm of balls enveloped his person, killing or wounding forty persons who surrounded him. The king paused for a moment, saw his sons erect at his side, looked upon the dying victims, and pointing out with his finger to the duke de Broglie, who had hastened to him, the ear of his horse pierced by a ball—he said, ‘We must continue, my dear duke; march on, march on.’ And, in fact, he proceeded with the review, in the midst of the explosions of indignation, and incessant acclamations of the national guard, the troops, and the populace.”‡—It was found, when the bodies were examined, that eleven were killed—marshal Mortier, general Lachasse de Verigny, and colonel Raffé being three of the number; and twenty-nine wounded, of whom three died subsequently.

As the intelligence of this atrocious attempt spread through Paris, the alarm and indignation became general. The drawing-rooms at the hôtel of the Chancery were soon filled with ladies, anxious at once to sympathise with the queen, and to ascertain whether any of their own relatives were amongst the killed or wounded. The duchess de Broglie was one, who arrived to ascertain if her husband was safe. As soon as the queen saw her, her majesty threw herself into her arms, and with difficulty restrained her tears. “The whole royal assemblage abandoned themselves to every description of terror, to every possible agony of the human heart; and none could yet tell what might be the measure of their grief. The complete and accurate truth—cruel for some, and consoling for others—was at length revealed. The review being over, the king arrived at the Chancery, with his train. Around the royal group, thus united and consoled, the losses were enumerated; they included the names of eighteen families, some illustrious, some obscure. A marshal,

‡ Guizot.

general, and national guards; some workmen, women, and a young girl, had been struck down by the same blow, and become a prey to the same desolation. After a short rest, the king and the princes, his sons, remounted their horses at the gate of the Chancery; the battalions of the national guard, and the regiments of the regular army, filed off before them, with those enthusiastic acclamations, mingled with sympathy and anger, excited in the masses of the people by the spectacle of a great crime, a lamentable misfortune, and a terrible danger. The marching past having ended, all dispersed, princes and people.* Of the latter, some thronged round the Tuileries; others repaired to the scene where so many lives had been sacrificed; whilst others visited the families of the killed and the wounded. The queen and madame Adelaide, in a close carriage, and without escort, drove to the residence of the late marshal Mortier; and there, with the sincerest sympathy, mingled their tears with those of the widow of the deceased.

When the explosion took place, so great were the surprise and horror which seized upon every person in the vicinity of the terrible scene, that some minutes elapsed before any thought was given to the assassin. But the attention of the police and national guards was soon called to a house directly opposite the spot where the explosion took place; in which a window on the third flat was seen to open, and a puff of smoke to issue. The window was opened and closed almost instantaneously; still the movement was observed, and the house surrounded. The doors being fastened, were forced open, and a diligent search made. No unusual appearances presented themselves till the third story was reached. There the police found their entrance impeded by barricades, which, being torn away, access was gained to a chamber, where the explosive machine was discovered. A window in this chamber was open, with a rope hanging from it, by which a man had evidently escaped. Several of the police descended by the same means, and soon found the assassin, who was creeping away, his movements being impeded by wounds he had himself received from the explosion. He proved to be a Corsican by birth, named Joseph Fieschi. His father was a shepherd; and he followed the same avocation till he attained the age of eighteen. Then he entered the army, and joined the German legion. He served in the campaign of Russia; and after the restoration, went through various adventures, none very honourable to himself, for he was alternately a spy for the government, and a criminal; and had to abscond for robbery and forgery, till he undertook the crime which cost him his life. Being conveyed to the Conciergerie, and interrogated, he did not attempt to deny his

* Guizot.

guilt; but he declared that he had no associates—that all was his own device. The nature of the preparations, however, and the money which must have been expended upon them, made it evident that he had accomplices. He had hired the third story of the house (which stood opposite the entrance of the Jardin Turc), of the proprietor, about three months previously. He then gave his name as Girard, and said he was a mechanic. The explosive machine consisted of twenty-four musket-barrels, fixed upon a frame supported by four posts, which, with the transverse bars that secured them, were of oak. A train of gunpowder connected the touch-holes; and the explosion of one discharged them all. The hind-part of the frame, on which the butt-ends of the gun-barrels rested, was seven or eight inches higher than the front. The whole thus formed an inclined plane, commanding a range of twenty-five feet of the *cortège*, as it passed. The escape of the king and his sons was owing to the bursting of four of the barrels; whilst two others missed fire—thus narrowing the area of their operation. It was by the explosion of the barrels that Fieschi was wounded. His examination was repeatedly resumed; and at length a clue was obtained, which led to the arrest of four other persons, all of the working class—named Morey, Pepin, Boireau, and Bescher. Their trials did not take place till the following year.

The funerals of the victims to Fieschi's atrocious crime, were celebrated on the 5th of August. The *cortège* was most imposing. There were fourteen coffins, each on a funeral car; and in the immense multitude that followed, every class in Paris—civilians and military, legal and ecclesiastical, rich and poor—was represented. The melancholy, but magnificent procession—which was closed by the ministers, the judges, magistrates, and other dignitaries; deputations of the peers and deputies, and of all the other public bodies of Paris—was formed near the church of St. Paul, on the Rue St. Antoine; and passed along the Boulevards by the Rue Royale, and the Place and Bridge de la Concorde, to the church of the Invalides, where the corpses of all the deceased were interred. The king and his sons joined the procession at the Hôtel des Invalides; and the archbishop of Paris, and a large body of the clergy, received it at the church. The funeral ceremony was performed with great magnificence; and it was accompanied by the discharge of the guns of the Invalides, every five minutes. It is impossible to imagine anything more mournful or more impressive; and the event was followed by the celebration of masses for the dead in the cathedral of Notre-Dame, and every church in France, with solemn *Te Deums* for the escape of the king, who, for some time after, continued to receive congratulations upon his deliverance.

There was a universal feeling, that some stringent measures must be taken to put an end to a system of outrage and violence, under which neither life nor property was safe; and the cabinet applied themselves, without loss of time, to meet the evil. Although the session was not prorogued, the majority of the deputies had left Paris, while the peers were occupied with the trials of the political prisoners. They were immediately recalled; and, on the 4th of August, the president of the council presented three projects of law, for the purpose of conferring on the government such powers as, he observed, "the ministers deemed necessary to enable them to preserve the country from a return of the dangers which menaced her existence, by attacks being made on the king of her choice." The first of these projects related to the press. It gave the crown the power of prosecuting the offences of the press before the chamber of peers; declared every offence against the person of the king, to be an attack on the safety of the state, which was to be punished by imprisonment and fines, varying from 10,000*f.* to 50,000*f.* Ridiculing the person and authority of the sovereign, was to be punished by imprisonment for not less than six months, nor more than five years; and fines, the minimum being fixed at 500*f.*, the maximum at 10,000*f.*: the offender was, in addition, to be temporarily deprived of his civil rights. Imprisonment and fines were also to be imposed upon those who, in discussing the acts of the government, introduced, directly or indirectly, the name of the king; who attacked the form of the government or the charter; who manifested adhesion to another form of government, or maintained, that any other than Louis-Philippe and his descendants had a right to the throne of France; who expressed a hope or a wish for the restoration of the fallen dynasty; or who announced subscriptions tending to annul judicial condemnations. All journals were to be discontinued when the responsible conductor was imprisoned, unless the name of a new one was substituted, who had obeyed every condition of the law; no journals were to be established without depositing a sum (fixed at 100,000*f.*, or £4,000, for daily journals in Paris) as security; no print, engraving, &c., was to be published without the authority of the minister of the interior in Paris, and of the prefects in the departments; nor was any theatre to be opened, or drama performed, without the same authority.—The second project provided, that instead of two-thirds of a jury being required to convict, a simple majority should be sufficient; the voting was to be by ballot; and it altered the punishment of deportation, so that the editor of a journal might be sent to any French settlement abroad, to undergo imprisonment.—The third bill altered several parts of the proceedings in criminal cases. It

authorised the minister of justice to form as many courts as might be necessary to proceed simultaneously against accused parties; provided, that if parties accused refused to come into court, the trial should proceed as if they were present; as it should in cases where parties were ordered out of court for their violent or disorderly conduct; and that parties accused of political offences, might be at once sent to trial, on the requisition of the procureur-general.

This last bill was the first that was adopted. It did not call forth so much opposition as the others; and the chamber sanctioned it on the 13th of August, by 212 votes to 72.—The second bill encountered a more determined resistance; but that, also, was carried by a majority of 224 to 129; the mode in which the jury should ballot being left to be regulated by a royal *ordonnance*. This *ordonnance* was issued soon after the law was passed. It provided, that each jurymen was to be furnished with a slip of paper, stamped, and bearing the words, "Upon my honour and conscience, my declaration is ——" After these words he was to write the verdict. Each jurymen was to deliver the slip, unseen by any other, to the foreman, by whom it was to be placed in a box; and when all were delivered, he was to examine them, and declare the result; after which, the slips were to be burnt.—The great stand made by the opposition was upon the law regulating the press. The speakers on the "left" accused the ministers of taking advantage of the popular alarm excited by the late attempt on the king, to gratify their own love of power, and to trample under foot the liberties of the country. They censured the measure as tending to destroy all inquiry; to crush every expression of opinion; and to convert into a servile instrument of the existing power, that institution which France valued before any other, because it was the guarantee for all. It was denied that the articles which had appeared in the journals had led to Fieschi's attempt on the life of the king, for none of them ever advocated murder: ministers themselves did not believe in that pretext: they merely wished to control the press for their own purposes.—The duke de Broglie made the ablest defence of the measure. He said, that ministers regarded the accusations made by their opponents as only those which it was the lot of all men in power to have levelled against them. "If, by the assertion, that the measure now proposed had long been concerted by ministers, with a design to overthrow the liberties of the country, it was meant, that government had long perceived the danger with which society was threatened, he would plead guilty to the charge." But "he would repel, with all his energy, the insinuation that he and his colleagues had presented these bills with a view to strengthen their power, or to gratify a corrupt

ambition. The charge would be well-founded, if the dangers pointed out by government were imaginary, or if the measures proposed overshoot their mark." He maintained, that the attack on the king had been encouraged by the press, which "teemed with outrages on his majesty's person; leading to a belief that even regicide was lawful. The vanquished insurgents had openly declared, that the press had taught them to know their rights; and they now audaciously demanded another field of battle, on which they were ready to array their fallacious dogmas against the principles of the government. The project submitted to the chamber was calculated to put an end to such a state of things; and, in his opinion, no measure less vigorous would suffice."—Several of the legitimists opposed this measure; MM. Royer-Collard and Remusat especially condemning the withdrawal of the offences of the press from the cognizance of a jury. The discussion continued till the 29th of August; when the project was passed by 226 votes to 153. The peers sanctioned all the projects; upon that relating to the press, the ayes were 101, noes 20.

It was the 9th of September when the last of these laws passed through the chamber of peers; and, on the 11th, the session was closed; at the same time a royal *ordonnance* appeared, creating thirty new peers, nearly all of them being persons dependent on the government, to a greater or less extent. This measure was by no means popular; nor—general as had been the feeling, that stern measures of repression should be resorted to, to put down anarchy, and maintain order—was public opinion united as to the propriety of the government measures. The party of the "left" excited opposition against them; and they were denounced in all their organs. The punishment of transportation, for the first time awarded against political crimes, was especially commented upon and condemned. The legitimists were not much better pleased, as the law against the press caused the publication of many of their journals to cease, for want of security; and the proprietors and frequenters of the low theatres grumbled—those establishments, which were, in fact, only nests of immorality, being suppressed. But the lovers of order—even if they were not admirers of Louis-Philippe—were aware of the necessity of a system of severity being adopted, to counteract or punish the movements of the discontented, whom nothing could please, nothing satisfy. This numerous class rallied round the government, which evinced great firmness and determination. The laws of September were, whenever circumstances required, fearlessly carried out; and their supporters contend, that, "judged by the test of experience," they may be said to have "sufficiently protected public order; while, most assuredly, they did not destroy liberty."

After something more than two months' holiday, on the 16th of November, the peers resumed the state trials—the prisoners now brought before them being those taken at St. Etienne, Epinal, Luneville, and other places. The proceedings lasted till the end of the year; and ended in the conviction of most of the prisoners, who were subjected to fines and imprisonment of various extent and duration.

The session of 1836 opened on the 29th of December, under more favourable circumstances, everything considered, than had ushered in any former session under the Orleans dynasty. The country was at peace at home and abroad; confidence and trade were reviving; and there was a prospect of a prosperous season in the distance. In his speech, Louis-Philippe expressed his hope, "that the moment had arrived for France to reap the fruits of her patience and her courage. Enlightened by the task, it should be the endeavour of all to profit by experience so dearly bought;" and all who had influence or authority, should "apply themselves to tranquillise the public mind, to improve the laws, and to protect, by judicious measures, all the interests of a nation, which, after so many storms, offered to the civilised world the salutary example of a noble moderation, the only pledge of permanent success. The care of its repose, of its liberty, and greatness, would be his first duty: its happiness would be his highest reward."—On the 31st, M. Dupin was again elected president. On taking the chair, he said—"If, during the preceding session, external agitation had sometimes carried its reaction within those walls, he had no doubt that the profound peace which then reigned in the state, would extend over their deliberations its salutary influence. The struggle, for the future, would be entirely parliamentary. It would be worthy of those concerned in it. Questions connected with the interests of the country would be fully and freely debated. Rivalries, if they arose, would be inspired only by anxiety for the public good; and every one would desire to carry with him, when he returned to his home, the feeling that he had generously accomplished a public duty."

Favourable as everything looked, the chambers had scarcely been opened a fortnight, when dissensions sprang up in the cabinet. On the 14th of January, 1836, M. Humann introduced his "budget" for 1837. The amount demanded for the estimated expenditure was 1,027,058,018*f*. (£41,082,320). Supplementary credits for the year 1836 were also required, to the amount of 33,000,000*f*.—The revenue was not equal to this amount; and, in explaining his propositions, and stating various suggestions for making the public income and outgoings balance each other, the minister alluded to the project which M. de Villèle had brought forward in 1824, but which the chambers then refused to sanction—

viz., the reducing the expenses of the public debt, by paying off part of the principal, or by a reduction of the interest. He stated, that such a measure was still necessary; that the time which, in 1824, was judged inopportune, was now well suited to the purpose; and that the operation might be attempted with every prospect of success. Whilst the chamber received this announcement with every mark of approbation, the ministry heard it with surprise. The measure had not been discussed in the cabinet; the king was opposed to it, as he deemed it unjust, and a breach of faith to the public creditor; M. Humann felt himself obliged to resign his office; and the count d'Argout again became a member of the cabinet, as minister of finance. The question was not, however, suffered to rest. There were numerous supporters of M. Humann in the ministerial ranks, as well as in those of the opposition; and M. Augustine Giraud, a distinguished member of the party of the "right," put a question to the ministers, as to their intentions with respect to this subject. The duke de Broglie replied, in substance, that he and his colleagues "resolved not to approach it, unless the chamber made it the object of a specific proposition. The cabinet had decided that they would not, themselves, bring forward any measure for the conversion of the public funds; nor would they pledge themselves by any positive engagement for the future." This did not satisfy the chamber, and three separate propositions were made on the point; one of which, by M. Gouin, for the immediate reduction of the 5 per cents., was entertained by a committee of the chamber, and discussed on the 5th and 6th of February. M. Thiers, speaking, he said, for himself and his colleagues, proposed an adjournment of the question. He admitted, that the conversion of the *rentes*, so as to reduce the interest, would be an operation not only legal in itself, but profitable for the state; and it was a course which must, ultimately, be taken. But it was one that required caution; if suddenly adopted, without time for adequate preparation, it would be unjust and oppressive; and great inconvenience must result, if it were resorted to in the midst of a position which had been recently so stormy, and was, even then, scarcely re-established. M. Duchâtel supported the proposition for adjournment; but the chamber negatived it, by a majority of two: the numbers being—for, 192; against, 194: the ministers, in consequence, resigned.

The king was not displeased at this result, although opposed to the measure, the agitation of which had led to it. But he never thoroughly liked the duke de Broglie, whose independence, frankness, and sense of self-respect, as well as his determination to govern through the chamber, frequently led him, in the cabinet, to thwart the wishes of the king. At that time the duke had

had misunderstandings with prince Metternich, the Austrian, and baron Werther, the Prussian ministers; which appear to have left a permanent, unpleasant impression upon their minds. Prince Talleyrand, also, who kept up his habits of personal intimacy with the king, had no liking for the duke, who, in 1833, had quietly shelved a proposal which the prince, then ambassador at London, had made to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, with England.* Not personally liked by his sovereign, and unpopular with the foreign diplomatists, the retirement of the duke was rather grateful to the king than otherwise; though he would have preferred that some, at all events, of the other ministers should have remained. Left without a cabinet, his majesty, at first, attempted himself to form a new one. He sent, successively, for M. Humann, M. Molè, marshal Gérard, M. Dupin, M. Passy, and M. Sauzet. The three first-named declined, promptly, to have anything to do with the ministry: the others expressed their willingness to serve the king and country in any position in which they could be of use; but they declined to undertake the reconstruction of the cabinet. The king, who had no objection to any of his former ministers, except the duke de Broglie, then applied to M. Thiers, who, after some hesitation, was induced by his majesty and prince Talleyrand, to accept the offices of president of the council and minister for foreign affairs. Three members of the duke de Broglie's cabinet retained their appointments—viz., marshal Maison, admiral Duperre, and count d'Argout. Three members of the *tiers parti*—MM. Passy, Pelet de la Lozère, and Sauzet—accepted the offices of ministers of trade and public works, public instruction, and justice; and count de Montalivet was made minister of the interior. On the 22nd of February, the new cabinet arrangements were announced in the *Moniteur*.

While those arrangements were discussed and carried out, the chamber of peers was again occupied, as a court of justice, with the trial of political offenders. Those trials commenced on the 22nd of January. Two of the persons then brought before the court were Americans. They were convicted of an attempt to change the government, and of exciting the people to take up arms against the royal authority; and were sentenced to transportation. Eleven other persons were found guilty of having been accomplices in these attempts, and sentenced to be imprisoned and fined. On the 23rd, sentence was passed, *par contumace*, against a number of persons, charged with political offences, who had not appeared. One of them was M. Ludre, once a deputy; and another was the responsible editor of the *Tribune*; both were condemned to transportation for life.—On the 30th of January, the trial of Fieschi and his accomplices

* M. Guizot is the authority for these statements.

commenced, and continued till the 15th of February. Five persons were arraigned—Fieschi, Morey, Pepin, Boireau, and Bescher; but the latter was discharged, as it appeared he had been arrested upon an unfounded suspicion, arising from Fieschi having sometimes assumed his name. The absolute guilt of Morey and Pepin rested chiefly upon the assertions of Fieschi. Their intimacy with him was satisfactorily established; and a female, who had lived with Fieschi as his mistress, deposed, that Morey had told her, on the night of the 28th of July, how the explosion had taken place, and had supplied her with money to get out of the way. It was proved, also, that he accompanied Fieschi when he bought the box in which the gun-barrels were conveyed to the lodgings of the latter. The strongest evidence against Pepin was, that he denied his intimacy with Fieschi, and concealed himself after the attempt. Fieschi said he was drawn into the affair by his two associates, who arranged the plot in conjunction with him, and supplied him with money to purchase the necessary materials; and Morey assisted him to load the machine. Boireau was proved to have been associated with the other three; he was engaged by Pepin to ride backwards and forwards before the house, in order that the proper elevation of the machine might be obtained; and it appears that, on the night of the 27th of July, he detailed the plot to the police, who turned it into ridicule. There was no evidence to connect any other parties with the attempt, either directly or indirectly. The peers gave great attention to the case, which ended in a verdict, finding Fieschi guilty of the murders. Morey and Pepin were convicted as accessories in plotting the crime with the actual perpetrator, and acting with him in purchasing the instruments for its execution; and Boireau as an accessory, he having knowingly aided and assisted Fieschi in the preparations for the criminal offence. The three first were sentenced to death; and Boireau to twenty years' imprisonment. Fieschi, Morey, and Pepin were guillotined on the 19th of February. The former maintained great boldness, even till he laid his head on the block; Morey and Pepin protested that they were innocent to the last.

The new ministry appeared in the deputies on the same day that their appointment was announced in the *Moniteur*. M. Thiers took the opportunity of making his profession of faith, and declaring what his policy, as minister, would be. He declared himself a sincere friend of the revolution of July; but expressed his conviction, that, to save a revolution, it must be preserved from its excesses. He had combated such excesses with all the force of action and legislation, and should continue to do so, if necessary. But the troubles which had disturbed the country seemed to be approaching

their termination. Better days were in store; and they would not again see the days of peace uselessly darkened by the features and desolation of war.—M. Guizot followed. He said, two charges had been brought against them (the *Doctrinaires*)—that their policy was rigorous and retrograde. But progress did not consist in advancing in the dark, but in returning to order; in restoring the sway of truth, and in re-establishing the conditions of society. It was not progress to go back to 1791; but it was progress to return to the principles of conservatism. Their opponents were going on in the old track; they demanded what was demanded before, without perceiving that all was changed. He contended that progress consisted in giving to power, fixity, dignity, consideration. He would not say that nothing had been done; but though many things had been begun, nothing had been finished; and if the majority of the chamber should suffer itself to be divided, their whole work—government, peers, deputies, citizens—would vanish at once. They had only one thing to do—to be faithful to themselves, to advance in the line they had taken, and not to recede.—The leaders of the ministry and of the *Doctrinaires* were followed by M. Odillon Barrot, one of the chiefs of the “left.” He and his friends, he said, had taken the revolution of July in earnest, regarding it not as a change of persons, but of things—as the commencement of a new political era—as the solemn consecration of the principles for which they had contended for fifty years. They wished all the conditions of the charter to be faithfully observed; and when it came under discussion, always voted for its interpretation in the largest sense. He denied that they were accomplices of the excesses in the streets, or that they had a tendency to republican despotism; appealed to the future, and to the good sense of the country; and said, the nation already felt the necessity of departing from that bitter spirit of distrust, which the violence of parties alone could have created.

The chamber was very nearly equally divided between the three parties whom M. Thiers, M. Guizot, and M. Odillon Barrot represented. The ministers therefore, by no means safe in their position, resolved not to introduce any measure which was not certain of success; but they had to encounter the same difficulty which had been the first cause of division amongst their predecessors—the conversion of the 5 per cents. The subject was again brought forward in the deputies; and M. Thiers was only able to evade it for the present, by promising to introduce a measure connected with it in the next year. He then placed in the hands of M. Passy a project of law relating to the customs, which he had prepared when acting under the duke de Broglie. As minister of trade and commerce, M. Passy introduced this measure into the chamber of

deputies, by whom it was adopted. It slightly modified the existing import duties; and made more inroads upon the system of prohibition.—A convention was also negotiated with Great Britain, by which the rates of postage on letters and newspapers passing between France and England were materially reduced.—A personal attack was made upon the president of the council, on the 25th of March, when the deputies were discussing the questions connected with the finances. He was charged with having exceeded the sums voted by the chamber for various public works. In those connected with the Madeleine, the excess was 1,200,000f. (£48,000); for the obelisk, in the Champs Elysées, 1,500,000f. (£60,000); and for the hôtel on the Quai d'Orsay, 2,000,000f. (£80,000). The remarks from the "left" were very keen; and as the *tiers parti* had always been economists, the minister did not receive very warm support from them. He made a very able defence for himself; and as those works were as popular in Paris as the fortifications were the reverse, the deputies probably shrank from negating the votes to cover the expenditure, lest they should incur the displeasure of the Parisian populace. At all events, the outlay was sanctioned; and when the minister asked for 2,500,000f. (£100,000), for secret-service money, to his surprise, he obtained that large sum by 251 votes to 99. Yet the finances were in a state that called for retrenchment, rather than extravagance. When the budget, introduced by M. Humann, and renewed by his successor, was discussed, it appeared that, with an expenditure sanctioned by the legislature, since 1830, averaging 1,100,000,000f. (£44,000,000) per annum, an excess of 848,842,924f. (£33,953,716) had been incurred. Loans and supplementary credits had been resorted to, to raise the enormous sums thus expended; and count d'Argout, when explaining the various items of the budget, acknowledged a deficit, in 1835, of 10,000,000f.; and, in 1836, of 23,000,000f.; being a total, in the two years, of 33,000,000f., or £1,320,000. The budget occupied some time in the discussion; but at length it was finally settled; and the chambers were prorogued on the 12th of July.

There was little to interest, or attract attention, in the foreign affairs of France in 1835; but the ministry of February 22nd, 1836, was scarcely inaugurated, when several important questions came before them. By the 9th article of the acts of the congress of Vienna, and by the 6th article of the treaty concluded at that city on the 3rd of May, 1815, the city of Cracow, with a small territory round it, was constituted an independent republic. Subsequently to the suppression of the Polish rebellion, in 1831, a number of refugees from Russian Poland and Lithuania, took refuge in Cracow. On the fête-day of the emperor Nicholas, De-

cember 24th, 1835, there were some slight disturbances in that city, which were said to be, and probably were, committed by these parties: in consequence, a demand was made by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, on the president of the senate, to expel, within eight days, all the Polish and other dangerous refugees, who were to take with them their wives, children—all that they possessed. The president pleaded the impossibility to execute such an order in the time, and asked in vain for delay. The allies would grant none, but sent detachments of troops, who soon expelled every person who was considered dangerous. The Austrian troops arrived first, on the 17th of February; and were followed, at the interval of a few days, by the Russians and Prussians. The duke de Broglie received an intimation of this movement just before he left office: of course he could take no action upon it; but handed the despatches which had come to hand upon the subject, over to his successor. Popular opinion was loud in denouncing the occupation of Cracow; which ended in the disbanding the Cracow militia, and the replacing the president of the senate (who resigned his office) by one favourable to the allies—as well as in expelling the refugees. These objects effected, the troops were withdrawn, except a small body of Austrians, who remained to prevent the return of the fugitives; and, by a manifesto of the 17th of March, the allies justified their conduct to Europe. The cabinet of St. James's sent a strongly-worded remonstrance against this violation of the treaty of Vienna. France was passive; and it was reported, that Louis-Philippe approved of the conduct of the allies.

The affairs of Spain also excited attention. The Carlists were making such a determined stand, and so embarrassing the queen's government, that England thought it was quite time to carry out the provisions of the quadruple treaty of April 22nd, 1834. An application was accordingly made to France, by the English cabinet, to join in an armed co-operation, for the purpose of defending the rights of queen Isabella, which they had, by that treaty, undertaken to uphold against the pretender, Don Carlos. By a vote of the 18th of March, addressed to general Sebastiani, the French cabinet refused to comply with this request; and England, resolved to carry out her part of the agreement, sent a body of marines, to co-operate with the royal troops on the coast of Biscay. In other matters connected with the foreign relations of France—particularly in discharging several pecuniary obligations—the French ministry acted with better faith; and M. Thiers himself became very popular with the foreign diplomatists.

One reason that led the king to be perfectly quiescent upon the question of the occupation of

Cracow by the northern powers, was his wish to contract a matrimonial alliance for one of his sons, with a member of the German families, in the hope of consolidating his power. Early in 1836, indirect inquiries had been made at the courts of Vienna and Berlin, to ascertain how the dukes d'Orleans and Nemours would be received should they visit those cities. The replies were encouraging; and it was announced, in the *Moniteur* of the 24th of April, that their royal highnesses were about to pay a visit to the courts of Austria and Prussia. The announcement created some sensation; it being considered as a proof that the old German dynasties were reconciled to the new one of Louis-Philippe. The two princes left Paris early in May, and arrived at Berlin on the 11th. They were received most cordially, and splendidly *fêted* by the king and the nobility. The former, we are told, "charmed at finding so much solid merit under so engaging an exterior, conceived for them an almost paternal affection; and good-naturedly expressed his regret at having no daughters whose happiness he could confide to them."* The princes remained at Berlin till the 28th of May, when they departed for Vienna, where they arrived on the 29th. They became as great favourites there as at Berlin; and a mutual attachment, it is believed, between the princess Marie-Theresa-Isabella, one of the daughters of the archduke Charles, and the duke d'Orleans, was the result of the familiar intercourse into which the duke and his royal brother were admitted with the imperial family. The duke solicited the hand of the princess, well knowing how acceptable such an alliance would be to his father. Neither the archduke nor his daughter evinced the slightest disapprobation of the proposal; but it did not suit the views of prince Metternich; and he defeated it. The princes remained, however, at Vienna till they were satiated with its brilliant hospitalities, when they left for Italy; crossing the Alps, and passing through the Tyrol to Milan, where they arrived on the 25th of June—the very day that another attempt was made, at Paris, on the life of their father; intelligence of which recalled them to the Tuileries before they had finished their intended tour.

The royal family were residing at Neuilly; and, on the day above-named, the king, accompanied by the queen and madame Adelaide, had come to Paris—the former having business to transact at the Tuileries. In the evening, the royal party were leaving the palace, on their return; the national guard on duty made the usual salute; and the king had put his head out of the carriage to acknowledge it, when a ball from a pistol was discharged into the carriage, passing through the wood-work just above his majesty's head, and lodging in the roof. The

carriage was filled with smoke; and the queen and madame Adelaide were dreadfully alarmed. Louis-Philippe coolly inquired, "If any one was hurt?" And, finding there was not, he ordered the coachman to drive on; and Neuilly was reached without any further interruption. The assassin was seized on the spot, with the weapon in his hand, and conducted to the nearest police magistrate. On being questioned, he did not attempt to deny the crime, but boldly avowed it. "I wished to kill the king," he declared, "because I regard him as the enemy of the people. I was unfortunate; and the cause of my misfortune was the government, of which the king was the chief. That was my reason for wishing to kill him; and I regret not having succeeded."

He was committed to the Conciergerie; and the proceedings for his trial before the court of peers were immediately commenced. The preliminary inquiries elicited the facts, that he was born at Nismes in 1810, and had been in the army, rising from the ranks to be a non-commissioned officer. He imbibed republican opinions; and formed a desire to take the king's life, according to his own account, during the events of June, 1832. He came to Paris, from Perpignan, in 1835, and obtained a subordinate situation in a wine-merchant's establishment, from which he was discharged on account of his violent politics. He had, subsequently to his loss of employment, dogged the king's steps for six months, without an opportunity presenting itself for him to carry out his vile design, till he made the attempt on the evening of his arrest. His trial took place on the 9th of July; and there could be only one result. If there had been any doubt, his language would have removed it. When interrogated, as French prisoners always are, he said—"Ever since the king put Paris in a state of siege, and showed that he wished to govern, and not to reign—since he first massacred the citizens in the streets of Lyons, and at the cloister of St. Méri—I formed the resolution to kill him. His reign is an infamous one—a reign of blood: and I determined to put an end to it." Subsequently, he said—"I had the same right to kill Louis-Philippe that Brutus had to kill Cæsar." Of course he was found guilty, and condemned to be guillotined. After his condemnation, a confessor was sent to him; but he civilly declined his services, saying, "he was at peace with his conscience." He was executed on the 11th. He exhibited great firmness on the scaffold. Before he laid his head on the block, he said, "I die for liberty, for the people, and for the extinction of the monarchy." Then, turning to the guards, he said, "Adieu, my comrades!" These were his last words. His head being placed on the block, the axe immediately fell, and put a period to his existence.†

* *Memoir of the Duchess d'Orleans.*

† *Moniteur*, June and July, 1836; *Ann. Histoire.*

This second attempt on his life affected the strong nerves and cool determination of the king, to some extent; and by the advice of his ministers, he resolved to keep secluded in his palace, at all events, for some time. This resolution was made known to the public, through the columns of the *Moniteur*, on the 23rd of July; and as great preparations had been made to celebrate the "three days," by the inauguration of the Arc de Triomphe, at the barrier of Neuilly—a magnificent military spectacle being prepared for the occasion—it was the cause of much popular disappointment. Immediately numerous surmises were in circulation as to the reason for the king's seclusion. Two of them it was thought necessary to contradict in the official journal. One was, that the diplomatic body had remonstrated against the celebration of the "three days," as only tending to revive unpleasant recollections, and give rise to dangerous combinations; the other, that the national guard had conspired, and was ready to revolt. It was declared in the *Moniteur*, that there was not the slightest ground for these reports; but that seclusion and retirement were resorted to, solely from a knowledge that numerous conspiracies were still on foot against the king, and from a regard to his safety. In fact, it was the belief, that "the soil was so sown with assassins, that there was no safety for the monarch, except within the walls of his palace."* The "three days" passed over, therefore, without any review of the troops; no ceremony took place when the Arc de Triomphe was inaugurated; and the season, so festive and joyous for the previous five years, was dull and spiritless—every one seeming full of suspicion, and anticipating evil, though all were at a loss to decide from what quarter it would come.

A damp had been thrown over a large party that had formerly taken an interest in the July celebrations, by the death, a few days previous, of Armand Carrel—one of the most able, and, at the same time, the most honest, of the republican party. During the previous ten years, Emile de Girardin had been gradually rising in repute as a miscellaneous rather than a political writer. Born in Switzerland in 1802, he came to France early in life, and, till 1827, was known as Emile Delamothe. In that year he claimed the name which he subsequently bore, and by which alone he will be recognised by posterity. In the same year, he produced his first essay in literature, called *Emile*; which was followed by a number of volumes, published in the name of "The National Society for Intellectual Freedom;" and a journal, called *Journal des Connaissances Utiles*, which attained a circulation of between 120,000 and 130,000. In 1835, he established the *Presse*; which he sold at a lower price than that of the other papers, ex-

* *Annuaire Histoire.*

citing thereby the enmity of their proprietors. As his paper was an organ of conservative opinions, the republican editors were more especially severe upon Girardin and his new enterprise; and in the columns of the *Bon Sens* he was attacked with great rancour. The articles were undoubtedly libellous; and Girardin prosecuted the writer under "the laws of September"—as the enactments passed the previous year, after Fieschi's attempt on the life of the king, were called. The offender was convicted, and punished; and Armand Carrel—who, liberated from his imprisonment, had some time before returned to the personal management and superintendence of the *National*—commented, in strong terms, upon the conduct of Girardin. The latter made a spirited retort, in which doubts of Carrel's good faith were expressed; and this led to a personal altercation, and a duel. The parties met in the Bois de Vincennes, where, at the first discharge, Girardin received a slight wound in the leg; but Carrel fell, mortally wounded. He was conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he died the next day, July the 23rd; his last words being—"*France—amis—république.*" His funeral was numerously attended; men of all parties—Chateaubriand, Arago, Cormenin, Lafitte, and Beranger being amongst them—followed his corpse to the grave.

At this period the affairs of Spain again attracted the attention of the French government. The civil war had continued with unabated rancour; and the country was divided between three parties—the royalists, the Carlists, and the republicans. The former held Madrid; but, whilst all the valleys in the north were in the possession of Don Carlos and his friends, most of the cities in the south had declared for the republicans. The two latter parties had nearly extinguished the royalists; and the Carlists were held in check by the British volunteer legion, under Sir De Lacy Evans, more than by the troops of the queen. When the British government sanctioned the volunteer expedition, M. Thiers—who had, in March, refused to interfere in conformity with the terms of the quadruple treaty, on the ground that it would be dangerous, and might lead to a European war—proposed that France should also send a *corps d'armée* to aid the queen. His colleagues and the king consented; but, before the troops were ready to cross the frontiers, the republicans had proclaimed the constitution of 1812, at Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, and Cordova. On the 3rd of August a movement had also commenced at Madrid, which, put down in the first instance, was renewed on the 12th. On that day a regiment of provincial militia attacked the palace of La Granja, or San Ildefonso—forty miles from Madrid, where Christina, the queen-regent, was then residing—forced their way into the

apartments of her majesty, and compelled her to recognise the constitution. This confirmed the success of the revolution in the metropolis. Isturitz, the prime minister, was obliged to fly, first to Lisbon, and then to England; and Mendizabel, whom he had succeeded, and whose liberal principles were especially distasteful to Christina, again took the management of affairs. The queen-regent then proclaimed the constitution; and a liberal ministry was formed, in which Mendizabel became minister of finance. The successes of the ultra-liberal or republican party, and the proclamation of the constitution in the south, having taken place before the French troops moved—Louis-Philippe objected to their moving at all, as he thought their presence in Spain, at that period, would rather be aiding revolution than royalty. Thiers agreed that it was not the proper moment for action; but he wished the forces to be kept in cantonments, ready to cross the frontier, whenever the time appeared favourable for action. The king, on the contrary, wished to have the regular troops marched back into the interior, and that a corps of volunteers, formed to act with them, should be disbanded. Of the ministers, only M. Montalivet supported the king; but as the other members of the cabinet found themselves decidedly at variance with his majesty, on the 25th of August they all resigned; and their resignations were accepted.

The king sent for count Molè, who, of an ancient and noble family, "grave in manner, laborious in habit, and thoughtful in disposition," was the very reverse, in most things, of his predecessor. He consented to take the offices of president of the council and minister of foreign affairs; and sought for his colleagues out of the *Doctrinaire* and conservative parties. He consulted with Guizot on the arrangements, it being desirable to obtain that statesman's aid and support. The office offered him, was his old one of minister of public instruction; and count Molè wished to retain Montalivet as minister of the interior. But Guizot, if he did not hold that office himself, required it for one of his friends; and a fortnight was lost in settling this disputed point. At length, on the 6th of September, the new cabinet was arranged, and announced in the *Moniteur* of the 7th, as follows:—*President of the council, and minister for foreign affairs*, count Molè; *keeper of the seals and minister of justice*, M. Persil; *minister of the interior*, M. de Gasparin; *minister of marine*, admiral Rosamel; *minister of public instruction*, M. Guizot; *minister of finance*, M. Duchâtel; *minister of war*, baron Bernard; *minister of commerce and agriculture*, M. Martin (du Nord).

The first question that imperatively called for the attention of the new ministry, arose out of a difference with the Swiss government, which M. Thiers had left for his successors finally to

settle. This difference originated in the refugee question. Switzerland, like Great Britain, afforded an asylum to parties who were obliged to leave their own country on account of their political opinions. Many French republicans had taken refuge there; and the secret societies, put down in France, were revived in the cantons of the republic. Those societies were still aiming to effect a revolution, not only in France, but in Italy and Germany; and whilst a secret committee, shrouded in darkness, sat in Paris, the *matériel* for revolution was scattered all over the cantons. There the conspiracies against Louis-Philippe's life were brought to maturity, as well as the initiatory movements in other countries. The cabinets of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, in consequence of the information they obtained respecting these conspiracies, felt justified in writing to the Swiss government, and demanding the instant expulsion of the refugees. The executive government were inclined to comply with this demand; but the *vorort*, or council, protested against it as a violation of the national independence. M. Thiers, finding that the difference between the two authorities would occasion a long delay, instructed the duke de Montebello, the French ambassador, to inform the president of the diet, that if the refugees were not expelled, Switzerland would be blockaded, all commercial intercourse suspended, and the expense of these hostile proceedings would be levied on the republic. The next day, notes were sent in from the ministers of Prussia, Austria, and Baden, supporting the demand of the duke de Montebello; and, on the 8th, a report, which was made to the diet by M. Chambrier, one of its members, appeared to justify the step the governments of those countries had taken. This document stated, that there was an association in Switzerland, called Young Europe, which took for its motto the words, "liberty, equality, humanity." This was the original root from which sprung other societies, called, Young Germany, Young Italy, Young Poland, and Young France. All these bodies received their impulse from the secret committee in Paris; they were founded on the principles espoused by the Society of the Rights of Man; had for their object the overthrow of all monarchies, and the establishment of republics; and threatened to disturb, everywhere, the existing order of things. The report concluded by stating, that such acts were a violation of the neutrality of the Swiss territory, and by recommending that all parties connected with the societies should be expelled. The recommendation was adopted on the 23rd of August;* but although, on application of the diet, the king of France agreed to give the refugees passports to pass through his dominions, on their way to America, or any other country to which they might wish to go—this arrangement was carried

* *Annuaire Histoire*, 1836.

into effect very tardily. The delay, and the arrest of a person as a spy—who averred that the French ambassador was his employer, which caused some angry language to be used in the diet—led to count Molè's ordering the duke de Montebello to deliver to that body an official note, intimating that all relations, diplomatic and commercial, between the two countries were suspended, until such satisfaction as the government at Paris might deem reasonable, should be made to France by the authorities of the republic. This note was delivered on the 27th of September; and, for a time, all intercourse between France and Switzerland ceased.

The question of Switzerland, which pressed immediately upon the cabinet, being for the time disposed of, count Molè and his colleagues, with the full consent of their sovereign, resolved to commemorate their acceptance of office by an act of grace. Early in October, a royal *ordonnance* appeared, liberating from further punishment sixty-two individuals, who had been condemned for political offences, and were suffering incarceration: they were, however, all placed under the surveillance of the police. By a decree of the 17th of the same month, MM. Peyronnet and Chantelauze, two of the ministers of Charles X., who had been confined since their trial in the castle of Ham, were liberated, "on their own solicitation," it was stated, and permitted to reside, on their parole, upon their own estates. Prince Polignac and M. Guernon de Ranville, their colleagues in office and misfortune, refused to petition the king for liberty, as the act would be construed into a recognition of his title to the throne. But they applied to be removed to a *maison de santé*, as their health

was injured by their confinement. The king granted M. de Ranville the same privilege accorded to MM. Peyronnet and Chantelauze; and soon after, on the 23rd of November, the sentence on prince Polignac was commuted into banishment from France for twenty years.

Before the prince de Polignac was liberated, his royal master—whom he had so faithfully, if injudiciously, served—was no more. Charles X., with the duke and duchess d'Angoulême, the duke de Bordeaux, and his sister, were residing at Goritz, in the Austrian dominions.* His majesty was in good health: though in his eightieth year, he was quite capable of taking bodily exercise; and since his retirement from France, he had devoted himself to works of religion and charity, and to the sports of the field. He believed, in all sincerity, we have no doubt, that the loss of his crown was a punishment for sins he had committed; and he constantly wore hair-cloth next his skin, fasted much, and frequently imposed upon himself a long-continued silence. The winter set in early, in 1836; but his health did not appear to be affected; and on the morning of the 5th of November, he went on a long shooting expedition, on foot. At night he was seized with illness, and symptoms of Asiatic cholera manifested themselves. The effect was rapid; and about one o'clock, on the morning of the 6th, he expired. He was interred in a vault of the Capuchin convent at Goritz—his son and grandson following his corpse to its last resting-place. All the royal houses of Europe, except that of Orleans, went into mourning for the deceased—the vicissitudes of whose life, if fully gone into, would make an interesting volume of themselves.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EARLY DAYS OF LOUIS NAPOLEON; HIS ATTEMPT AT STRASBURG; LOUIS NAPOLEON SENT TO THE UNITED STATES; ATTEMPT AT INSURRECTION AT VENDOME; AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA; ADJUSTMENT OF THE DIFFERENCES WITH SWITZERLAND; OPENING OF THE SESSION, 1837; ANOTHER ATTEMPT UPON THE KING'S LIFE; HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH; BUDGET OF 1838; DEBATE UPON THE ADDRESS; TRIAL OF THE STRASBURG PRISONERS; THE "DISJUNCTION," AND OTHER PROJECTS; PROPOSED APPANAGE TO THE DUKE DE NEMOURS AND THE PRINCESS LOUISE; MODIFICATION OF THE MINISTRY; AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL OFFENCES; THE PRINCESS HELEN, OF MECKLENBURGH; MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE D'ORLEANS; SAD CATASTROPHE; INAUGURATION OF THE PALACE AT VERSAILLES AS A PALACE OF THE ARTS; FRESH POLITICAL SOCIETIES; DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES; CREATION OF PEERS; THE ELECTIONS.

A MEMBER of the Bonaparte family—whose name has already been slightly mentioned—now began that interference with the affairs of France, from which he never desisted till he became seated upon her throne, with almost as much power as his uncle possessed when in the zenith of his fame. Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte—to whom we allude—was the youngest son of Louis Bonaparte (brother of

Napoleon I.) and Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of the empress Josephine, by her first husband. He was born on the 20th of April, 1808, but was not baptized till the 10th of November, 1810. The ceremony was performed at Fontainebleau, by his uncle, cardinal Fesch; the emperor and the empress Maria Louisa were his sponsors; and his three christian

* See *ante*, p. 471.

names were given to him after his grandfather, father, and uncle. Not long after this period, Louis and Hortense—whose married life was never a happy one—were formally separated: the former, having previously resigned the crown of Holland, retired to Germany. He returned to France previous to 1814; but when the empress Maria Louisa and the king of Rome left Paris, on the advance of the allies, after the battle of Leipsic, he accompanied them. He shortly afterwards went to Rome; and finally retired to Florence, where, in 1844, he was joined by his brother Joseph and his wife. At the capital of Tuscany he bore the title of count de St. Leu; but he lived quite privately, and took no interest, apparently, in any of the occurrences of the day, till the revolutionary movements in Italy, in 1830, alarmed him for the fate of his sons. Three children were the issue of his marriage with Hortense. Napoleon Charles, born in 1802, and died in 1807; Napoleon Louis, born in 1804; and Charles Louis Napoleon. The two latter continued to reside with their mother, subsequently to her separation from her husband; and the emperor Napoleon evinced great fondness for them, both before and after the birth of the king of Rome. When Maria Louisa and the heir to the imperial throne left Paris in 1814, people expressed such displeasure, that Hortense promised, much to their delight, to remain there with her children. The advance of the Cossacks, however, and the alarm that prevailed in the city, compelled her to seek another shelter for her sons, and she took them to her mother, who was then residing at the château Navarre, in Normandy. On the allies establishing themselves at Paris, and all hope of the restoration of the authority of the Bonapartes having failed, the ex-queen prepared to leave France. Before she was ready to start, she learned that the treaty of Fontainebleau was concluded, and that the emperor Alexander—who took an interest in the ex-queen of Holland which has never been accounted for—had procured the insertion of an article in the treaty of Fontainebleau, securing to her complete authority over her children during their minority. His majesty also gave directions, that her estate at St. Leu should be converted into a duchy; and she was, from that time, called the duchess de St. Leu; the title of princes being given to her sons. She now resolved to remain in France, and took up her residence at Malmaison: there her *salons* were the resort of many of the leaders of the Parisian world of fashion. The Bonapartists also resorted to them; and as she kept up a constant correspondence with Napoleon at Elba, no doubt he received from her that information which ruled his subsequent movements. She continued to be the leader of the *ton* during the "hundred days." But, on the second arrival of

the allies, she had become so much the object of suspicion, that she found the safety of herself and of her children required that she should leave, without delay, the country which she preferred to any other. To raise funds for the journey, she sold her pictures and other works of art; but, like the other Bonapartes, she must have secured property somewhere, though she could not immediately realise it; for, subsequently, she was not in want of money; and was able to purchase the estate in Switzerland, on which she resided for many years. She left Paris on the 11th of July, 1815; and it was not without difficulty, that, after meeting with several interruptions, she arrived at Geneva. The magistrates would not allow her to remain there; and she went to Aix, in Savoy. There, we are told, the ex-queen took a house, which had attached to it a large court, where Napoleon Louis and his brother collected the little boys of the neighbourhood, and taught them to play at soldiers. The younger boy was drummer, and marched at the head of the troop, making all the noise he could; while Napoleon Louis, flourishing a tin sword, was the commander.* Whilst at Aix, the count de St. Leu sent a messenger to Hortense, requiring her to send her eldest son to him. She obeyed; and thenceforth her maternal tenderness became concentrated on Louis Napoleon, as we shall henceforth call her youngest child. The duchess de St. Leu remained at Aix till the 28th of November, when she went to Constance, in the grand-duchy of Baden, her desire being to be nearer her brother Eugène. At Constance, mother and son sojourned till the beginning of 1817, when, upon the invitation of her brother, she removed to Augsburg; but the king of Bavaria was soon obliged to inform her, that he could not permit her to remain in his territories. She then determined to make Switzerland her residence, or, as we should say, her "home;" and having purchased an estate in the canton of Thurgovia, on the banks of the Lake of Constance, she there built the castle of Arenenberg, where Louis Napoleon received the most important part of his education. He had been, in his early days, placed under the abbé Bertrand; and at a later period, Lebas, professor at the Athénée, Paris—the son of a republican associate of Robespierre, who shot himself after his chief's death—directed his classical studies. He had also attended the college and gymnasium at Augsburg. At Arenenberg, according to a contemporary writer, he studied literature and the sciences; M. Gastard, a clever Frenchman, who was at the head of a Swiss manufactory, giving him lessons in chemistry and natural philosophy. "He also," according to this writer, who appears to have been well informed as to the prince's early movements,

* *Napoleon III.*; by J. A. St. John.

"took advantage of the vicinity of the camp at Thun"—which was, at the time, under the direction of general Dufour, one of the most celebrated soldiers of the empire—"to make himself acquainted with military duties. Every year he carried the knapsack on his back, ate the soldier's fare, handled the shovel, the pickaxe, and the wheelbarrow—would climb up the mountains; and, after having marched many leagues in the day, return at night, to repose under the soldier's tent." He also made frequent excursions with his mother to Bavaria, Tuscany, and Rome; and—as Hortense had the faculty of pleasing everybody with whom she came in contact, except the man to whom she was unfortunately married—wherever they went, they had always the advantage of good society. Louis Napoleon thus saw much of the world; while he was acquiring various branches of knowledge; and—probably from the circumstances which surrounded him during the first few years after the congress of Vienna, when the Bonapartes, in consequence of the Elba evasion, were suspected and watched by the emissaries of the allies—he formed those habits of reticence and self-command, which have never forsaken him.

Thus several years passed away; and, in 1830, when revolutionary movements were rife in Italy, there is every reason to believe that the Bonapartes—male and female—were intimately mixed up with them. Suspicion was directed to the members of that family resident in Switzerland, as well as in Rome and Florence; and they were all narrowly watched, but not personally molested. The principles of Louis Napoleon were, at this period, republican; and he was a member of that secret society—the *Carbonari*—which, with its head-quarters in Italy, spread its branches all over Europe. In November, 1830, he accompanied his mother to Rome, being then in his twenty-third year; and, from that time, his active life may be said to have commenced. Madame La Mère—as the mother of the first emperor continued to be called—had resided in Rome since her son lost his empire; and at her house, in December, were assembled cardinal Fesch, her son Jerome, Hortense, and Louis Napoleon. What took place at that meeting is not known; but the papal government, acting upon information it received, sent fifty soldiers to the lodgings of Hortense; who seized Louis Napoleon, and conducted him over the frontiers. He then openly joined the revolutionists, and took an active part in the insurrection which broke out in February, 1831.

After Louis Napoleon had been sent from Rome, Hortense went to Florence, hoping to find him with his brother, who had, in 1827, married Charlotte, the youngest daughter of his uncle Joseph. But she learned that both had joined the revolutionists, who were conspiring

to convert "united Italy" into a republic; and, according to some authorities, were assisted with money by the count de St. Leu. Soon after her arrival in Florence, the countess received a letter from Louis Napoleon; in which he said—"Your affection will enable you to understand us. We have entered into engagements, and must keep them; and the name we bear compels us to aid those unhappy populations which invite us to assist them. Set me right in the eyes of my sister-in-law, who, no doubt, blames me for having led away her husband, who is much grieved that he should ever have been under the necessity of concealing from her one single action of his life." This letter threw Hortense into a painful state of sorrow. She appealed, we are told, to her husband, who, though he bewailed the loss of his sons, left their mother to do what she thought necessary to ensure their safety. The grief of the countess was enhanced by that of the young wife, who was *enceinte*, and passionately lamented the absence of her husband, to whom she was much attached. It was impossible for Hortense to take any active means to recall Louis Napoleon and his brother. They had joined the republican army, in which, at first, they were entrusted with important commands—their name inspiring confidence, from a recollection of the first Napoleon. It was soon found, however, that they were unequal to their duties, and they were superseded by generals Sercognani and Armandi; but still held high commissions in the forces, which were intended to revolutionise Italy.

It is not our intention to write the history of the brief struggle, which ended so disastrously for the insurgents. The revolutionists, under general Sercognani, defeated the papal army in several engagements, and "great rejoicing prevailed," we are told, "in the camp of the insurgents;" whilst "alarm and confusion filled the Vatican." The treachery of the duke of Modena (who had been admitted to the councils of the revolutionists), and Austrian aid, soon broke the chain of success; and both Jerome and the count de St. Leu—or some one in his name; for he is represented as having been, at this time, in a state approaching imbecility—anxious for the fate of Napoleon Louis and his brother, had written to the members of a provisional government, which had been established at Bologna, to say, that the presence of the two Bonapartes was injurious to their cause, and requesting that general Armandi might be directed to discharge them. These representations are supposed to have had the desired effect; for the two officers were deprived of their commands, and went to Ancona. As they were prohibited from entering the Tuscan territory, Hortense left Florence to join them. At Foligno, she saw general Sercognani, who spoke highly of the courage of his young volunteers, and his regret at parting with them. There she saw how insufficient the means

of the insurgents were ; and, writing to her sons, to tell them she would wait at Foligno to receive them, she said—"Woe to them who commence a revolution without the means of ensuring success, or, at least, of rendering it probable."

As the Austrian army was advancing on Ravenna, and threatened Bologna, from which the insurgents retreated, Hortense found that it was no longer safe for her to remain at Foligno. She left that place, and took the road to Forli; but had only proceeded one post, when she met the courier returning, whom she had sent to her sons. He had encountered them at Forli, where he found the eldest sick; and he died, on the 27th of March, in his brother's arms. The latter joined his mother at Pesaro; and there the two embraced each other once more, under the impression of the deepest grief, but yet with the feeling that they were all-in-all to each other; for never were mother and son more attached. Where the latter then stood, he was proscribed: his life was not safe. His mother preserved him by disguising him as one of her domestics. As traveller and servant they passed through the Austrian lines, reached Cannes, and from thence went to Paris, as already related.*

The biographers of the present French emperor blame Louis-Philippe for not permitting Hortense and her son to remain in France—we think unjustly. The king was surrounded by parties who wished once more to see the flag of the republic floating over France. To them, the name of Bonaparte would have been a tower of strength; and Louis Napoleon had shown a daring and an ability of which they were much in need in their leaders. Had he been suffered to reside in the country—if he had not succeeded at that time in wrenching the crown from the Orleans family, he would, undoubtedly, have been enabled to create a civil war, which would not have been so easily put down as were the insurrections at Lyons and in the west. He subsequently offered to take a commission in the French army; but what reliance could have been placed upon the loyalty to the throne, in France, of him who had been so recently one of the most active and ardent fomenters of the insurrection which was intended to establish a republic in Italy? Louis-Philippe only followed the dictates of common prudence, when he requested the duchess de St. Leu and her son to leave his dominions. Had he never committed a more imprudent, impolitic, or unjust act than that, he might have died on the throne of France.

Hortense and her son left Paris on the 6th of May, and came to England, where Louis Napoleon, who had been ill in Paris, was attacked by the jaundice; and the continuance of his life was very uncertain. He rallied, and the fugitives visited London, where they were well received;

* See ante, p. 424.

and Hortense declared, that she never met anywhere with so much politeness as in the British metropolis. As soon as he recovered his health, Louis Napoleon commenced that study of our law and institutions, which he followed up on a subsequent occasion; and whilst here, he received, says one of his biographers, "invitations to return to his native land, in order to take the lead in efforts for the restoration of his family. Under the prudent advice of his mother, he preferred to wait for events." Joseph Bonaparte arrived in London while his relatives remained there. Lafitte and Lafayette also came over from France. They had frequent interviews with Louis Napoleon, whom the two Frenchmen were anxious to draw into a connexion with the republican party that was so troublesome to Louis-Philippe: he adhered to the resolution taken, on the advice of his mother, to remain quiet. But even then he had imbibed the idea, which he subsequently avowed, when there appeared little chance of its being realised, that his star would one day be in the ascendant, and that he should not die till he became emperor of France.—The duchess and her son remained nearly three months in London, where they were visited and received by many of the *haut ton*; and regarded with no favourable eyes by Talleyrand, and the other ambassadors from the great continental states. They left England on the 7th of August, for Switzerland; and soon reached Arenenberg, where a letter awaited Louis Napoleon, signed by several noble and eminent Poles—general Cruirewicz, and count Plater, taking the lead—soliciting him to place himself at the head of the insurrection then raging in that country. The crown was offered him as the reward of his aid, from which much was expected; for "to whom," asked the writers of the letter alluded to, "could the direction of our enterprise be better confided, than to the nephew of the greatest captain, of not only our own age, but of all others?" He refused to accept the throne thus offered to him; saying, that "he, first of all, belonged to France:" thus intimating which way his wishes and desires tended. But, despite his mother's tears and entreaties, he resolved to join the insurgents; and only the receipt of intelligence of the reoccupation of Warsaw by the Russians, prevented him.

Disappointed in the hope of engaging in those scenes of strife for which he, at that time, appears to have had a longing desire, he devoted himself to his studies and literary pursuits. His *Réveries Politiques*, *Un Projet de Constitution*, *Deux Mots à M. Chateaubriand sur la Duchesse de Berri*, and *Considerations Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse*, were the productions of his retirement at Arenenberg; and they are works of which no man need be ashamed. Armand Carrel described them as displaying "not only a clear

head, but a noble heart. They bear the trace of deep thought, serious study, and great knowledge of the times." At Arenenberg, he and his mother appear to have been deservedly esteemed. They employed themselves in practical works of benevolence; and many anecdotes are told of Louis Napoleon's care for others—of his desire to improve the condition of all around him. As a tribute to the worth of both, the council of the canton of Thurgovia, in 1832, offered Louis Napoleon the rights and privileges of citizenship, in a letter which it is only justice to mother and son to preserve. We therefore copy it from the records of the day.

"We, the president of the petty council of the canton of Thurgovia, declare, that the commune of Sallenstein having offered the right of communal citizenship to his highness the prince Louis Napoleon, out of gratitude for the numerous favours conferred upon the canton by the family of the duchess of St. Leu, since her residence in Arenenberg; and the grand council having afterwards, by its unanimous vote of the 14th of April, sanctioned this award, and decreed unanimously to his highness the right of honorary burgess-ship of the canton, with the desire of proving how highly it honours the generous character of his family, and how highly it appreciates the preference they have shown for the canton, declare that his highness prince Louis Napoleon, son of the duke and duchess of St. Leu, is acknowledged as a citizen of Thurgovia."

Louis Napoleon replied, in appropriate terms, to this note; saying that, "under all the circumstances of his future life, as a Frenchman and a Bonaparte, he should be proud of being the citizen of a free nation."

Soon after, the death of the duke de Reichstadt made him a more prominent member of the Bonaparte family, of which the age of his uncle Joseph, and the state of mind evinced by his father, caused him to be considered the head. But he still continued to reside at Arenenberg. In 1834, he was appointed by the Swiss government captain of artillery of the regiment of Berne; and the next year, after the death of his cousin, the duke de Leuchtenberg (son of Eugène Beauharnais), which took place on the 28th of March, 1835, one month after his marriage to the young queen of Portugal, the hand of that sovereign was offered to him. He declined it, France being foremost in his thoughts; and "the conduct of his father, who abdicated in 1810, because he could not unite the interests of France with those of Holland, being not yet effaced from his memory."*

On the 2nd of February, 1836, madame La Mère, Louis Napoleon's grandmother, died at Rome; but the event does not appear to have had any effect on the surviving members of her family, except her brother, cardinal Fesch. They

* Letter of Louis Napoleon, dated Dec. 14th, 1835.

had resided together, leading, say contemporary authorities, "a quiet, but most luxurious life;" and when the cardinal died, in 1839, he left behind him the finest library and gallery of pictures that even Rome could boast. Louis Napoleon had seen too little of his grandmother to feel much regret for her loss; and he was, besides, then engaged in arranging those plans of ambition, the first open manifestation of which was made that year at Strasburg. Since the death of the duke de Reichstadt, the eyes of the Napoleonists, in France and elsewhere, were directed to the resident at Arenenberg. His communication with the republicans of France (though much to the distaste of some of the leaders of that party, as appeared from the articles in the *Tribune*) was kept up; and Armand Carrel thus spoke of his pretensions:—"The name borne by Louis Napoleon is the greatest existing in our modern times. It is the only one capable of strongly exciting the sympathies of the French people. If the prince is able to comprehend the new interests of France—if he can forget his claims of imperial legitimacy, and only remember the sovereignty of the people, he may, one day, be called upon to play a great part." As a proof of how Louis Napoleon was then regarded, in quite an opposite quarter, by one of the noblest names among the adherents of the elder branch of the Bourbons—the viscount de Chateaubriand—the following extract of a letter, written early in 1836, by the latter, to the occupant of Arenenberg, is interesting:—"You know," he said, "that my young king is in Scotland; and, so long as he lives, there can be for me no other sovereign of France. But if God, in his impenetrable designs, rejected the race of St. Louis—if our country were thrown back upon this election" [that of Louis-Philippe], "which she has never sanctioned; and if her habits rendered her unfit for a republic, then, prince, there is no name which could accord better with the glory of France than your own."

At this time Louis Napoleon had formed some of his plans, and secured the adherence of several friends; two of whom, colonel Vaudrey and M. de Persigny, were in full possession of his confidence. The former was a most able and energetic officer; the latter as skilful a diplomatist; though that both mistook the *then* signs of the times is evident. Colonel Vaudrey commanded the 4th regiment of artillery, stationed at Strasburg. Early in 1836, Louis Napoleon published his *Manuel sur l'Artillerie*, a work especially likely to attract the attention of the army; and, introduced by the colonel amongst the officers at the Strasburg garrison, it secured for its author many friends. Switzerland was then the resort of numerous refugees, whom the laws of the previous September had driven from France.† They naturally directed their attention to Louis

† See *ante*, p. 508.

Napoleon as the most likely person to enlist such a union of public opinion in France in his favour, as might overturn the throne of him whom they looked upon as their oppressor; and the château of Arenenberg became the centre of intrigues; with which some of the secret societies—at that time, as we have seen, so numerous in Switzerland—were connected. In the summer of 1836, Louis Napoleon went to Baden, where he essayed himself to win over officers of all ranks, as well as the civilians with whom he came in contact. Madame Eleanor Brault, whose father had been an officer in the imperial army, was that season, under the name of Gordon, a popular singer at Baden. She was an enthusiastic Bonapartist; and having procured an introduction to Louis Napoleon, strongly urged him to make a descent on France. He gave this lady his confidence; and she became an unsuspected medium of communication with many of his partisans.

The "heir of Napoleon I." evidently thought that the time for action had arrived; and he resolved to take his first step. The state of France—the wide-spread discontent with the government of Louis-Philippe, and the devotion which the name of Napoleon still inspired in that country, made him sanguine of success. Strasburg was fixed upon as the place for the movement to commence, because it was the residence of M. de Persigny; the regiment which colonel Vaudrey commanded was stationed there; and Louis Napoleon had numerous friends amongst the officers of the garrison. The town was important of itself. The capital of Alsace, it was strongly fortified; and whilst it was near the head-quarters of the disaffected in Switzerland, it opened a way into the heart of France; the adjoining provinces being those in which the name and the memory of the emperor were held in veneration—though, at that time, the inhabitants, nearly to a man, professed to hold republican opinions. The plan which was adopted when Louis Napoleon determined to make this city the site of the first scene in the splendid drama which he expected to produce, was simple. He meant to make his appearance amongst the soldiers, who, he was led to believe, would at once rally round him. It was expected that the entire national guard of Alsace would follow; and the force, united under the eagle and tricolour, and animated by the magic name of Napoleon, was to march direct on Paris, where it was anticipated an easy victory awaited them. It is now known, that the chain of conspiracy which commenced in Switzerland, had many links and ramifications in France; and, if the movement at Strasburg had succeeded, in all probability the other views of the conspirators would have been carried out.

Hortense, though ambitious, was not favourable to her son's risking life or liberty in any undertaking which did not hold out the strongest

assurances of success. Therefore, he did not make her his confidant; but she was aware that some serious measure was on foot, and frequently betrayed great uneasiness. When his plans were all formed, and the time for their execution arrived, Louis Napoleon took leave of his mother on the 23rd of October, saying, that he should be absent some days on a hunting party. She suspected that he was going on a more hazardous enterprise; and, at parting, put on his finger, as a talisman for his safety—the duchess, in her latter years, had become deeply superstitious—the marriage ring of the empress Josephine, which had come into her possession on the death of her mother, and had been carefully cherished for two-and-twenty years. The first halting-place of the adventurer was Freiburg, and there he met his first disappointment—several persons of importance, and possessed of high interest, whom he expected to find prepared to receive him, being absent from the town. In disguise he then posted on to Strasburg, where he arrived on the 28th of October, and at once proceeded to the residence of M. de Persigny, where he slept that night. The next day, colonel Vaudrey was informed of his arrival; and he immediately hastened to M. de Persigny's. To the colonel and his host Louis Napoleon submitted the proclamations—one to the people, the other to the army—which he proposed to issue. Both were signed "Napoleon;" and they were well calculated to animate the remaining friends of the first emperor. He told the people that they were betrayed, and "sold to the foreigner, by those who had profited by their revolution, but who yet denied all its principles." That "the new government was imposed upon them, in 1830, without consulting either the people of Paris, the inhabitants of the provinces, or the army." That "a national congress, elected by the whole of the citizens, had alone the right of choosing what was best for France." That, "proud of his popular origin, he appeared before them as the representative of the sovereignty of the people." That, "faithful to the emperor's maxims, he knew no other interests but theirs." And they were called upon to "behold by whom they were governed;" to look upon "the imperial eagle, the emblem of glory, the symbol of liberty;" and to choose between them.—The soldiers were reminded of the glories of Arcole, Austerlitz, and Wagram; and urged "to range themselves beneath the regenerated tricoloured flag, the emblem both of their interests and their glory;" for the purpose of "delivering the country from traitors and oppressors, protecting the rights of the people, and defending France and her allies against invasion." "And you, young soldiers," continued this spirited but somewhat bombastic address, "born, like myself, within sound of the cannon of Wagram, remember that you are the sons of soldiers of the great army. The sun of

a hundred victories shone upon our cradles; let either our deeds or our death be worthy of our birth! From above, the great spirit of Napoleon will direct our arms, and, content with our endeavours, will exclaim—‘They are worthy of their fathers!’”

The proclamations approved of, colonel Vaudrey assured Louis Napoleon of the support of his regiment, and advised him to put himself at its head, and seek an interview with general Voirol, who commanded the garrison; remarking, that “an old soldier of the empire would not be able to resist the sight of the emperor’s nephew, and of the imperial eagle.” This did not exactly meet the views of the young aspirant; but he yielded to the representations of the colonel, who, he supposed, must be acquainted with the sentiments of his commanding officer, with whom he was in constant communication. The next morning was fixed for the appeal to be made to the artillerymen and to the general; and, the consultation ended, Louis Napoleon then placed all his papers in the hands of madame Gordon, who had followed him to Strasburg; and, with several parties implicated in the plot, withdrew to a house in a different part of the town to that in which M. de Persigny’s residence was situated. There they passed the night, not undisturbed; for the tramping of horses in the streets, at a late hour, led them to apprehend that the plot was discovered, and that the troops were coming to arrest them. It turned out that it was only a small body of men, in search of some runaway steeds; and the night passed without interruption.

The next morning, Sunday, the 30th of October, about a dozen officers joined Louis Napoleon, who proceeded with them to the barracks of the 4th regiment of artillery, which colonel Vaudrey commanded, and in which Napoleon I. had, in early life, held a captain’s commission. The regiment was formed in a square in the barrack-yard; and as soon as the colonel presented Louis Napoleon, as “the nephew of the emperor,” the men unanimously gave a hearty cheer, and shouts of “*Vive l’Empereur!*” rang through the air. From the barracks, the insurgents proceeded to the head-quarters of general Voirol, who they found had been apprised of what was passing. He endeavoured to persuade Louis Napoleon to desist from his enterprise, but in vain; and having positively refused to join in it, he was put under arrest; a guard being left at his quarters, under commandant Parquin. While the leader of the insurrection had proceeded to the general’s head-quarters, accompanied by one division of the 4th artillery, three other divisions of that regiment were operating in different parts of the town. One, led by M. de Persigny, went to the hôtel of the prefect, M. Choppon d’Amouville, and made him prisoner. Another took possession of the

house of the colonel of the 3rd regiment of artillery; the third went to a printing-office, and compelled the men employed there to print the proclamations to the army and the people; which were soon distributing in the streets of Strasburg. But by that time, Louis Napoleon and several of his followers were prisoners, and the enterprise was at an end. From general Voirol’s head-quarters, the insurgents had proceeded to those of the 46th regiment, quartered in what was called the Finkmatt barracks. On the way, the artillerymen who accompanied them, by some accident, got divided; but Louis Napoleon, with a portion of the troops, proceeded to the barracks, where he found the soldiers in their rooms, preparing for the Sunday’s inspection. Attracted by the noise, they ran to the windows: Louis Napoleon addressed them—appealing again to the memory of his uncle. As soon as they heard that name, they rushed down, thronged around him, and evinced the greatest enthusiasm in his cause. “In another moment,” writes Louis Napoleon himself, “I should have found myself at the head of 5,000 men, with the people of the town everywhere in my favour; when of a sudden, a disturbance arose at one end of the courtyard, without those at the other extremity being able to divine the cause.”* The fact was, colonel Taillander, who commanded the regiment, had arrived; and on being told the cause of the commotion which he found prevailed amongst his men, he at once pronounced, that the person who had excited their enthusiasm was not the nephew of the emperor, but an adventurer and impostor. In this assertion he was supported by another officer, who declared that Louis Napoleon was a nephew of colonel Vaudrey. It is doubtful whether the officers expressed their own convictions, or whether the assertion was merely a *ruse*, to excite indignation against the leaders of the insurgents. At all events, it succeeded. The soldiers, as indignant at having been imposed upon, as they were enthusiastic for Napoleon, made the leaders of the insurgents prisoners. The 3rd regiment of artillery and the pontonniers had joined the 4th; but when the latter found that their colonel was arrested, they lost courage, dispersed, and returned to their quarters. The 3rd imitated them, as did the pontonniers; and by nine o’clock all was over, and Strasburg returned to its usual quietude.—It is said, in some quarters, that one of the associates of Louis Napoleon—one of the warmest in support of his enterprise—was a spy; and that the government were informed of all his movements. As madame Gordon was arrested the same day, there would seem to be some truth in this report; otherwise there appears to have been no reason to suspect that she was concerned in the plot. Fortunately for

* Letter written by Louis Napoleon, when in America.

many of those who were engaged, as soon as she heard of the arrest of Louis Napoleon, she burnt all the papers left in her hands, which implicated many parties in different parts of France.

When taken before the prefect, who had been set at liberty soon after he was arrested, Louis Napoleon strongly protested that he alone was guilty, and that all those who were taken into custody ought to be liberated. To questions put to him, he replied, that he sought to set his country free, but had been prevented by foreign invaders. In 1830, he was treated as a pretender; he had now acted like a pretender. He wished to establish a government founded upon election by the people; and if he had been successful, he would have summoned a national congress. After his examination, he was separated from his friends, who were arrested with him; and his first act was, to write to his mother, informing her of his adventure, and its termination: and exhorting her to "take courage, as he should know how to sustain, to the end, the honour of the name he bore." Hortense immediately set out for France, dangerous as the journey was; and interceded with Louis-Philippe for her son. Her appeal, no doubt, was effectual; for on the 9th of November, one of the heads of police, accompanied by an officer and five *gens d'armée*, arrived at Strasburg, with orders that they were to take Louis Napoleon to Paris. They arrived in the capital at eleven o'clock the next evening; where the prisoner was taken before M. Delessert, who informed him, that he was to be sent to L'Orient, where he was to be embarked for the United States. It has been asserted, by more than one historian, that he gave a positive promise to remain in perpetual exile in America; others state, that he was banished for ten years. To these assertions, Louis Napoleon gave a positive denial. "No terms of freedom were negotiated with him," he says, "because the French government was well aware that he preferred a solemn sentence and trial to liberty. It exacted nothing from him, because it could exact nothing; and he promised nothing, because he was asked for nothing."* These assertions have never been impugned.

Of the parties arrested with Louis Napoleon, only colonel Vaudrey, lieutenant Laity, commandant Parquin, the count de Gircourt, count de Bruc, M. Querelles, and madame Gordon, were committed for trial. Orders were given to arrest MM. Persigny, Lombard, and Gros; but they eluded the police, and got safe out of France. The others were committed to close confinement in the prison at Strasburg.

The very same day that Louis Napoleon appeared at Strasburg, a military conspiracy, which had for its object the establishment of a re-

public, was discovered at Vendôme—at the opposite extremity of France. The leader was a *sous-officier* of a hussar regiment, stationed at the town, named Bruyant. He had not procured more than nine or ten associates in his regiment; but he expected that the entire body would join in the attempt to overthrow the throne. According to the developments made on his trial, it appears, that his plan comprised the arrest of the officers, and the proclamation of the rights of man, by which he expected to induce the people to join him. The workmen were to be armed, and, with the soldiers, march on Tours; and he had no doubt but that adherents would flock in to him from all sides. The associates in the plot, are described as having "met at an inn, in the afternoon of the 30th of October, to arrange their proceedings; where they drank a good deal of wine; sang some merry songs; and Bruyant, from time to time, read to them his intended proclamations." The hour of action was fixed for that evening; but some of their number had proved treacherous—and all were arrested. Only Bruyant was ultimately tried; and a sentence of perpetual imprisonment followed his conviction.

No other events deserving mention, marked the domestic history of France in 1836. But towards the latter end of December, disastrous intelligence was received from Algeria, to which colony the duke de Nemours had sailed a few months previously, to take a command under marshal Clausel. An expedition against Constantina had failed, and the French soldiers, though not disgraced, were defeated. "The conquest of Algiers," however, and the various operations of the French army there, will be best understood if given in a consecutive narrative; which will be found in a subsequent chapter.—Before the year closed, the amicable relations with Switzerland were re-established. The true nature of the dispute between the diet and the duke de Montebello, which led to the suspension of the diplomatic relations with the Swiss government, has never been properly explained. It appeared to arise from the ambassador's demanding the expulsion, from the cantons, of a man named Conseil, who had been apprehended in Paris, in 1835, on a suspicion of being associated with Fieschi. He was discharged, and went to Switzerland, where he had remained. Conseil, when he was examined by the directory, professed to be, not a French conspirator, but a spy of the French government, and travelling under a passport granted by that government. The truth of his statement was never established; on the other hand, it was never disproved. What became of him does not appear; but the re-establishment of the intercourse between the ambassador and the Swiss government, was the result of instructions from Paris.

* Letter to M. Capefigue, the historian, dated "London, Nov. 10th, 1846."

The opening of the session for 1837 took place on the 27th of December. The king went as usual to deliver the inaugural speech; riding in a close carriage, escorted by military, and accompanied by his three sons—the dukes d'Orleans, de Nemours (who had returned from Algeria), and d'Aumale. On their way, a third attack was made upon the life of the king. A pistol was discharged at the back of the carriage; the ball from which passed through the vehicle, narrowly missing his majesty. The weapon was discharged by a person named Meunier, who, with one or two other persons, was apprehended. He appeared to be half idiotic; this did not prevent him, however, from being tried, and condemned to the guillotine. A man, named Victor Boirier, arrested with him, was also condemned to the same punishment, as an accomplice. The king proceeded to the chambers, apparently unmoved; but who can tell what he must have suffered, from the conviction that there was such a dogged determination to take his life! As on a former occasion, he reached the palace Bourbon before the news of the attempted assassination: when it was known, there were loud and emphatic expressions of congratulation at his escape.

When the peers and deputies were assembled, his majesty addressed them, evidently labouring under considerable emotion from the warmth of the expressions of congratulation and sympathy, which rose around him on every side. He commenced by stating, that the institutions of the country were strengthening; that her prosperity was increasing; that the pacific assurances received from all powers, encouraged the belief, that the peace of the world was established for a long time; that the treaty concluded with the United States in 1831, was in the course of execution; and the intimate friendship with Switzerland, which had been temporarily interrupted, was re-established. His majesty referred to the state of affairs in the Peninsula, which "was still disturbed by internal dissensions; and serious events had shaken the institutions both of Madrid and Lisbon. Still, closely united with the king of Great Britain, he continued to cause the treaty of the quadruple alliance to be executed with religious fidelity, in conformity to the spirit in which it had been dictated. He entertained the most sincere desire for the consolidation of the throne of Isabella II.; he trusted that the constitutional monarchy would triumph over the perils with which it was threatened. But, he applauded himself for having preserved France from sacrifices, the extent of which could not be appreciated." The painful losses in Africa were alluded to; the "valour, perseverance, and admirable resignation" of the troops, whose "sufferings and dangers his second son had shared," were eulogised; and the chambers were asked to join with his majesty, "to insure to their arms in Africa

the preponderance which ought to belong to them; and to their possessions there, complete security." Here his majesty deviated from the written copy of his speech, to notice the "attempt which threatened his life." "Providence," he said, "had averted the blow directed against him; and the testimonies of affection with which France had surrounded him, and which the chambers had just renewed, were" characterised as "the most precious rewards for his labour and devotion." In the recent acts of amnesty, his majesty said, "he had followed the desires of his heart:" and then reverting to the business likely to come before the legislature, he informed the "peers and deputies," that "laws which had already been presented to them, would be again submitted for their consideration; and they would have again to occupy themselves with several bills, some of which concerned his family, while others were necessary to complete and perfect their legislation." The finances were described as being "in a prosperous state, the public revenue exceeding the ordinary expenses. Measures conformable to the wish expressed last session would be proposed, as soon as the return of abundance of capital would permit his government to do so." The "commercial embarrassments which had been felt in other countries," were said to "have exercised but a feeble influence on the internal prosperity of France." There had been sufferings in some localities, which the government was endeavouring to assuage: "there was reason to hope that they would be but temporary, and that an increase of wealth would everywhere insure the welfare of the population. To arrive more expeditiously at that happy result, and to endow France with the advantages promised to her by the progress of science, and the advance of national prosperity, he had given orders, that proposals for an important mass of public works should be submitted for their deliberation. Already the sums voted for the improvement of the roads in the west, had changed the aspect of the country, and destroyed the germ of public discord. In the course of the session, the roads still to be formed, the improvement of the navigation of rivers, the establishment of canals, ports, and railroads, would be the object of important propositions; as well as the erection of those monuments and public institutions, which at once attested, and still further augmented, the greatness of France."

An impressive scene followed. The king retired as soon as he had delivered his speech—the large assembly loudly applauding him; and the sitting being closed soon after his majesty's departure, the peers and deputies proceeded, in a body, to the Tuileries, to congratulate the royal family upon his majesty's third escape from the hand of an assassin. The king, the queen, madame Amélie, and his sons, received the members of the legislature with much

emotion, but with evident gratification. His majesty entered familiarly into conversation with those who were nearest to him; minutely described the events of the morning; and closed his narrative with the following words:—"I do not know how I escaped; for, at the moment the report was heard, I had my head very much advanced towards the door of the carriage. Nemours, who was also leaning forward, had his head against the glass."

M. Dupin was re-elected president of the chamber of deputies; and in the committee for preparing the address, ministers secured a majority of three. While that committee was performing its duties, M. Duchâtel, on the 4th of January, 1837, presented the budget for 1838. He took a most favourable view of the rapid advance made by the country since 1830; and said the increase in the exports of France in 1835, as compared with 1829, was 372,000,000f. (£14,880,000). With regard to the reduction of the five per cents., while he considered the measure perfectly legal and just, he doubted whether it would be prudent to carry it out in the present state of the financial world; and would prefer not to bring it forward till the accumulation of more capital in the country might render the operation one of less questionable expediency. But though he and his colleagues did not think that was the proper moment to propose the conversion, he would state, that no sooner should a favourable opportunity present itself, than they would immediately demand from the chambers the power necessary to enable them to carry out the operation. With regard to the public income, the increase in the manufacture of beetroot sugar having reduced the consumption of the foreign article, the revenue had fallen off; and he thought the domestic sugar should be subjected to a tax like other manufactured articles; whilst a reduction should take place in the duties levied on colonial and foreign sugar. Until a bill could be brought in to arrange this matter, he should propose an augmentation of the existing duties on licences and liquors, to cover the deficiency. Taking this change into consideration, he estimated the income at 1,053,340,078f. (£42,133,603); and the expenditure at 1,037,288,050f. (£41,491,422); leaving a surplus of 16,052,028f., or £642,181. Having stated the purport of his budget, the minister laid on the table three projects of law—1, authorising the government to apply the reserve of the sinking-fund to public works; 2, for the reduction of the duties on colonial and foreign sugars; 3, regulating the administration of savings-banks.—At the same time, M. Gasparin presented a project for placing in the hands of government a monopoly of the telegraphic establishments; on introducing which, he enlarged on the necessity of giving the executive

the means of rapidly circulating important information, or disseminating necessary orders; and of taking out of the hands of the discontented the telegraphic appliances, which had been used for very improper purposes.—All these projects became laws during the session.

In the debates upon the address, the conduct of the government, with respect to Spain, was commented upon in both chambers. In the peers, the ardent legitimist, the marquis de Deux-Brezé, condemned the policy adopted towards that country, as calculated to give Great Britain (towards which country and its people he expressed a great antipathy) a preponderance in the Peninsula.—The policy of the government was defended by count Molé and the duke de Broglie; whilst marshal Soult objected to that system of indirect co-operation which had been adopted; and said, if intervention were required, it should be direct, by French troops, commanded by French officers, and under French colours. The 3,000 or 4,000 men who volunteered for the Spanish service, had been most injudiciously treated. When organised, this force had been suddenly withdrawn; and the men, exposed to every privation, had fallen into a relaxed state of discipline.—M. Guizot observed, that there was a great difference between the ministerial system and the armed co-operation recommended by M. Thiers. Without declaring that intervention was quite unnecessary, ministers were determined to do all they could to avoid it.—In reply to a question why the charter was not extended to Algiers, if it were a colony of France? count Molé admitted, that the system of government adopted in that colony ought to cease.—After a not very long debate, the address was carried in this chamber by 98 votes to 11.

In the deputies—where the debate commenced on the 14th of January—ministers met with a check on the third paragraph of the address; the two first, having reference to the attack on the king's life, being carried unanimously. The paragraph objected to was as follows:—"Your majesty hopes that the peace of Europe is for a long time assured. We concur with joy in this expressed hope; and France will applaud herself for having, by her firmness and her wisdom, contributed to the maintenance of the peace of the world." To these words, M. Odillon Barrot proposed to add—"Which repose can never be more strongly guaranteed, than when it shall rest upon rights consecrated by treaties, and among which France will never cease to place in the first rank that of the nationality of Poland." This amendment, supported by the "extreme left," the "left centre," and a portion of the "right" sections of the chamber, was carried by 184 to 181.—When the paragraph referring to Switzerland was read, an explanation of the Conseil affair was asked for.

M. Thiers denied all knowledge of that individual. Several deputies spoke—the opposition insisting that the chamber had a right to full information as to the facts connected with the affair; and the ministers evading any explanation. While the debate was at its height, count Molé read a note just received from M. Montalivet, who took upon himself the whole responsibility of the proceedings connected with Conseil; respecting which, he said, he must act upon the principle of that “reserve which was commanded by the conditions of representative government.” When this letter was read, M. Thiers said, “his own honour compelled him to speak out; as president of the council, he ought to have known all, but he had not known all.” There was a complete tumult in the chamber after this declaration; but the paragraph was adopted.—The next paragraph, which noticed the course pursued with respect to Spain, also gave rise to an animated debate, in which M. Thiers described the system of England as “bold and decisive;” and with respect to the request made by that power, that the French government should unite with her in more active measures, he had not been averse to accede to it, but his opinion had been overruled in the cabinet. Subsequently, when the situation of things had changed, and Gomez had been permitted to carry insurrection into the very heart of Spain, he had formed the idea of establishing an army of 25,000 men—British, French, and Portuguese—under general Bugeaud; which, he had no doubt, would easily have quelled the insurrection. Then followed the affair of La Granja, which he thought rendered intervention imperative. Seven out of eight ministers concurred with him; but the cabinet not being unanimous, they resigned. Great laughter was caused by the conclusion of M. Thiers’s speech. He said, with some emphasis, “I think I have judged the state of Spain at a glance; and that I am the only man who has done so.”—M. Guizot defended the cautious policy of the government; and contended, that the interests of France did not permit or require an armed intervention: he entered into details to show that the influence of France was not declining, but increasing; and said, that, having entered upon a period of peace, industry, and commerce, it should not be interrupted except upon good and strong grounds.—In this debate, both legitimists and the liberal opposition evinced great jealousy of England, whose power and influence, they thought, the quadruple treaty was calculated to advance. An amendment, expressing the ardent wish of the chamber, that “the security and honour of France, might not impose on her the necessity of an armed intervention,” was rejected. The paragraph was then divided into two sections, each of which was carried by a good majority.—The address was ultimately

adopted, as drawn up by the committee, with the exception of the amendment proposed by Odillon Barrot; marshal Bugeaud stating, when the paragraph respecting Algeria was under discussion, that at least 45,000 men would be required to uphold the reputation of the French arms in that part of the world. The division on the *ensemble* of the address, gave 242 ayes, to 157 noes; majority, 85.

This division took place on the 20th of January; and just before the debate closed, the chamber presented a scene of great excitement. Prosecutions of the press, and the trials of the prisoners taken at Strasburg, had occupied the attention of the courts from the first day of the year. The editor of the republican *Siècle* had been sentenced to two months’ imprisonment, and a fine of 2,000f.; for having, in violation of the “laws of September,” introduced the king’s name while discussing the acts of his government. The legitimist editors of the *Gazette de France*, the *Quotidienne*, and the *Courrier*, for seditious libels on the death of Charles X., had been subjected to the same amount of fines and imprisonment. Those trials took place at Paris. The accomplices in the Strasburg affair—colonel Vaudrey, lieutenant Laity, commandant Parquin, M. de Querelles, the count de Gircourt, the count de Bruc, and madame Eleanor Brault, *alias* Gordon—were tried before the assize court of that city. There was no doubt, from the evidence of the witnesses, and the statements of the prisoners on their examination, that they had been active agents in the attempt of Charles Louis Bonaparte, which had resulted in such a miserable failure. It was evident, that they had been actuated rather by a most devoted attachment to the memory of Napoleon, than by any determined wish to subvert the existing government, and that their proceedings were destitute of a definite plan and organisation. Still, they were no less treasonable. But as the chief criminal had been liberated “by order of the king,” it was contended, that, neither by the distinct provisions of the law, as laid down in the criminal code, nor by the principles of equity, could the accessories, under such circumstances, be convicted. The trial continued from the 6th to the 18th of January; and, on the latter day, the jury acquitted all the prisoners. On leaving the court, they and the lately accused were greeted with loud acclamations; and Strasburg presented every feature of a *fête*, the garrison participating in the joy and satisfaction of the people. The intelligence of the result reached Paris on the 20th: the deputies were sitting; and as it spread through the chamber, the opposition displayed signs of great satisfaction; whilst the ministers were very grave, and were observed to be conversing earnestly together. It was the last paragraph of the address, referring to the internal state of

the kingdom, that was under discussion at the time; and several members pressed the ministers to give some explanation of their knowledge of the late conspiracy—their remarks being interspersed with allusions to the trial. All the ministers were silent to these demands, which came from different quarters of the chamber; till at length, M. Guizot, apparently labouring under violent emotion, rose, and exclaimed, "We will give no explanation, we will give no satisfaction;" and immediately resumed his seat. This was the signal for a great tumult in the chamber; which did not prevent the address from being adopted, as we have stated.

Four days after the debate on the address closed, on the 24th of January, general Bernard, the minister of war, introduced into the deputies a project, upon which ministers had determined in consequence of the result of the Strasburg trials. It directed, that, when civil and military persons were implicated in the same charge, they should be tried under separate indictments—the former before the civil tribunals; the latter by a court-martial. The same day, the minister of marine introduced another project, for making the Isle of Bourbon a *depôt* for offenders sentenced to transportation. The next day, M. Persil, the minister of justice, laid on the table of the peers a project, by which he proposed to enact—1st. That any individual who should have any knowledge of a conspiracy, or attempt against the state or the sovereign, and did not denounce the guilty person, or reveal the particulars of the plot, within twenty-four hours after they came to his knowledge, should be liable to imprisonment. 2nd. That disapproval of the plot, or attempts to dissuade its authors from not carrying it into execution, should be no excuse for non-revelment. 3rd. That when the person guilty of non-revelation should be a relative of the author of the conspiracy, he should not be subject to imprisonment, but should, for a period not exceeding ten years, be placed under the surveillance of the police.

As might be expected, the opposition press made these projects the subject of their censure. The law for separating civil and military offenders, which was called the "disjunction bill," was assailed, as levelled alike against the jurors and the soldiers of the nation, and as doing equal injustice to both. That for rendering the Isle of Bourbon a place of confinement, as well as transportation, was stigmatised as entirely foreign to the spirit of French jurisprudence. And the "non-revelation" project was said to be directed against the honour and morality of the people. The "disjunction" project was discussed in the chamber of deputies on the 28th of February. M. Dupin, of the *tiers parti*, and M. Berryer, the legitimist, were found amongst its opponents, whilst M. de Lamartine defended it. The debate did not terminate till the 7th of March, when

the two clauses, of which the project consisted, were declared carried, by a show of hands; but, on the ballot being taken for the *ensemble*, the numbers were—ayes, 209; noes, 211.

This decision, it was expected, would cause the dissolution of the ministry; and it did lead to some new arrangements: before they took place, however, several important measures came before the legislature. A few days after the three projects we have mentioned were introduced, M. Molé submitted to the deputies two proposals: 1st. To make over to the duke de Nemours the domain of Rambouillet, and another domain in the department of the Eure et Loire; which, together, deducting a yearly sum of 260,000f., charged on that of Rambouillet, would give him a revenue of 600,000f. (£24,000) per annum. 2nd. To place at the disposal of the minister of finance, 1,000,000f. (£40,000), to pay the marriage portion of the princess Louise, the queen of the Belgians. These proposals were resisted with great earnestness: the first, on account of its magnitude; and both on the ground, that, out of his large private fortune and public income—the latter estimated at 32,000,000f. (£1,280,000) per annum—the king ought to provide for his children. These projects were discussed, as was the proposal to appropriate the surplus of the sinking-fund to public works, while the negotiations connected with the *personnel* of the ministry were taking place. The last-mentioned project was carried by a majority of 218 to 47, which was considered as a proof that the ministers possessed the confidence of the chambers, notwithstanding their defeat on the disjunction bill. On the 10th of March, the committee to whom it was referred, also reported in favour of the project connected with the dowry of the queen of the Belgians. The order, that the report be printed, being put by the president, M. L'Herbette demanded that it should be sent back; and that, while the committee were reconsidering it, the rent-roll of the king, and other documents, which would throw light on his majesty's private affairs, should be laid before the chamber. The vast estates of the crown, of the house of Orleans, and of the late prince de Condé (left to the young duke d'Aumale), were, he said, in the hands of the king, who ought not to come to the public for the dowry; as the 21st article of the law of 1832, stipulated that he should only do so in the case of poverty, or inability to endow his children. The speaker was interrupted at this part of his speech, and great disorder prevailed for some time; M. L'Herbette refusing to obey various calls to order from the chair, but resorting to a personal attack upon M. Dupin. At length this scene terminated; and a majority of 213 to 53 ordered the report to be printed.

It was not till the middle of April that the new ministerial arrangements were concluded.

The king had successively applied to marshal Soult, M. Guizot, and M. Thiers; but it was found impossible to overcome the difficulties which were found in the way of a combination, of which any one of these three statesmen was to be the centre. "These difficulties," we are told, "resulted partly from the conflicting pretensions and personal considerations of individuals; and partly from the almost imperceptible, but the no less diligently preserved, shades of opinion, which broke into petty sections, and rendered incapable of anything like unity of action, the great party which, at that period, constituted the support of the July dynasty." There was also the known determination of Louis-Philippe to be the first in his own council, where he was resolved his policy should, if possible, predominate; which made men of really independent minds very reluctant to place themselves in a position where their independence and self action could be only nominal, unless they were disposed to be almost constantly in a state of personal altercation with their sovereign. At length, on the 16th of April, the *Moniteur* announced the new arrangements. Count Molè retained his position and offices. Count Montalivet, the personal friend and confidant of the king, was made minister of the interior, in the place of M. Gasparin, the friend of M. Guizot. The latter gave up the department of public instruction to M. Salvandy. M. Barthé succeeded M. Persil as minister of justice and keeper of the seals. M. Duchâtel was replaced by M. Lacave Laplagne as minister of finance. General Bernard, M. Martin (du Nord), and admiral Rosamel retained their offices.

Count Molè, on the 18th of April, appeared before the deputies, to inform them that a treaty of marriage was negotiating between the duke d'Orleans and the princess Helen of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. As provision must be made for this marriage, it was the wish of his majesty, that the project for granting an *apanage* to the duke de Nemours should be withdrawn. An additional grant, the amount of which the chamber was to regulate, was proposed for the duke d'Orleans; and a jointure of 300,000f. (£12,000) per annum to be settled on the princess, in the case of the demise of the duke during the lifetime of his father. The chamber agreed to add 1,000,000f. per annum to the income of that amount already in possession of the duke; to vote the dowry demanded for the princess Helen; and to allow 1,000,000f. for her outfit. The sum asked for, as the dower of the queen of the Belgians, was next voted, after another angry debate. The ministers also obtained, on the 2nd of May, by 250 votes to 112, a supplementary grant for secret-service money. Count Molè, in making the application for this vote, declared, that government desired the means of establishing an active surveillance in all the

large towns of France, and especially on the frontiers; and, if ministers were not supplied with the necessary funds, it was impossible for them to be answerable for the maintenance of the public tranquillity.—The session was extended to the 12th of July; but there were no other measures brought forward, of any general interest. Some time was spent in discussing the projects introduced with the "disjunction" law, and ministers were more fortunate with them; but the support they received in the chamber was not sufficient to make them feel that their position was secure.

The king, by the advice of his ministers, resolved to precede the marriage of the duke d'Orleans by an act of grace, which was sure to be agreeable to the general public. This was, to extend an amnesty to all the persons still in prison for political offences; and Victor Boirier and François Meunier, condemned to death for the attempt on the king's life, were included in it; their sentences being commuted to one of deportation to the United States for ten years. The *ordonnance* announcing this measure, appeared on the 8th of May. It was preceded by a report from M. Barthé, the keeper of the seals; in which the minister, addressing the king, said—"Sire, a great act of clemency has long been the wish of your heart; but, before you yielded to the impulse, it was necessary that the vanquished should not have the opportunity of ascribing the consignment of their faults to oblivion, to any other motive than the spontaneous generosity of your majesty. Now that order is confirmed; that your government is armed with the salutary laws which have saved France; and that the national guard and the army have displayed their loyalty—the entire nation will join in testifying their gratitude for a step which confirms your throne, by founding it in beneficence." As far as public opinion was expressed, after the appearance of this *ordonnance*, it was highly favourable to his majesty; and the preparations for the nuptials of the duke d'Orleans were carried on in the midst of expressions of loyalty and congratulation which flowed into the Tuileries from most parts of the kingdom.

The princess Helen Louise Elizabeth, who was the intended bride of the eldest son of Louis-Philippe, was the daughter of Louis Frederick, hereditary grand-duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and of Caroline of Weimar, his second wife. She was born on the 24th of January, 1814; her mother died when she was only two years old; and in conformity with her entreaties, on her death-bed, the duke married her cousin, the princess of Hesse Homburg, who was soon left a widow. From that time she devoted her life to the children of her cousin, and a very strong attachment grew up between her and the princess Helen, who, from

childhood, displayed the most amiable qualities; and was beloved both by associates and dependents. She was brought up with her brother Albert, in retirement; the grand-duchess residing, for the greater part of the year, at Doberan, on the Baltic; or at Plushow, an estate belonging to the hereditary grand-duke, near Ludwigslust. In 1834 the princess incurred her first grief—she was too young, when her mother and father died, to feel their loss very severely—in the death of her beloved brother Albert; who, injured by a fall, when exploring some ruins near Jena, lingered a few months, and then expired. Soon after, at Toeplitz, the princess was introduced to the king of Prussia; who was attracted—as all the frequenters of the courts at Weimar and Schwerin, where the princess was occasionally taken by her mother-in-law, appear to have been—by her extraordinary intelligence, rendered the more striking by her youth. When the duke d'Orleans visited Berlin, in 1836, the king—having no daughters of his own to bestow in marriage—then, or very soon after, appears to have thought of the princess Helen as a fitting bride for his royal highness. It is not known whether Frederick William mentioned the virtues and other attractions of the fair Helen to the young prince, when he was at Berlin; or whether the union with her was suggested to his royal highness after he had failed in attaining the hand of the Austrian archduchess: but it was proposed to him by that monarch, who, we are told, appeared “to take a personal interest in the destiny of both, which no opposition offered by his own family could diminish.” The prince gave a willing ear to the wishes of his Prussian friend; and, having satisfied himself that the princess Helen deserved all that had been said of her, M. Bresson was instructed to make an official demand of her hand from the grand-duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, her brother, who was not, at first, very well disposed to the union. The princess herself was attracted by the person and character of the duke; the dowager grand-duchess, her mother-in-law, supported the proposal; and the reluctance of the grand-duke being overcome, the marriage contract was signed on the 5th of April.

On May the 15th, the princess quitted Ludwigslust, accompanied by the dowager grand-duchess, who wished to present her personally to the queen of France. Great regret was felt and expressed at parting with her. “From day-break the passages and staircases of the castle were filled with the old servants and early companions of the princess, anxious to see her once more. She thanked them, and smiled through her tears, when she saw the ground all strewn with flowers. Nosegays, thrown by friendly hands, filled the carriage, and she had some

difficulty in making her way through them.”* She received similar marks of affection at every place on her route where she was known and recognised. At Fulda, on the 22nd of May, the mission appointed to receive and escort her highness into France, was introduced to her. The duke de Broglie was at its head; and the chivalric courtesy with which he performed the duties of his office, was gratefully acknowledged by the princess, in a subsequent interview with the king. On crossing the frontiers of France, on the 25th of May, she passed under the arch of flowers and evergreens erected for the occasion, to be cordially welcomed on her entrance into her adopted country. Everywhere on her route she was greeted with approving demonstrations; “with a universal burst of joy,” says one narrator, “such as saluted Marie-Antoinette sixty years before.” At Chalons, on the 28th of May, the duke d'Orleans was waiting to receive his future bride: the interview was equally agreeable to both; and the duke returned to Paris, impressed with the certainty that he could not have made a better choice, and with visions of future happiness rising before him. The party arrived at Fontainebleau on the 29th; and there “the marks of public satisfaction bespoke a genuine enthusiasm. The inner courtyard was lined with troops, and an immense crowd pressed round the railing. At the foot of the grand stairs stood the king, with the princes, his sons, awaiting her; at the top of the stairs was the queen, surrounded by the princesses, the ladies of her household, and those who were invited to the marriage festivities; and lastly, behind, was a group of gentlemen, composed of all who, for the last seven years, had appeared in the great arena of politics—all whom France then possessed, illustrious for their talent, or distinguished by their eminent position in the country. The young princess stepped from her carriage—the eyes of all, at the moment, riveted upon her—with singular grace. She bent before the king; kissed his hand with affectionate deference; and then threw herself into the arms of the queen, with an emotion so genuine, yet so subdued, that no one could remain an indifferent spectator.”†

The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour, at Fontainebleau, on the 30th of May. The royal family remained there till the 4th of June, when they went to Paris, where an immense concourse of people awaited their arrival, and received the youthful duchess with loud acclamations. All parties appeared to rejoice in the union; and the engaging manners,

* *Memoirs of the Duchess d'Orleans*, translated by Mrs. Austin; in which a most interesting account is given of the lady, who, in the last few years of her life, excited so much sympathy in England.

† *Memoirs of the Duchess d'Orleans*.

and graceful appearance of the bride, won every heart. A succession of *fêtes* and festivities took place in honour of the event; and a grand public celebration was arranged for the 14th, when a sad catastrophe took place, which damped the fervour of the public joy. A superb military *fête* was held in the Champ-de-Mars, which attracted thousands of people, who, in the evening, were amused with a representation of the capture of the citadel of Antwerp. All went off well till the close; when, as the crowd dispersed, the numbers round the wicket leading to the Ecole Militaire became so great, as quite to impede the passage. This caused the pressure from behind to be so intense, that numbers were thrown down; and whilst many were much bruised, and otherwise injured, twenty-four were either suffocated or pressed to death. The recollection that there was a similar interruption to the marriage festivities of Marie-Antoinette, caused many persons then to augur a disastrous future for the newly-married pair. They, and all the members of the royal family, were foremost in tendering sympathy and aid to the sufferers; and the duchess d'Orleans evinced the most genuine benevolence in that early period of her married life.*

One of the ceremonies by which the king proposed to commemorate the marriage of his son, was the inauguration of the palace of Versailles as a museum of the fine arts. Since 1832, his majesty had been employed in restoring this palace, and in arranging there everything he could collect, calculated to illustrate the civil and military history of France, and perpetuate the recollection of its glories. In the spacious galleries of this long-deserted palace, his majesty collected a series of pictures, portraits, and statues, which revived the memories of all the great events that had transpired from the reign of Louis XIV. till his own era. The smaller rooms he converted into saloons, similarly ornamented; and every available spot was decorated with some remembrance of the past, or some memorial of the present. The era of Louis XIV., the founder of the palace, was illustrated in the upper story; then came that of the revolution; next the empire; and then the siege of Antwerp, and the victories in Algiers. The works of the greatest masters in painting and sculpture which France had produced, were collected, and contrasted with each other; and, writes one of the many who have essayed to describe the marvels which meet the eye of the "stranger in Paris," "all, by turns, were presented to the view of the astonished spectator, whose wonder was increased, when he reflected, that this palace, which, for a century, might be considered as the apotheosis of a single name, had, at the bidding, as it were, of another master-mind, become a vast historical museum, without a parallel in its own or any

* *Annuaire Histoire.*

other country." All this Louis-Philippe effected out of the savings of the civil-list, and his own private property; and when the inauguration took place, on the 10th of June, in the presence of the king, the queen, the duke and duchess d'Orleans, and the other princes and princesses of the blood-royal, the peers and deputies of France, the marshals, the great officers of state, and many more eminent persons of both sexes—the admiration of the public spirit and liberality of the sovereign, were acknowledged with an earnestness that appeared to indicate the most loyal sincerity.

But all that the king could do—aided by the influence which the domestic virtues of the royal family invested them with—did not extinguish discontent, nor prevent disaffection from finding many quarters where it was eagerly embraced. The republican faction was far from being annihilated, and the desire to subvert the monarchy was still entertained by many persons. The societies, dissolved under the influence of the laws of September, were resuscitated in secret conclaves, and every effort was made to recruit their members. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, and in spite of the vigilance of the police, these societies continued to exist, and extend their machinations on all sides. The results will be seen as we proceed. At the time of which we are now writing, the efforts of those who were thus labouring to excite the people against the government, were aided by the stagnation which pervaded many of the industrial interests of France. Numbers of workmen in various trades were unemployed; and, in all countries, the idle man is the readiest prey of the demagogue. Among the masters bankruptcies were frequent; and although with the higher classes money was plentiful, and luxury and splendour abounded—in almost every division of society below them, more or less distress was found to prevail.

The king, happy in his own family, was not, perhaps, aware of the real state of public opinion and of public feeling, especially as when he himself, the queen, or any of the princes or princesses appeared in public, they were not unfavourably received—generally the reverse. Soon after the union of his son with the princess Helen, he concluded a marriage between his second daughter and prince Ferdinand of Würtemberg, the son of a princess of Saxe-Coburg, cousin of the king of Würtemberg and of queen Victoria, who had recently (June 20, 1837) succeeded to the throne of England. While this event in the royal family was celebrating, count Molè and his colleagues resolved to dissolve the chamber of deputies, as they were not satisfied with the support they received from its members. The time—notwithstanding the distress that so widely prevailed, and the efforts of the secret societies, which could not be put down—was thought

favourable, as the effects of the amnesty and of the *fêtes*, on occasion of the royal marriages, had apparently diffused a better feeling amongst those classes in which the electors were found. On the 3rd of October, the royal *ordonnance*, dissolving the chamber, appeared; and, on the same day, by another *ordonnance*, fifty-two additional peers were created, being the fourth time that the members of the upper house had been increased since the revolution of July. From some symptoms which had shown themselves, a coalition was anticipated between the legitimists, under the marquis de Deux-Brézé and the count de Montalembert, and the ultra-liberals, under MM. Villemain and Cousin. It was intended, by the new creations, to create a *juste milieu* party, which might counterbalance such a conjunction of adverse political elements. But it was an imprudent step; as it was regarded unfavourably by all but the pure ministerialists; and caused the various sections into which the opposition was divided, to become still more violent and determined.

The elections were conducted with great earnestness on both sides; and, whilst the government took every means to secure a majority—resorting, say its opponents, to both cor-

ruption and menaces—a central committee, sitting in Paris, conducted the operations of the opposition. Of this committee MM. Arago, Lafitte, Cormenin, Garnier Pagès, Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, and Goudchaux were members; Garnier Pagès and Cormenin acting as secretaries. The result did not meet the expectations of the ministers; who obtained, in the gross number of 459 deputies, 237: these were believed to be supporters of the government; but they were divided into seven parties—the 222 members of the opposition being classed under five different shades of opinion. We give the names of these parties, and the number of members in each.

MINISTERIALISTS.		OPPOSITION.	
Doctrinaires Purs	13	Extrême Droit	18
Sous-Doctrinaires	21	Socialists	4
Legitimists ralliés	25	Extrême Gauche	19
Banc de la Cour	16	Gauche Modéré	62
Ministériels quand-même	50	Centre Gauche.....	119
Ministériels	82		
Douteux	30		222
	237		

This result of the elections was anything but assuring to the ministers; and they did not anticipate the meeting of the chamber with those feelings of confidence which a more decided majority would have inspired.

CHAPTER XIX.

OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1838; THE KING'S SPEECH; DEBATES ON THE ADDRESS; VOTE FOR ALGIERS; SECRET-SERVICE MONEY; RAILWAY SYSTEM; OTHER LEGISLATIVE MEASURES; CLOSE OF THE SESSION; DESTRUCTION OF THE ITALIAN OPERA-HOUSE AT PARIS; LIBEL ON THE DUKE D'ORLEANS; CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE KING; DEATH AND FUNERAL OF TALLEYRAND; PROSECUTION OF LIEUTENANT LAITY, AND THE TRIBUNE; WILD SPECULATIONS; BIRTH OF THE COUNT DE PARIS; RELATIONS WITH SWITZERLAND, BELGIUM, AND MEXICO; DEATHS OF COUNT LOBAU AND THE DUKE DE FITZJAMES; STATE OF PARTIES; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1839; THE KING'S SPEECH; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS; MINISTERIAL CRISIS, AND INTERREGNUM; INSURRECTION AT PARIS; THE SOULT MINISTRY; THE EASTERN QUESTION; CLOSE OF THE SESSION; LA SOCIÉTÉS DES FAMILLES ET DES SAISONS; TRIALS OF THE INSURRECTIONISTS; CREATION OF PEERS; AGITATION TO LOWER THE SUFFRAGE.

THE session of 1838 opened on the 18th of December, 1837. During the last two months, the internal state of France had improved; trade and industry had revived; and the year appeared about to close with much brighter prospects than had beamed upon it during its progress. This happy alteration was of course alluded to by the king in his opening speech. France, said his majesty, "is free and tranquil. Its prosperity rapidly increases; its institutions are consolidated; and the people have daily more confidence in their stability. The supremacy obtained by the laws has enabled me to realise the dearest wish of my heart, and to perform an act, the memory of which will always be pleasing. The amnesty has demonstrated the strength of my government. It has calmed men's minds; weakened the influence of the bad passions which

agitated society; and isolated, more and more, the projects of those who love disorder. Under the auspicious circumstances thus presenting themselves, I dissolved the chamber of deputies, and called together the electoral colleges, in order that the opinions of the electors might be expressed. My confidence in the country has not been misplaced. I feel assured that I shall find in you the firm support which I have received from the chambers for seven years past—that support which will enable me to secure to France the blessings of order and peace."—The affairs of Spain; the marriage of his eldest son and of the princess Marie; the success which had attended the French arms in Africa; the support and protection everywhere given by the French squadrons to their commercial relations; the prosperous state of the finances; and the progress

of public works, were then alluded to by his majesty, who concluded as follows:—"Never have I found myself surrounded by the chambers under more favourable circumstances. Let us learn, then, gentlemen, to secure, by our union and our wisdom, what we have attained by our courage and our patriotism. Let us endeavour to efface the painful recollections of all our dissensions; and let there not remain any other trace of the agitations from which we have suffered so much, except a deeper feeling of the necessity of preventing their return. Let us persist in the regular and peaceable system, to which we owe the increase of wealth and prosperity which France now enjoys. This is the dearest wish of my heart. My life is consecrated to the maintenance of all the securities of our peace and our liberties; and it is in the accomplishment of this great work that I claim your concurrence."

The deputies again elected M. Dupin their president by a large majority. M. Calmon, M. Cunin-Gridaine, M. Passy, and general Jacqueminot were chosen vice-presidents. M. Odillon Barrot was a candidate for the latter office, and received 142 votes; the "left centre," or *tiers parti*, and the "left," or republican opposition, voting for him—being the first indications of that coalition which subsequently imperilled the Orleans dynasty. The committee for preparing the address was then chosen; and, whilst they were pursuing their labours, the peers were debating on their address. The discussion in that house was opened on the 3rd of January, 1838, and closed on the 5th. The marquis de Deux-Brezé was one of the principal speakers against the government; and he renewed his censures of England and the quadruple alliance, which tended, he affirmed, solely to promote the power and influence of that kingdom. He concluded his speech by saying, that he "could see nothing but gloomy prospects on all sides; and, to crown all, he detected a tendency, on the part of the government, to afford an undue patronage to the protestant religion, though catholicism was the creed of 30,000,000 Frenchmen." The duke d'Orleans, thinking that this last passage was aimed at him, took the opportunity, after count Molé had ably defended the policy of the government, to say, that "he was born, and meant to die, in the catholic faith, and all his children would be brought up in that religion. But he thought it not too much to claim, for the royal family of France, the benefits of that toleration which was accorded to the lowest of French citizens." The peers evinced their sympathy with the prince by loud cheers; and, though several amendments were moved to the address, they were all negatived; and the separate paragraphs having been agreed to, the *ensemble* was adopted by 130 votes to 12.

On the 8th of January, the minister of finance

introduced his budget for 1839. He prefaced it by long and elaborate details of the financial and commercial progress which, he alleged, France had made since 1830; and having stated what sums would be required by the different departments, he estimated the whole at 1,063,653,116f. (£42,546,124). The revenue, he said, was calculated at 1,074,893,109f. (£42,995,724); leaving a surplus of 11,239,993f. or £449,600.—The same day, the debate on the address commenced in the chamber of deputies. It continued for four days, and almost every part of the government policy was attacked by one or other of the opposition speakers. The ministers were censured for their conduct, both at home and abroad, particularly for their interference in the elections, and for the non-performance of the engagements which were the result of the quadruple treaty. With respect to the former, several members brought forward charges of corruption, and the use of undue influence; and very strong language was used by M. Sivry and several other deputies. The late ministry were also attacked, particularly for not issuing an amnesty; and the cabinet was called upon for a programme of its policy. To this call M. Molé replied, that his government "had no programme; nay, he felt at a loss to understand what was meant by that term, as applied to an administration." He defended the conduct and the policy of the previous cabinet; saying, he "had approved of all their acts, and had testified that approbation by his votes. With respect to the amnesty, it was a favourable change of circumstances which enabled the government to grant it; and nothing," he said, "could be more unjust than to make the withholding of that act of clemency a matter of reproach against the distinguished statesmen who had, in the preceding April, retired from power." He closed an animated address by declaring, that "the sole objects of the present ministry were the reconciliation of parties, and to govern according to the laws." The remarks upon the amnesty were chiefly levelled at M. Guizot, who was supposed to be the great opponent of that act of clemency being adopted by the cabinet of which he was a member. After M. Molé sat down, the late minister of public instruction observed, that the declaration made by the president of the council, rendered it unnecessary for him to say little more than that "it was not his intention to offer any opposition to the present ministers; and that in their endeavours to attain the objects mentioned by count Molé, they should have his hearty support." The conduct of the late ministry for not reducing the five per cents., was also censured; and M. Odillon Barrot required a frank and positive declaration as to the intentions of their successors on this subject. The minister of finance said government admitted the abstract justice of the reduction, but were of opinion that there was

not at that time such a conjunction of favourable circumstances as would justify the introduction of the measure. M. de Lamartine questioned the equity of the reduction, and pointed out the misery it must entail upon thousands of poor fundholders. These remarks were made as the different paragraphs of the address came before the chamber.—In the progress of the discussion, several amendments were moved; and one, again asserting the right of the Poles to nationality, was carried. The paragraph in the address relative to Spain was also slightly modified. As it originally stood, it favoured intervention; and this, M. Thiers contended, ought to be the policy of the government, if necessary. “In his opinion, an utter ignorance of the spirit of the quadruple treaty had been betrayed by those who, after France had signed a treaty, binding her to the exclusion of the two pretenders from the peninsula, had limited her interference to wishes and indirect assistance.” M. Molé, on the contrary, opposed intervention. He maintained that the quadruple treaty bound France to nothing, but merely stipulated that application should be made whenever interference was necessary. “Ardently as government desired to witness the triumph of the liberal cause in Spain, it was his duty to state unreservedly, that in no case could France intervene in that country’s affairs.” M. Guizot also argued against an armed intervention, as “the internal state of Spain—without credit, without an army, without an administration, torn by factions, and utterly beggared—must render such a step, on the part of France, of at least problematical success.” The amendment, which left the question of intervention open, was supported by government, and carried by a large majority. On the 11th of January, the address was carried by a majority of 216 to 116; a division much more favourable to ministers than the state of parties in the chamber—as shown by the analysis given at the close of the last chapter—had led them to anticipate.

They soon, however, experienced a defeat, which was, it may be remarked, aimed at the king rather than at the ministers. A proposition was made, not by a member of the cabinet, but by one of the ministerial adherents, to restore the costume which the deputies formerly wore; with the addition of a silver badge, bearing the words—“Honour, economy, independence, and justice.” It was supposed that this proposition really came from Louis-Philippe, and that it was only one indication, amongst others, of his desire to recur to the habits and etiquette of the ancient *régime*. The ministers supported this proposal, but it was opposed and negatived by 196 votes to 158. The majority were not so much opposed to the desire of the king to revive old customs, as they objected to the individual power and authority which he claimed and exercised. They desired to see him in the same constitutional position as

the English sovereign; and the known tendency of M. Guizot to the same views, caused, as the session advanced, the “left centre” to rally round that statesman; and deputies, of various shades of opinion, declared themselves ready to join a party which promised an effective, but constitutional resistance to the undue activity of the crown. M. Lafitte, who had been defeated at the general election, was returned, about the time this vote was taken, for one of the arrondissements of Paris, in the room of M. Arago, who, being returned for that arrondissement and a provisional department, made his election for the latter. This was a greater mortification to the ministry than their defeat on the question of costume. The seat which M. Lafitte had always occupied in the chamber had been carefully kept for him, so confident were his friends that he would not be long absent. When he entered and took his old place after the election, he was very warmly received. Soon after, a public dinner was given to that deputy, to celebrate his election. Dr. Dumeril, one of the professors of the school of medicine, was in the chair, and the guests exceeded 980. It was quite a copy of an English celebration. Toasts were drank, speeches made, and appropriate airs played by a military band. In the course of the afternoon, the master of the band was called upon for the *Marseillaise*. “I have not the music with me,” was the reply; which was met with the retort—“Ah! you are forbidden to sing it. Never mind, we will sing it ourselves.” The air was chanted accordingly by the entire company, and was followed by the *Parisienne*.

The subject of Algiers, and the force necessary to be sent to that colony, was introduced to the chamber by general Bertrand, on the 24th of February. He proposed to fix the effective strength of the army of occupation for the year 1838, at 48,000 men, and 11,372 horses; being an increase, over the previous year, of 25,079 of the former, and 5,980 of the latter. The pay and maintenance of this augmented force he estimated at 15,594,000*f.* (£623,760). There were other items amounting to near 3,000,000*f.*; and the minister asked for 18,171,408*f.* (£726,856), as an extraordinary credit for the public service of the north of Africa. This question was not decided till the 9th of June. The discussion upon it was long and animated; several members contending, that Algeria was not worth the expense and loss of life it occasioned; and advocating its abandonment. The sum required was granted, however, by 208 votes to 94.—On the 12th of March, the question of secret-service money was brought forward; 1,500,000*f.* (£60,000) being demanded for that purpose. When the question was put, M. Guaguier expressed his opinion, that “ministers possessed sufficient means of influencing elections, through the

250,000 public functionaries who lived upon the budget, without requiring so exorbitant a sum as they demanded of the chamber."—M. Jaubert, a distinguished member of the *Doctrinaires*, also opposed the grant; said the secret-service money which had been voted, was most extravagantly expended; and that 800,000f. (£32,000) was paid for newspaper support.—M. Gisquet, ex-prefect of police, also characterised the sum as out of all proportion to the demands of the times. In the worst days of the revolution, the secret-service money did not exceed 1,200,000f. (£48,000).—M. Montalivet defended the grant, on the ground, that it was required by the then order of things abroad and at home, "which menaced their institutions with urgent danger. They had a republican Coblentz, a legitimate Coblentz, and a Bonapartist Coblentz; and they could not guard against these evils without great expense."—The debate was adjourned to the 13th, when M. Guizot, whilst he said he should vote for the grant, appeared as the opponent of the ministers; declaring, that, in his opinion, "they did not possess the inherent strength, or that parliamentary influence, which was requisite for the efficient discharge of their duties."—M. Passy followed M. Guizot; and in the course of his remarks, declared, that he spoke from his own experience as a minister, when he said, that "there existed an insurmountable obstacle to the formation of a ministry, belonging to, or influencing a majority of the chamber." He was understood to allude to the king's attempt to maintain his supremacy in the cabinet.—M. Molè, in reply, said, that this was not so much a question of money, as of confidence in the cabinet. "It was neither his wish nor his intention to remain in office, except with honour; and he asked of the chamber to express, by its vote on the measure under consideration, whether it desired the resignation of the present cabinet, or their continuance in office."—An amendment was then moved to reduce the grant to 1,200,000f. This was negatived by 223 to 184; and the sum asked for by the government, was voted by 249 to 133.—This vote of "confidence," as it appeared to be, after the speech of the premier, was followed by the appointment of a committee of finance, of which the opposition formed a great majority. But, a day or two after, the ministers again obtained a majority of 224 to 20, upon the vote of 900,000f. (£36,000) for military pensions. The fact was, the opposition, like the ministerial party, was so divided, that the various leaders could not act with confidence. The great difficulty to overcome was the difference between M. Guizot and M. Thiers. But as the causes for their separation seemed to be disappearing, their speedy union was anticipated; and then it was

known that the Molè ministry must cease to exist.

But the attention of both the government and their opponents was called away, for a time, from questions of mere party politics, to one of great social importance; perhaps, looked at in all its bearings, the greatest that had come before the public for many years—viz., that of railways, which were about to be introduced into France. It had to be decided, whether those undertakings should be placed under the control of government; or whether, as in England, they should be left in the hands of private companies? Those companies were rapidly springing up in France. In January and February, sixty-six were formed, with a capital of 118,222,000f. (£4,728,880); and in March, others followed, whose capital (divided into 399,635 shares) amounted to 274,572,000f. (£10,982,880). The ministers were not disposed to sanction the companies: they were desirous of taking the construction of these important works, and their control when made, into their own hands. As early as the 15th of February, M. Martin (du Nord) brought the subject before the chamber of deputies, and developed the plan which the government had formed. It was proposed, that five main lines should radiate from Paris, as a common centre. The first was to run to the Mediterranean, by Lyons and Marseilles. The second to communicate with Belgium, and with Great Britain by Boulogne. The third to extend to the Pyrenees, by Bordeaux and Bayonne, with a branch to Nantes. The fourth was to take its course to Strasburg: and the fifth to connect Paris with Rouen and Havre. Branches, from these main lines, were to extend their ramifications over the entire face of the kingdom.—On the motion of M. Berryer, this scheme was referred to a committee of eighteen deputies, amongst whom were, besides the mover, MM. Duvergier de Hauranne, Jaubert, de Remusat, Cordier, Arago, and Thiers. M. Arago drew up a report, which his colleagues adopted. It was unfavourable to the views of the government, and expressed a preference for private companies. It also suggested the construction of nine main lines, seven of them to radiate in Paris, and to extend from that capital to Belgium, to Havre, to Nantes, to Bayonne, to Toulouse, to Marseilles by Lyons, and to Strasburg by Nancy. The other two main lines were to radiate from Marseilles; uniting that port, on one side, with Bordeaux, by Toulouse; and on the other, with Bâle, by Lyons and Besançon. Of these lines, the report recommended, that only four should be commenced, in the first instance—viz., those from Paris to Belgium, from Paris to Havre, from Paris to Bayonne, and from Marseilles to Avignon. The length of these lines was about 373 leagues. The reason assigned for not commencing any

others at that time was, that before more extensive undertakings were engaged in, it was desirable to test the success of those named; and also to take advantage of any improvements that might be introduced into the constitution and management of railways in England, or elsewhere. It was urged, against the proposal to place them in the hands of government, that the public works already constructing—for which the budget was charged that year with the sum of 49,000,000*f.* (£1,960,000)—were sufficient to occupy all the time and attention of the minister of public works. It was recommended, however, that while giving public companies the power to construct these lines, government should be authorised to require, from such companies, adequate security for the completion of the works; and to prevent the interference of competing lines, where they were not required for the public accommodation.—This question was some time before the chamber; but, on the 8th of May, the report of the committee was sanctioned, with some modifications; and it forms the basis of the railway system of France.

Whilst M. Berryer's committee was engaged in considering M. Arago's report, a member of the left, in the month of March, introduced a project of law, proposing to convert the five per cent. *rentes* into a stock, bearing only four-and-a-half per cent. interest; the holders having the option of being paid off at par. The committee, to whom this project was referred, made a favourable report; and the debate in the chamber, which opened on the 17th of April, ended in its adoption by a majority of 251 to 145, though it was opposed by ministers, as, under the present financial circumstances, highly inexpedient. When this project was sent to the upper chamber, the advantage of the creation of new peers in the last autumn, became apparent: it was rejected, in that chamber, by a majority of 124 to 34. The other business of the session was not very important.

On the 2nd of June, a proposition was made to grant an annuity of 100,000*f.* (£4,000) to madame de Lipona, the sister of Napoleon, and the widow of Murat. It met with considerable opposition, but was ultimately carried. On the 11th, in a debate on the army estimates, the elevation of the dukes d'Orleans and de Nemours to the rank of generals, was indignantly alluded to, and condemned by M. Mauguin and general Demarcay. A scene of great confusion ensued, which was only put an end to by a dignified appeal to the good taste and discretion of the chamber, made by M. Molè. The number of men voted for the year, was 319,348; of horses, 63,173; and the sum required, for their pay and maintenance, was 110,084,682*f.* (£4,403,387). Ministers proposed some alteration in the staff of the army; and there was a long and angry struggle on the subject in both chambers. It

ended in a law, by which the number of marshals was limited to twelve in time of war, and to be reduced to six in time of peace, by leaving vacancies unsupplied. The lieutenant-generals and *maréchaux de camp* were formed into two sections. The first, comprising those ready for active service, was to consist of 80 of the former, and 160 of the latter; the second, as a reserve, was to comprise all the officers not included in the first. The age of sixty-five was fixed as that at which lieutenant-generals, and sixty-two as that at which *maréchaux de camp*, should be placed upon the reserved list. The discussions on this subject occupied the two chambers till very nearly the end of the session. The course taken by the ministers upon it strengthened the hands of the opposition; and detached more of the *Doctrinaires* from the ministerial ranks. The provisions adopted were very different from those originally proposed, which tended to continue in the hands of the government a discretionary power over the officers—a power which, many of those officers complained, was used for political purposes. When the chambers were prorogued on the 12th of July, count Molè felt that he had completely lost his influence in the deputies; but, as he had the entire confidence of the king, whose views he always supported, he resolved, at all events, for the present to retain his office.

Several events of interest and importance took place during the period that the chambers were occupied in their work of legislation. Soon after the year commenced—on the night of Sunday, the 14th of January—the Italian opera-house at Paris was burnt down. There had been a performance that evening, and the flames were discovered after the audience had withdrawn. They burst forth in the musicians' saloon, and the whole building was soon in flames. The severity of the frost impeded the supply of water; and the interior of the building was entirely consumed, the outer walls being also greatly injured. M. Severini, the manager, lost his life when endeavouring to escape from the flames; and five firemen were crushed to death by the falling-in of some parts of the building.

Early in the year, the duke d'Orleans and the duke de Nemours were promoted to the rank of generals; and, as this placed them over the heads of many veterans, great discontent was felt and expressed. The opposition papers took up the question very warmly; and one of them, the *National*, indulged in some libellous remarks on the duke d'Orleans; and even advised the army not to obey the royal princes. "It becomes the duty of the army," said the writer, "to vindicate itself, and to find in its ranks some officers with epaulettes, whether of wool or gold, who will formally refuse obedience to their generals by mere birth. Whatever may be the influence of government over courts-martial, none will be

found to punish such disobedience; or, if there were, the court of cassation would annul the sentence. The moment that it is recognised that an usurped uniform has not the right to command, the dukes de Nemours and d'Orleans will return into the ranks of private life. Let the army but dare, and it will soon shake off this humiliating patronage." There was much more to the same effect; and the article being brought under the notice of the ministers, the public prosecutor was ordered to proceed against the responsible editor of the *National*, upon two charges, founded upon it; first, for libelling the duke of Orleans; secondly, for exciting the army to revolt. The trial came on, before a jury at the Cour Royal, the latter end of April; when, notwithstanding the evident tendency of the article, and the able speeches of the prosecuting counsel, the jury returned a verdict of acquittal. The trial had a bad effect, for it caused the duke d'Orleans to be considered inimical to the freedom of the press; and diminished that popularity which his royal highness had hitherto enjoyed.

On the 7th of May, eight persons were tried before the Cour Royal, for being engaged in a conspiracy against the life of the king. One of the prisoners, a journeyman currier, named Hubert, had been arrested in December, 1837. The others were MM. Leproux (judge of the first instance at the tribunal of Vervins), Giraud, Annat, Vauquelin (formerly one of the bodyguards of Charles X.), Valentin (who had been compromised in the insurrection of June 5th and 6th, 1832), and Steuble (a Swiss machine-maker). Mademoiselle Grouvelle, a woman respectable in circumstances, connexion, and appearance, was indicted with them. This person appears to have been the chief mover in the plot, the aim of which was, to kill Louis-Philippe, by means of a machine similar to that employed by Fieschi, but to be more scientifically constructed. Laure Grouvelle belonged to a respectable family; and her brother held a high office in the engineering department. She lived with her mother; and had an income of 6,000*f.* per annum. Of a masculine disposition, and with a sympathy for the republicans (whom she termed "her co-religionists"), she interested herself for the insurgents of June, 1832, attending the wounded, and ministering to the wants of others, as far as her means allowed. Thus she became acquainted with Hubert, who was implicated in the Neuilly conspiracy, and had been tried, and sentenced to be imprisoned for five years. He was liberated by the amnesty of May, 1837; and soon after became acquainted with Steuble, who was in Paris, for the purpose of selling to the government the secret of a destructive war-engine, invented by his father. Avowing himself to be a stanch republican, Hubert thought he might be won over to the purpose he and some others had in view; and

Steuble, it appears, agreed to construct a machine, by which destruction was to be brought on the king and his suite upon some public occasion—the sum of 25,000*f.* being paid him; and "the future republic of France binding itself to grant him a national recompense, and to appoint him director of all its arsenals, with a handsome salary, besides board, lodging, coals, and candles." He and Hubert went to London, where the former proceeded with the construction of the machine. But the money was not forthcoming fast enough; quarrels took place between the confederates; and at length Hubert, in Steuble's absence, broke open his desk, carried off the plan, and then endeavoured to lure him into a private meeting, in which it was supposed he would have murdered him, to prevent disclosures; but Steuble took the precaution of keeping the appointment, accompanied by two friends; and Hubert did not appear. Early in December, Hubert left London for Boulogne. On landing, he dropped his pocket-book, which was picked up and opened by the police. It was found to contain a great many letters in cypher, to which it was very difficult to discover a key. They were decyphered at last. Some of the letters were addressed to Leproux and Laure Grouvelle; others were written by the latter to Hubert; and these documents implicated the other parties, all of whom were soon apprehended. The trial continued till the 25th; the correspondence being produced, and the above facts,* to a certain extent, proved, from the examinations of Steuble and Valentin. The jury returned a verdict of guilty against Hubert, Grouvelle, Steuble, Annat, and Giraud; and acquitted the others. Hubert was sentenced to deportation for life; Giraud to three, and the others to five, years' imprisonment. The acquittal of Leproux seems strange, as there were letters to and from him, in which "the machine" was repeatedly mentioned; and in one from Hubert, he reminded the judge of the good he could render to the republican cause. Leproux admitted knowing Hubert, but merely as an individual wanting employment; and the machine alluded to he represented as one for the manufacture of beetroot sugar, in which he and his father were concerned. He denied all knowledge of the conspiracy, and the jury believed him; but their verdict against the five who were declared guilty caused a great uproar in the court—groans, hisses, and cries of "murder" being heard on all sides; and at length the guards were obliged to be called in to expel the populace, in order that other business might be proceeded with.—It may be noticed here, that Laure Grouvelle died during her confinement, in a state of insanity; and that Steuble committed suicide before his term of imprisonment had expired.

On the 17th of May, one of the eminent men

* Abridged from the *Acte d'Accusation*.

of the revolution, of the empire, and of the restoration—the prince de Talleyrand—died at his hôtel, in Paris. He was in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and, though weak, and unable to move from room to room for some time before his death, he retained his senses to the last. As it became evident to his relatives that the end of life was approaching, they were very anxious that he should become reconciled to the church. His young and beautiful grand-niece, mademoiselle de Dino, who had great influence with the old man, exerted it so effectually, that, on the 10th of March, he wrote with his own hand a recantation of his errors, alike religious and political; but he would not sign it at the time; nor did he till two months afterwards—a few days before his death. After he had affixed his name to the document, he was visited by the abbé Dupanloup; and he appeared to be revived to a sense of those truths he had so long abjured. “The recollections which you recall,” he said to the abbé, after one of their conversations, “are dear to me; and I thank you for having divined the place they have preserved in my thoughts, and in my heart.” He was visited by the king just before his death; and appeared deeply impressed with the honour, which, he said, “was the highest his house had ever received.” When he died, the abbé Dupanloup was by his bedside, administering the ceremonies, and offering up the prayers of his church. The members of his family were also present. After the sacred offices were performed, the abbé remarked to one of the persons who surrounded the bed, “that the archbishop of Paris had said he would give his life for M. Talleyrand.” The dying man heard him; and rejoined, “he might make a better use of it:” he had scarcely uttered the words, when he expired.*

The funeral of the prince was conducted with great pomp. It took place on the 22nd of May—the corpse being placed in a splendidly decorated hearse, exhibiting all the insignia of the deceased. Marshal Soult, count Molè, chancellor Pasquier, and the duke de Broglie officiated as chief mourners; and after them came the clergy, the ministers, the *corps diplomatique*, the peers, deputies, members of the Institute, and the civil and military authorities, all dressed in their state costumes, and walking uncovered. Then followed the relations and friends of the prince; most of the members of the king’s household, in their scarlet livery; six of the royal equipages, with those of the ministers, ambassadors, peers, and deputies; and the *cortège* was led and closed by a troop of horse chasseurs; the line along which it proceeded, from the hôtel Talleyrand to the church of the Assumption, through the streets of St. Florentin and St. Honoré, being lined with double ranks of infantry. The funeral

ceremonies were brief—consisting of a low mass and a few prayers, occupying about half-an-hour. The body was then deposited in a vault, the church cleared, and the members of the *cortège* separated. The prince left a vast property behind him, the bulk of which was bequeathed to the son and daughter of his niece, the duchess de Dino: an estate at Valençay, left to the former, who became duke de Valençay, was valued at 8,000,000f. (£320,000); it had been purchased for something more than a fourth of that sum. The *Journal de Paris* devoted many of its columns, a day or two after the funeral, to details connected with the deceased; which concluded with the following words:—“If prince Talleyrand had many political enemies, he had not a few private friends. Among the number of those who most regret him is the excellent viscountess de Laval, mother of the late duke Mathieu de Montmorency. It was in this lady’s house that the prince passed most of his evenings. Their intimacy had stood the test of the shock of political opinions, and of some very warm discussions, without having once altered their friendship, during half a century.”†

The death of such a man as Talleyrand was not likely to be soon forgotten. The circumstances that attended it, and the disposition of his property, formed the subjects of Parisian conversation, till they were diverted into another channel by political events. In June, a pamphlet was circulated in Paris, written by lieutenant Laity, a young man who had been engaged with Louis Napoleon in the Strasburg expedition, and was one of those who had been apprehended, tried, and acquitted. It was entitled, *Prince Napoleon at Strasburg; an Historical Relation of the Events of the 30th of October, 1836*. It was not an unfair narrative, but was couched in terms so hostile to the government, that the advisers of Louis-Philippe resolved it should be prosecuted. They determined not to send the author—who was arrested in Paris—before a court of law; but, towards the end of the month, a royal message was received by the chamber of peers, ordering them to constitute themselves into a court of justice to try the offender. The trial took place on the 9th of July; it ended in a verdict of guilty; and the lieutenant was condemned to pay a fine of 10,000f. (£400), to be imprisoned five years, and to be kept under the perpetual surveillance of the police, if he remained in Paris after he was released.—Another trial resulted out of lieutenant Laity’s. The *Tribune* contained some remarks on the conduct of the peers, which led to the prosecution of the responsible *gérant*, M. Coste; who was sentenced to one month’s imprisonment, and a fine of 500f. —When the trial of lieutenant Laity was concluded, and the chambers were prorogued, in England, with directions that they were not to be published till thirty years after his death.

* *Annuaire Histoire*: L. Blanc’s *Hist. de Dix Ans*.

† It is said that the prince’s *Memoirs* were deposited



marshal Soult left Paris, for London, as ambassador extraordinary, to represent the French court at the coronation of queen Victoria, which took place on the 28th of July. On that occasion, the equipage of the marshal surpassed in splendour those of the other ambassadors; a circumstance, trivial as it was, which afforded a topic for exultation in the French press.

Court *fêtes*, politics, and party differences did not occupy all the attention of the French people. The fever of speculation had seized them; and the wildest periods of that fever in England were quite equalled, if not exceeded, by the paroxysms in France. The improvement in trade, and the extension of commerce which had marked the last few months of 1837, continued; money appeared to be plentiful; and a few speculators having realised large sums, the mania for dealing in shares became universal. Many who had hoarded their savings in troublous times now drew them forth, and embarked their all in the popular enterprises, which were projected on every side. The "mania seized all classes of society. It swept away all heads, pervaded all ranks, and, for a season, almost absorbed all other interests. It was difficult to say, whether the prudent shopkeeper, whose life had been spent in counting small gains, and pursuing a sober, steadfast line of conduct—the zealous scholar, whose thoughts had been set on the contemplation of the ideal world—the intrepid soldier, who had hitherto dreamed only of visions of glory—or the volatile woman of fashion, whose life had been spent in the sunshine of rank and opulence, were most carried away by the torrent."* These enterprises were distinguished, like those in England, by the admixture of fraud with speculation; and the credulity of the public was largely imposed upon. The failure of many schemes excited great indignation; and some one was looked for on whom public vengeance might fall. At length, M. Emile de Girardin was charged with having set commercial enterprises on foot, and sold shares in them, with the perfect knowledge that they were mere bubbles, with no solid foundation. He was tried and acquitted; but on the 26th of August, M. Cleman, his man of business, M. Bluen, a connection of the latter, and several other persons, were brought before the Cour Royal, for having published a prospectus of a company, to be established for working "the mines of St. Berain;" for organising the company, and for selling shares, when the mines never existed, and the whole affair was a dishonest fraud. The trial excited the greatest interest. The public prosecutor and M. Odillon Barrot were the counsel for the prosecution; MM. Teste and Charles Dupin, for the defence—four of the most eminent men of the Parisian bar at that period. Cleman and Bluen were

* Alison.

† *Memoirs.*

found guilty, and sentenced each to be imprisoned for three years, and to pay a fine of 3,000*fr.*: the parties tried with them were acquitted.

The state of society in France, at this period, was decidedly unsound; nor was that of the government much better. The ministers exercised great influence; they purchased most of the support they obtained through the numerous appointments at their command, and it was chiefly by this means that the administration was carried on. This species of corruption had been increasing since the revolution of 1830: and M. Guizot defends it, as the only means of governing where the people are not attached to the reigning race from the recollections of the past, and the sovereign has not a numerous and devoted army at command to put down opposition by force. Many of the functionaries of government—civil, military, and naval—made use of their offices more as the means of promoting their own private advantage, than the public good. Two trials that took place in the summer of 1838—in one of which the administration of M. Gisquet, the minister of police, was impugned; in the other, the conduct of the parties connected with the ship *Ville de Paris*—gave rise to disclosures that showed how power was prostituted for gain; how opposition was often silenced; and what disgraceful means were resorted to, to purchase support. It is due to count Molé to say, that he appears to have stood aloof from the practices of most of those by whom he was surrounded. He attached himself more exclusively to the court; devoted himself to further the wishes of the king; and Louis-Philippe and his family appear to have placed great confidence in the president of the council. In August, 1838, he gave a series of splendid *fêtes* at his château of Champletreux; at which the king and queen, the princes and princesses, and most of the *haut ton*, were present. They had scarcely closed, when the duchess d'Orleans gave birth, on the 24th of August, to a son and heir, who received the title of the count de Paris; and to whom Louis-Philippe anticipated that the honours of the Orleans family would be transmitted.—A few days after this event, the duchess d'Orleans thus expressed herself in a letter to the duchess-dowager of Mecklenburg-Strelitz:—"How merciful is God! Your heart has, I know, risen, like mine, in thanksgivings. You have felt all the extent of my felicity. Yes—your child is the happiest of mothers, and her heart seems almost too narrow to contain the whole of her bliss. A new world opens before me; a child to love and cherish—the hopes of a nation to realise by the future life of that child. The task is a great and noble one; may God grant us light and wisdom."† The future conduct of the mother proved that this aspiration came from the heart. She did her utmost to sow in the mind of her son, as it grew and

expanded, the seeds of that knowledge which make the good man; but the fortunes of that son have been very different from those which were anticipated in his infancy, as awaiting him in his career of youth and manhood.

The foreign relations of France were, during the year 1838, generally pacific; and the events which require notice in this history are only those connected with Switzerland, Belgium, and Mexico. A renewed subject of difference with Switzerland arose out of the shelter which the republic afforded to prince Louis Napoleon. His residence in the United States was of very short duration. On the 3rd of April, 1837, his mother wrote to inform him, that she was about to undergo an operation, which had become absolutely necessary. "In case it should not terminate successfully," she said, "I send you, in this letter, my blessing. We shall meet again—shall we not?—in a better world, where may you come to join me as late as possible! And you will believe, that, in quitting this world, I regret only leaving yourself, and your fond affectionate disposition, which alone has given any charm to my existence." On the receipt of this letter, the prince resolved to return to Europe; and lost no time in carrying out that resolution. He arrived at Arenenberg in August, and had the felicity of attending on his mother in her last days, and of closing her eyes in peace. She died in October, 1837, having left all she possessed to her son, with the exception of legacies to those by whom she was attended, not one of whom was forgotten. After her death, the prince continued to reside at the castle of Arenenberg—now his property; and, as he never abandoned his designs on France, he gathered round him there such of his friends as were in the neighbourhood. Lieutenant Laity was one of them; and it was at Arenenberg that the pamphlet for which he was subsequently tried, was written. The French government did not interfere with the residence of Louis Napoleon in Switzerland, till the summer of 1838. Then—intelligence being communicated to the cabinet (probably by some of the spies paid out of the secret-service money), that he was making attempts to organise conspiracies in France, and to seduce the troops from their allegiance—the duke de Montebello was instructed to hint to the federal government, that his expulsion from the Swiss territories would be acceptable to the king and his ministers. The friends of the prince deny that he was, at that time, engaged in any insurrectionary attempts. They say, that "he was living in the most complete retirement, only asking to be left to lament in peace the irreparable loss he had sustained in the death of his mother." The Swiss government, also, professed their ignorance of any conspiracy, and declined to pronounce the sentence of expulsion,

as they saw no cause for such a step. But the duke de Montebello was ordered to enforce the wishes of his government by an imperative demand. This he did on the 1st of August, in a despatch, in which threats were held out, if Louis Napoleon were not expelled. In this despatch, the ambassador said—"France would have preferred owing only to the spontaneous good-will and friendly feelings of her faithful ally, a measure which, in justice to herself, she at last demands, and for which Switzerland will surely not make her wait." If the demand were not complied with, the duke was instructed to ask for his passports; and the federal diet referred the matter to the grand council of Thurgovia, Louis Napoleon being a citizen of that canton. The result was, that both the federal government and that of the canton refused to expel him; then the duke de Montebello announced, that Switzerland would be placed under a strict blockade. The troops at Lyons were ordered to march to the frontiers; the ambassadors of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, all urged the diet to expel the prince, and not to draw down on the republic the anger and power of France: but the federal government, resolved not to forfeit their honour, which they considered involved, were preparing for resistance; when, on the 22nd of September, Louis Napoleon addressed a letter to the Landammann, or president of the council of Thurgovia, announcing his intention of quitting Switzerland. In that letter, he said—"When the despatch of the duke de Montebello was addressed to the diet, I would not submit to the exigencies of the French government; for it was important for me to prove, by my refusal to depart, that I had returned to Switzerland without breaking any engagement—that I had the right to reside there, and should there find aid and protection." * * * * "The French government having declared, that the refusal of the diet to comply with their demand, would be the signal for a conflagration to which Switzerland might fall the victim, nothing remains for me but to quit a country where my presence is, on the one side, the subject of unjust pretensions, and, on the other, may be the cause of equally great misfortunes. I therefore beg, M. de Landammann, to announce to the federal directory, that I will take my departure as soon as they have obtained from the ambassadors of the different foreign powers, the passports necessary to enable me to seek some spot where I shall find a secure asylum. By thus voluntarily quitting the only country in Europe where I found help and protection—by separating myself from places endeared to me by so many recollections—I hope to prove to the Swiss nation, that I was worthy of the many marks of esteem and affection it lavished on me."—Louis Napoleon left Switzerland in October, and came to London;

where he employed himself in writing his *Idées Napoléoniennes*; and his partisans, shortly after, established a paper called *Le Capitole*, to disseminate and advocate his principles; but it was not attended with much success.

The support which the Austrian ambassador at Berne gave to the duke de Montebello, led to an improved understanding between the cabinets of Paris and Vienna, and to the removal of what had been a frequent cause of remonstrance and complaint on the part of the latter. The French troops were, on the 4th of December, withdrawn from Ancona; the chief reason for maintaining them there having been to counter-balance the influence of Austria in central Italy and the states of the church.—About the same time, the affairs of Belgium and Holland were brought to a final settlement. Though the king of Belgium had accepted and signed the treaty of 1832, by which Limbourg and Luxembourg were assigned to the king of Holland, as in right they ought, the cession of those provinces had never been made, and they were still held by Belgian troops. At that time, also, in consequence of a dispute between the Prussian government and the archbishop of Cologne, upon the question—how the children of mixed marriages (*i. e.*, of protestants with Roman catholics) should be educated?—the discontented Roman catholics of Belgium had been induced to believe that they could unite the Rhenish provinces of Prussia to Belgium, and form a large and powerful territory, in which they might develop their own plans, and establish their own principles; in fact, that (to use their own words) the time was come “when the idea of a Rhenish-Belgian confederation would pass from Utopia to realisation.” This party was the most influential, at the time, in Belgium; it had the majority in the chamber; and, early in May, 1838, the deputies passed a resolution, nearly unanimously, praying the king, in the negotiations which, it was understood, were about to open for a treaty with Holland, that the integrity of the Belgian territory, in which they included Limbourg and Luxembourg, might be respected. In vain the representatives of the great powers at Brussels pressed upon the leaders of the revolutionary party the danger of putting forward their pretensions, and refusing to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1832, in opposition to the powers by whom that treaty was guaranteed. That party professed to think, that “principles were more powerful than bayonets;” and, being in constant communication with the secret societies and the republicans of France—knowing that great discontent prevailed in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia; whilst the chartists and radicals of England were exciting discontent with the existing institutions of that country—they were deaf to all remonstrances. The chambers set on foot great

military preparations; and M. Simmons, the representative of Limbourg, expressed his opinion, in the deputies, that “France could never look on with indifference, while a people which had lent it the hand of friendship was sacrificed at its gates. It was time,” he continued, “to enter into more energetic relations with France and England; and, if the governments of those countries abandoned them, to appeal to the people.” The Belgian demonstrations and armaments were met by the collection, at Compiègne, of a French army of 25,000 men; 30,000 Prussians were concentrated on the Meuse; and the Germanic powers were preparing to assert the rights of the confederation. All betokened war; when the failure of the bank of Brussels, on the 14th of November, deprived the war party of Belgium of one of its most powerful weapons—money. This suspended the warlike preparations; rendered necessary the withdrawal of the troops from Limbourg and Luxembourg, which were immediately occupied by several Dutch regiments; and, on the 11th of December, a protocol was signed at London, by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Belgium, and Holland, by which the territorial limits of the two latter powers were confirmed, as set out in the treaty of 1832; and the king of Holland agreed to accept 5,000,000 florins (£500,000), instead of 8,400,000 (£840,000), which were due from Belgium. This protocol formed the subject of discussion in the Belgian chamber for one month, from February 18th to March 18th, 1839: it was agreed to on the latter day, by 58 to 42; and, since that day, there have been no differences between Holland and Belgium, nor between those states and the other powers of Europe.

The dispute between France and Mexico arose out of the conduct of the brigands and pirates with which the territory of the latter republic was infested. They committed great excesses; and several French subjects were plundered and ill-treated by them; French property being despoiled to a large amount. The Mexican government was either too idle or too weak to afford redress; and a small squadron—consisting of the *Nereide*, the *Gloire*, and the *Iphigénie*, line-of-battle ships; the *Creole* frigate, and two bomb-vessels, under admiral Baudin—was sent to Vera Cruz. As no adequate terms could be obtained from the Mexican authorities, the fort of St. Juan d’Ulloa, which commands the entrance to the harbour of Vera Cruz, was bombarded, and taken on the 27th of November. A body of marines landed, the next day, under the command of the prince de Joinville, Louis-Philippe’s youngest son, to whom the city of Vera Cruz capitulated. This led to the cession of all the French demands; and a satisfactory arrangement being concluded, the city and fort

were evacuated. The expedition soon after returned to Europe.

On the 27th of November, count Lobau, who had commanded the national guards of the department of the Seine, since the retirement of Lafayette, died at Paris. He was born in 1770, at Phalsbourg, in the Meurthe. His family was obscure, and he began life as a journeyman baker. Entering the army, he served in most of the campaigns of the consulate and the empire; obtaining the title of count Lobau, from having, in the campaign of 1809, successfully defended the small island of Lobau, in the Danube, against the Austrians, and conducted his troops safe out of it to the mainland. He joined Napoleon during the "hundred days;" was made prisoner at the battle of Waterloo, and prohibited from re-entering France. This prohibition was removed in 1818, when he took up his residence in Paris. He supported the movement against Charles X., in 1830; became commandant of the national guards in 1831; and, the same year, received the baton as marshal of France. At his death, the municipal council of Paris voted 20,000*f.* (£800) towards the expenses of his funeral. He was interred at the Hôtel des Invalides; the dukes d'Orleans, de Nemours, and d'Aumale, assisting at the ceremony. Marshal Gerard succeeded him as commandant of the national guard.—Three days after, the duke de Fitzjames—the great-grandson of the duke of Berwick, natural son of James II. and of Arabella Churchill—departed this life. He was a legitimist, but took the oath to Louis-Philippe in 1830. When the hereditary peerage was abolished, in 1831, he resigned his seat in the chamber of peers; but he occupied a seat, subsequently, in the other chamber, as deputy for the second arrondissement of Toulouse.

As the year drew to a close, the prospects of the ministry became more clouded. It was evident that the three parties, led by Guizot, Thiers, and Odillon Barrot, had coalesced; and the journals respectively attached to them were eagerly preparing the public mind for a change. The "intermeddling" of the monarch with the affairs of government, for which his ministers ought to be responsible, was brought prominently forward. The feebleness of the members of the cabinet, and their corruption and subserviency to the crown, were the subjects of indignant comment. The maxim, "that the king should reign, and not govern," was insisted upon as a principle; and when the supporters of the government attacked the new coalition, and pointed out the "inconsistency" of parties of such opposite principles uniting to overthrow the ministry, they were met by the reply, that it was to obtain and maintain parliamentary government that the parties had coalesced; and to arrest the unconstitutional exercise of power by the king, who really left nothing to

his ministers except their liberal salaries and sumptuous hôtels. As the time for the meeting of the chambers approached, the strife of parties became more eager; and the public looked on with great interest, anxious to see the end.

The session was opened on the 17th of December. The speech of the king was longer than usual. It commenced with a statement not entirely correct—that, "since the last session, the prosperity of France had continued to increase;" and that "the repose she enjoyed was daily more and more confirmed." That the internal trade and industry, and the foreign commerce of France, presented signs of considerable improvement, was undoubtedly true; as it was, that the financial situation was becoming more prosperous, from the "progressive and constant increase of the public revenue," which showed "the happy development of national wealth, and the welfare enjoyed by all classes of the population," as noticed in another part of the speech. But, unfortunately, the country knew little of repose. On the contrary, violent passions were slumbering under a very slight concealment; and, on the first opportunity, it was evident the volcano would break forth. The king described his "relations with foreign powers" as "satisfactory;" dwelling particularly upon the recent events in Holland, Belgium, Italy, Mexico, and Algiers: in that country, he said, "the natives everywhere respected the authority of France, and submitted, without hesitation, to an equitable and just administration." The birth of the count de Paris was described as "the greatest consolation that heaven could send him;" and he promised that "the young prince should be brought up, as his father had been, to respect the institutions of the country, and in that devotedness to France, of which his family would not cease to set him the example." In conclusion, his majesty attributed "the flourishing condition of the country to the constant support the chambers had granted him during eight years, and to the perfect accord subsisting between the great powers of the state." He exhorted them "not to forget, that in that accord laid their strength;" expressed a hope that it "would become daily more complete and unalterable;" and that "the action of their institutions, at once free and regular, might prove to the world that constitutional government was compatible with the blessings of liberty, to which it might unite that stability which constitutes the power of states."

The chambers again assembled on the 19th, to elect their president, when the first struggle of strength between the ministers and the coalition was to take place. The government again proposed M. Dupin as their candidate; the coalition put forward M. Passy. The votes were—Dupin, 183; M. Passy, 178. The announcement of the slender majority of five was

hailed with derisive cheers by the opposition, being considered equivalent to a ministerial defeat. The next day, the address of the peers was prepared, and read by the count Portalis. As usual, in that chamber, it was an echo of the royal speech. It gave rise to a debate, in which the entire system of policy, foreign and domestic, pursued by the ministers, was made the subject of criticism; the evacuation of Ancona being that portion of it which was most severely handled; and the duke de Broglie was very decided in his censure of that act. Count Molè made an able defence of his administration on this point. He recapitulated the events which had led to the occupation of the Italian port; and showed, from despatches of marshal Soult and the duke de Broglie, that, during the time they held office, its evacuation, upon terms precisely the same as those upon which it had lately been effected, was in contemplation. "The expedition," he said, "had not been undertaken for the purpose of revolutionising Italy, but to prevent the second occupation of the Austrians from becoming perpetual. The city had never ceased to be the property of the holy see; nor had the French ever substituted their own for the papal flag. All the grounds for interference having been at length removed, nothing remained for France but to recall her forces from the citadel." This reply was triumphant, as far as the duke de Broglie was concerned; and it was satisfactory to the majority, on other points; though M. Villemain endeavoured to show that the honour of France was soiled; and observed, that the cabinet had terminated all the important affairs of the country—Hayti, Algiers, Ancona, and Belgium—by the simple method of abandoning and giving up every point of contention. The address was carried in this chamber, after a week's debate, by 102 votes to 14.

During this time, the usual steps had been taken in the chamber of deputies, to appoint a committee of ten persons to draw up the address. Out of that number, six were declared oppositionists—Guizot, Thiers, Passy, and Duvergier de Hauranne being amongst them. M. Dupin was chosen the president, or chairman. Some delay occurred in preparing this address, as the ministers, engaged in defending their conduct in the chamber of peers, could not attend to give explanations, without which the committee professed an unwillingness to conclude their labours. At length they were brought to a close; and the address was read to the committee, in the *Salle des Conférences*, on the 4th of January, 1839, by M. Etienne, the reporter. It was far from resembling the address of the chamber of peers, in being an echo of the king's speech. With respect to the evacuation of Ancona, regret was expressed, that it "did not occur under more auspicious circumstances, and

with the securities that a wise and provident policy should have stipulated." The dissent manifested between the government and Switzerland, it was hoped, "would not alter the relations of old friendship which united the two countries, and which had been drawn still closer by the political events of 1830." The government was urged, "in concert with its allies, to use all its influence to put an end to the deplorable excesses" which prevailed in Spain. Alluding to Poland, "the chamber repeated its constant wishes on behalf of a people whose ancient nationality was placed under the protection of treaties." Prompt and decisive measures were described as necessary, to obtain satisfaction for the outrages and spoliation offered to Frenchmen in Mexico: and recurring to domestic policy, the address stated, that "the situation, every day more favourable, of the public finances, gave the chamber a right to hope, that government would, ere long, concur in that important measure," the reimbursement (or conversion) of the public debt.—The committee accepted this address, without amendment, by the votes of six members to three; and when this decision was arrived at, M. Dupin, who, as president, did not vote, expressed his approval of the address; adding—"I have always been of opinion, that the acting administration is insufficient; and, at one time, I did all in my power to obtain a modification of it, which I considered necessary. But, what was once practicable, is no longer so at the present moment; and, in my opinion, the continuance of the present ministry in power, is henceforth impossible—impossible, because it does not sufficiently cover the throne with its responsibility; because it is not equal to meet the difficulties which the situation presents; and because it is not capable of forming a majority in a chamber divided into two equal portions."—Thus M. Dupin deserted the men, in their extremity, who had so long supported him.

The address was read in the chamber of deputies on the 5th of January, but the debate was not opened till the 7th. In the interim, the cabinet received the intelligence of the capture of the fortress of San Juan d'Ulloa—an event the ministers confidently supposed would have some influence in their favour. The first speaker opposed the address, which he characterised as "respectfully violent, and academically revolutionary." He dwelt on the inconsistency of the members of the coalition; and was replied to by M. Guizot, who denied that he "had made any sacrifice of principle in forming a coalition, for the mere sake of combating a bad administration." Long and able speeches were made by count Molè, M. Thiers, M. Martin (du Nord)—who denounced the coalition as "something absolutely frightful"—M. Garnier Pagès, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, M. Odillon Barrot, and

M. Amilhau. The latter moved an amendment to the two first paragraphs of the address, which were worded in general terms, but certainly not favourable to, or approbatory of, the policy of the government. The character of those original paragraphs, and of the amendment, were correctly described by M. Sauzet, who said—"The spirit of the address was a respectful and confident appeal to the sovereign on the subject of ministerial responsibility; whilst the object of the amendment was to compel the chamber to declare that it approved of the conduct of the present government in every point; that it found the working of the representative government regular; and that it continued its support to the present administration." The chamber voted upon the first paragraph of the amendment thus explained, and it was declared to be carried by 216 votes to 209. This division took place on the 9th; and, the next day, as the second paragraph of his amendment referred to foreign affairs, M. Amilhau withdrew it, till the several paragraphs of the address referring to those affairs had been read and debated. On the 10th, another amendment was carried, favourable to the government, by a majority of four; and, on the 14th, the paragraph relative to Ancona was replaced by one approving of the evacuation; 228 deputies voting for, to 199 against it.—After the paragraphs relating to the foreign affairs had been read and discussed, the second paragraph of M. Amilhau's amendment was again brought forward. It was to the effect, that, "under this government, jealous of her dignity, and the faithful guardian of her alliances, France shall always hold in the world, and in the esteem of nations, the rank which belongs to her, and which she cannot forfeit." This amendment, considered to convey an approval of the foreign policy of the cabinet, was rejected by 219 to 210. Several other divisions took place; and, with this exception, they resulted in favour of the ministers. During the debate, intelligence was received of the death, at Pisa, on the 2nd of January, of the king's second daughter, the princess Marie of Würtemberg. A paragraph was, therefore, unanimously added to the address, following one referring to the birth of the count de Paris; in which the deputies regretted that, "at the moment when their thanksgivings were offered up, they should be called upon to deplore with his majesty the loss of a beloved daughter, the model of every virtue." And they expressed a hope, that "the expression of the feelings of the entire chamber might be some alleviation to the sorrows of his august family." The address thus amended, and which, if not complimentary, contained nothing offensive to the cabinet, was opposed by the coalition when the chamber came to vote on the *ensemble*; but it was carried by 221 to 208, giving the ministers a majority of 13—a majority so small that every one felt the

Molè cabinet could not carry on the government, but was rapidly approaching its termination.

Some days were, however, spent in deliberation, during which public business appeared to stand still. On the 21st of February, the ministers determined to resign; and the *Moniteur* of the 22nd announced, that they had placed their resignations in the hands of the king, who had accepted them. His majesty sent for M. Soult, who was the only public man not compromised in the recent complications. After a week spent in negotiations, however, no arrangement could be made satisfactory to the sovereign and to the marshal; and the old ministers resumed their offices. On doing so, they resolved to make another appeal to the electors. A royal *ordonnance*, therefore, appeared on the 31st of January, proroguing the chambers: by a second the chamber of deputies was dissolved—the elections to take place immediately, and the new chamber to meet on the 26th of March. It was not a very favourable time for summoning the electoral colleges. The prosperity of the previous year appeared to have vanished. A severe commercial crisis had ruined many of the first establishments in the country, and greatly injured others that yet survived the shock; industry became paralysed; and as the harvest of 1838 had not been favourable, which caused the price of bread to be unusually high, great distress was felt amongst the working classes, who, in several districts, broke out into acts of open insubordination. The population of Rochelle, with a number of the neighbouring peasantry, attacked some waggons laden with corn, which were just entering the town, previous to its being embarked for exportation. They took possession of the waggons, dividing the corn amongst them; and this lawless transaction was followed by riots of such a serious nature, that the government, to put a stop to them, and to prevent their becoming more general, issued an *ordonnance*, prohibiting the exportation of corn from any of the Atlantic ports. The run upon the savings banks was incessant during the first months of the year; and in January, February, and March, the decrease in the animal food consumed in Paris, as compared with the first three months of 1838, amounted to 1,800,000lbs., or an average of 2lbs. to each inhabitant. In the first two months of the year the revenue increased, notwithstanding this public depression. It fell off in March; still the receipts for the quarter were somewhat larger than those for the first quarter of 1838. The entire revenue for that year, as appeared from official documents, published early in 1839, amounted to 1,155,329,168f. (£46,213,166); and the expenditure, to 1,116,691,601f. (£44,667,664); leaving a surplus of 38,637,567f. (£1,545,502).

But the sense of privation, and every other

feeling arising out of the commercial pressure, or the distress of the workmen, were absorbed, when the elections began, in the interest created by the important issue which it was felt was depending. The result was unfavourable to the Molè cabinet. Taking all the members of the new chamber that could be classed under the head ministerial, they only amounted to 205; the different sections of the opposition numbering 254. With such a chamber it was, of course, impossible to carry on the government; and, once more, the ministry resigned. Again the king sent for Soult; then for M. Thiers; and then for the duke de Broglie: M. Guizot was also consulted. Day after day was spent in discussing arrangements with these statesmen, till the public impatience was displayed at the neglect of all executive functions, which was the consequence of this ministerial interregnum. At the commencement of the negotiations, a programme, which contained the views of the chiefs of the moderate opposition, or "left centre," was drawn up by M. Thiers, and placed in the hands of marshal Soult, to submit to the king. It was long; but the main points were summed up in six clauses:—"1. Henceforward the king was no longer to grant audiences to foreign ministers, without the presence of the minister for foreign affairs. 2. A pledge was required, that the reduction of the five per cents. should be brought forward as a government question. 3. Also a formal declaration, that the king would never recognise Don Carlos, happen what might; and an engagement that war should be made upon him, should he possess himself permanently of Madrid. 4. A pledge was asked for, that the government would carry the quadruple treaty into execution, in the same manner, and to the same extent, as the British cabinet. 5. That about twenty prefects, and thirty sub-prefects, who had committed themselves and their official authority in electoral intrigues, should be dismissed. 6. If the king pledged himself to the faithful execution of these conditions, he was to continue to preside in the ministerial councils; but not to have any absolute controlling power." Another condition, not contained in the programme, was, that Odillon Barrot should be the president of the chamber of deputies.—When these propositions were presented to the king, his majesty accepted them, to the great surprise of M. Soult. There appeared, therefore, to be no difficulty in the way of the formation of a cabinet. But, as the negotiations proceeded, the personal claims of M. Thiers and M. Guizot; the divergence of opinion between marshal Soult and Thiers on the subject of Spain; and the question of electing Odillon Barrot president of the chamber—which M. Thiers wished to be taken up by the cabinet; but which M. Guizot opposed, as it would, in his opinion, have the effect of

intimidating the *Doctrinaire*, or conservative party; whilst it would go too far towards binding the government to the *gauche*—rendered all attempts at agreement abortive. As the day appointed for the meeting of the chambers approached, and no ministry was constituted, they were prorogued from the 26th of March to the 4th of April. In the interim, M. Guizot proposed to the king, that, to test the temper of the chamber, especially with respect to the question of the president, a temporary ministry should be appointed. This course was adopted; and, on the 2nd of April, the *Moniteur* published a series of royal *ordonnances*, accepting the resignations of the Molè cabinet, and nominating the following provisional administration:—M. Gasparin, *minister of the interior*; M. Girod (de l'Ain), *minister of justice*; the duke de Montebello, *minister of foreign affairs*; general Despens Cubieres, *minister of war*; baron Tupinier, *minister of marine*; M. Parant, *minister of public instruction*; M. Gautier, *minister of finance*. The office of president of the council was not filled up.

On the 4th of April, the session of the new chamber was opened by commission, and no royal speech was delivered. The deputies, as soon as the chamber was inaugurated, broke up into *bureaux*, for the purpose of nominating the necessary officers; and, as far as any conclusion could be come to from those elections, it appeared that the coalition was acting together, and formed the strongest party in the chamber. The great test, however, was the election of president, which did not take place till the 16th. There were four candidates—M. Passy, though a member of the "left," being supported by the ministers; whilst M. Odillon Barrot was put forward by the "left" and the "left centre." The ballot gave the following results:—M. Passy, 223 votes; M. Odillon Barrot, 193; M. Dupin, 9; M. Dufaure, 3. This result was obtained by the *Doctrinaires* deserting the coalition, and voting with the government, in consequence of M. Guizot's dislike of Odillon Barrot's presidency. Whilst the liberal press expressed bitter disappointment and anger at the discomfiture of that deputy, the royalist journals were exultant. They described the late struggle as being between the king and M. Thiers; and "never," said one of the writers, "did the king display more consummate talent, than in the dissolution of that formidable confederacy, which overthrew a ministry because it acted under his majesty's influence."

When the deputies met, on the 22nd of April, a long debate took place on the late ministerial crisis. It was opened by M. Mauguin, who invited the different persons who had taken part in the negotiations, to explain the cause of their failure. M. Dupin, M. Thiers, M. Guizot, M. Passy, M. Lamartine, and general Bugeaud

were the principal speakers. The discussion elicited scarcely any new facts; and the most important passage in any of the speeches was the declaration of M. de Lamartine, that "the 221," who, in January, voted for the address, "constituted, in his opinion, the real parliamentary party. They had," he said, "remained religiously within the limits of their own prerogatives, without encroaching upon those of the other parties; while the opposition was made up of a number of hostile factions, whose union had brought about the dissolution, placed the crown in the present critical position, and produced a crisis in which there was no majority in the chamber, in the country, or in ideas." The debate ended in nothing; and, before the chamber proceeded to business, another cabinet was formed, consisting of MM. Pelet, Thiers, Dufaure, Vivien, and Sauzet, marshal Maison, and admiral Duperre. This cabinet met to transact business, and could not agree on any one point. The day after they resigned. Again a ministerial interregnum occurred; and, at last, the chamber of deputies showed a disposition to take up the question, and impress upon the sovereign the imperative necessity of constituting a government which would be responsible for the affairs of the country. On the 3rd of May, M. Mauguin moved an address to the king, begging his majesty to lose no time in forming an administration from "the men who, while devoted to the preservation of order, were also devoted to the principles of a wise, a constant, and a rational progress." The debate on M. Mauguin's motion terminated on the 10th, when the chamber adopted the principle of an address, but not M. Mauguin's draft. On the following day they met, and chose the committee, to whom the duty of preparing an address was entrusted; but the necessity of proceeding further was obviated by the sudden formation of a cabinet.

On Sunday, the 12th of May, a riot of an alarming nature broke out in Paris. A number of men assembled in the Rue St. Denis, dressed in *blouses* and *casquettes*—the ordinary apparel of the working classes of the capital. They were soon joined by others similarly attired; and the body went to the house of a gun-maker, named Lesage, in the Rue l'Abbé, which they broke into, and robbed of 150 muskets. They compelled the military post on the Quai aux Fleurs, composed of young conscripts, to lay down their arms; and then proceeded, shouting, "*Vive la République!*" and singing the *Marseillaise*, to the Palace of Justice, where the municipal guard met them, received their assault, fired, and killed several of the insurgents—the rest retiring; but not before the commandant at the palace, lieutenant Drouineau, had been shot. Another party had attacked the military station in the Place du Châtelet, where the guard was easily disarmed; whilst a third seized the Hôtel-de-Ville, where

the leader, Armand Barbès, read a proclamation, calling upon the people to assert their rights, and restore the republic. A general move was then made towards the Rue St. Martin, where the insurgents began to construct barricades, in a line from the church of St. Marie, towards the Hall.—Marshal Gerard took effectual steps to suppress this *émeute*. He brought regular troops, the national guard, and the municipal guard, to act upon the various posts which the insurgents had occupied; and, before eleven o'clock on Sunday night, he had completely dispersed them. The next morning Paris was occupied by at least 50,000 troops, who took possession of the entire quarter which the insurgents had held on the previous day, and effectually restored tranquillity. Barbès, and thirty-seven of his associates, were arrested, and committed to prison to await their trials.

It is supposed that this *émeute* made the king think seriously, if he had not done so before, of the evils to which the country was exposed in being without a government; and, the same evening, he formed the following cabinet; the nominations appearing in the *Moniteur* of the 13th of May:—Marshal Soult, *president of the council, and minister of foreign affairs*; general Schneider, *minister of war*; admiral Duperre, *minister of the marine*; M. Duchâtel, *minister of the interior*; M. Cunin Gridaine, *minister of commerce*; M. Dufaure, *minister of public works*; M. Villemain, *minister of public instruction*; M. Passy, *minister of finance*. This was a coalition cabinet. It contained members of the "centre," the *Doctrinaires*, and the "left centre;" but it could depend upon very little support from the two last-named sections, which were now united under the leadership of Thiers, who aimed at being the head of the cabinet himself. For a few days the ministers made no trial of their strength; but, on the 28th of May, they brought forward the question of the secret-service money. The sum asked for was 1,200,000*f.* (£48,000); and they obtained it by 262 votes to 71. This was considered to secure the retention of office, by marshal Soult and his colleagues, for the remainder of the session.

The most important debate that took place before the session closed, was on the affairs of the East. In the six years which had elapsed since the arrangement of Kutahieh,* no cordial agreement had been come to between the sultan and Mehemet Ali. The latter, not satisfied with the cessions made to him in Syria, kept his troops in the province, and still aimed at having the pashalics of Syria and Egypt declared hereditary in his family. The French cabinet was disposed to support him; they contended for what they termed the *statu quo*—to keep things as they were; whilst England was desirous of maintaining the authority of the sultan against

* See ante, p. 475.

his ambitious vassal. Towards the close of 1838, Mohammed seems to have resolved upon active and determined measures to recover his lost supremacy. He fortified the Dardanelles; ordered a levy of 60,000 soldiers, for the purpose of entering Syria, and driving out the Egyptian troops; and collected a fleet to dispatch to Alexandria. Soon after marshal Soult took office, he learned that the Turkish army, under the captain Pasha Achmet, had crossed the Euphrates, and was advancing on Aleppo; and that the Turkish fleet had left, or was about to leave, the Dardanelles. He immediately sent orders to the French fleet in the Levant to make the coast of Syria its rendezvous; and dispatched two of his aides-de-camp—MM. Foltz and Caille—to the East; the first to proceed to the Turkish camp, by the way of Constantinople, where he was to confer with the French minister; the other, to the camp of Ibrahim Pasha, by way of Alexandria. The latter was instructed to obtain an interview with Mehemet Ali before he proceeded to the camp, and to endeavour to avert hostilities; but to assure the pasha that he should, eventually, have the support of France. M. Caille arrived too late. The Turkish army had advanced to the south of the village of Nezib, where it occupied a very strong position. On the 24th of June, Ibrahim Pasha made an attack on this position, which he carried, driving off the Turks with great slaughter, and making 10,000 prisoners. The French officer reached Cairo on the 29th, and found Mehemet Ali disposed to listen to the counsels of France. The pasha authorised him to proceed immediately to the camp of his son, and to convey his orders not to commence hostilities; and, if they were commenced, and he had won a victory, to restrain him from advancing. When M. Caille reached the camp, he found Ibrahim preparing to cross the Taurus. His march was arrested, and hostilities were suspended. This was about the time that the Turkish fleet had arrived at Alexandria; and the treacherous commander had placed it at the disposal of Mehemet Ali. This event took place on the 14th of July. On the 1st, the sultan, Mohammed VI., who had been suffering severely for eight or ten days previously, expired, leaving the empire, which he had, in many respects, materially improved, to his son Abdul Medjid, the present sultan (1861), who has been surrounded with difficulties, and made "a prey to open enemies and pretended friends," ever since his accession.

The debate in the French chamber on the affairs in the East, took place on the 1st and 2nd of July. It originated in the demand, by the minister of marine, for a credit of 10,000,000*f.* (£400,000), to defray the expense of increasing and improving the navy, the state of which was very unsatisfactory to admiral Duperre—especially as the Levant squadron required reinforce-

ments. In this debate, M. de Lamartine made a brilliant speech in opposition to the Eastern policy of the government—contending that it was idle to talk of the *statu quo* with respect to Turkey, after the treaties with Russia of 1774, 1792, and 1813; the annihilation of the Turkish fleet at the battle of Navarino—which he termed "an act of national madness, committed by England and France, for the benefit of Russia;"—and the emancipation of Greece. The system of *statu quo*, he said, would turn entirely to the benefit of England; and "the French policy in the East ought to be European, by supporting a partition of influence and territory among France, England, Russia, and Austria, who had an interest in, and a right to share, both."—M. Villemain, on the part of the government, contended, that "the partition of the Turkish empire could not for a moment be entertained. It would render necessary the entire remodelling of the territorial divisions of Europe; and would itself be a measure of such obvious and flagrant injustice, that, like the partition of Poland, it could not fail to recoil on all the states who were concerned in the spoliation." He said, "the proposition advanced by the government was this:—'Great events are about to ensue in the East; an empire may be about to perish; it may survive—it may endure for a long time: let us be prepared for all the chances.' Without interdicting to France the protectorate of Egypt and the East at some future time, it was wiser just then to be regulated by the experience of the past. There was no intention to restore what had been torn away from the Turkish empire, but to retain it as it was, and to declare that no one had a right to detach fresh fragments from it."—M. Jouffroy, the reporter from the committee to whom the demand of the minister of the marine was referred, alluded to "the danger of the exclusive occupation of Europe or Constantinople by any European people;" suggested a European congress as the best way of meeting the evil; and, in the meantime, "in receiving the credit of the 10,000,000*f.*, the ministry contracted a solemn engagement to enable France, in the affairs of the East, to occupy a position worthy of herself, and which might not cause her to decline from the position she occupied in Europe."

The chamber was satisfied with the ministerial explanations, and gave the minister of marine the vote of credit he asked for—there being 287 ayes to 26 noes. There was little other business then before the chamber but the budget, which was finally settled and adopted on the 19th of July. The entire amount of the estimates was 1,099,913,487*f.* (£43,996,559); and they were sanctioned by 237 votes against 43. The chambers were prorogued on the 7th of August.

The peers, before the prorogation, and whilst the deputies were engaged in discussing the

affairs of the East and the budget, were constituted into a court of justice, to try the parties who were arrested in the insurrectionary riots of the 12th of May. The proceedings commenced on the 27th of June, when Barbès and eighteen others were first brought to trial. By the documents found in some of the haunts of the prisoners, by their examinations, and by the evidence of witnesses, the attempt at insurrection with which the prisoners were connected, was traced to one of the secret societies, which had existed since the year 1834, called the *Société des Familles*. It professed to be established, like the friendly societies of England, for purposes of mutual succour and assistance. But it was a revolutionary society, formed into "quarters," "sections," and "families;" six men constituting a family; six families a section; and three sections a quarter. The organisation and government of this society were in the hands of a secret committee, whose orders were implicitly obeyed; and every member took the following oath:—"In the name of the republic, I swear eternal hatred to all kings, to all aristocrats, and to all oppressors of humanity. I swear absolute devotion to the people, and brotherhood to all men, except the aristocracy. I swear to punish all traitors. I promise to give my life, to mount the scaffold, if that sacrifice is necessary to bring about the reign of the sovereignty of the people and of equality. May I be punished with death as a traitor, to be pierced with a dagger, if I violate my oath." In 1836, upwards of 1,200 men had joined this society, which had formed dépôts of arms, and opened communications with some of the troops. Secretly as the movements of this society were conducted, the police got a clue to them, and several arrests were made. Then the *Société des Familles* was dissolved, and the *Société des Saisons* formed, which ostensibly was occupied with the same pursuits as our horticultural societies. But the members took opportunities of learning the platoon exercise, and were drilled in military movements; cartridges were manufactured and hid; and every preparation for an open insurrection made. In April, 1839, this society numbered 1,000 members; 12,000 cartridges had been made and distributed in various places; and Armand Barbès, and Blanqui, two civilians, with Martin Bernard, a soldier, were the principal leaders.

The period of the ministerial interregnum was fixed upon for the first overt act of insurrection. It broke out on the 12th of May, when the insurgents expected to have been joined both by the people and the national guard. They were mistaken: the former remained quiet; while the latter, as we have seen, assisted in suppressing the movement. On the trial, Barbès did not attempt to deny his own guilt. He avowed that he was one of the chiefs of the association; that he gave the orders for the movement, and prepared the

means for its execution. He admitted that he took part in it, and fought against the soldiers; but he declared that those placed at the bar of justice with him were ignorant of the project of attacking the government; they had been assembled by the committee, without any information of the reason for their being called together. As they were taken with arms in their hands, this defence availed them nothing. They were all, after a long trial—continuing till the 12th of July—found guilty; but only Barbès was sentenced to death, the others being condemned to various periods of confinement—from five to twenty years. Great intercession was made for Barbès; and the king consenting to spare his life, he was sent for perpetual imprisonment to Mont St. Michel, on the coast of Normandy. Blanqui, and the remaining eighteen prisoners, were not tried till the 13th of November. They were also found guilty, Blanqui being sentenced to death, and his companions to imprisonment—most of them for long periods. Blanqui's sentence, like Barbès's, was commuted into imprisonment for life; and he also was sent to Mont St. Michel.

The suppression of the insurrection of May, and the disclosures made on the trial of the insurgents, would, it was generally supposed, strengthen the hands of the government; but before the chambers met again, the ministers determined to add to their supporters in the upper chamber, by creating twenty new peers. As the peerages were only granted for life; as several vacancies had occurred from deaths; and as the previous creations were mostly of individuals politically opposed to them, marshal Soult and his followers can scarcely be blamed for this step, which was not, however, regarded with very favourable eyes. It led the chiefs of the "left" party to consider what means could be adopted to render the chamber of deputies more popular. MM. Odillon Barrot, Lafitte, Garnier Pagès, Dupont de l'Eure, and others, set on foot a movement to obtain the extension of the suffrage. They did not seek to make it universal, or even household, but to extend it to the payers of direct taxes, to the amount of 100f., or £4 per annum, which was the limit fixed by Odillon Barrot; whilst Lafitte and his friends thought the payment of 50f. per annum should confer a vote. But, though the members of the "left" did not seek to confer the franchise upon the working classes—scarcely any of whom paid even 50f. in direct taxes—the legitimists did. Under the impression that it was the middle classes (the *bourgeoisie*) who were revolutionary, and not the *ouvriers*—through their organ, the *Gazette de France*, the leaders of this party proposed, that every person who served, or had served, in the national guard, should have a vote; and all others who paid direct taxes, however small the sum might be. The legitimists

confined their efforts to the press; the liberals carried theirs out through associations. They also laid their plans for securing to the chamber of deputies a complete control over the executive:

in this design, the statesmen we have mentioned were joined by M. Thiers; and they all rallied round him as their leader in the next parliamentary campaign.

CHAPTER XX.

MEETING OF THE CHAMBERS; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS; PROPOSED DOTATION FOR THE DUKE DE NEMOURS; DEFEAT AND RESIGNATION OF THE SOULT CABINET; THE THIERS MINISTRY; MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE DE NEMOURS; MEASURES OF THE SESSION; CELEBRATION OF THE THREE DAYS OF JULY; LOUIS NAPOLEON'S EXPEDITION TO BOULOGNE; ITS FAILURE; TRIAL OF THE PRINCE AND HIS FOLLOWERS; LOUIS NAPOLEON AT THE CASTLE OF HAM; THE EASTERN QUESTION; DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE KING AND HIS MINISTERS; ATTACK ON THE KING'S LIFE; THE SOULT-GUIZOT MINISTRY; MEETING OF THE CHAMBERS; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS; FORTIFICATIONS OF PARIS; THE BUDGET FOR 1842; PRIVATE LIFE OF THE COURT; BIRTH OF THE DUKE DE CHARTRES; EXPEDITION TO ST. HELENA, TO BRING BACK THE BODY OF NAPOLEON; ARRIVAL OF THE BODY AT PARIS; THE INTERMENT; STATE OF PARTIES; JOUR DE L'AN, 1841; THE PLAN OF FORTIFYING PARIS SANCTIONED.

THE session of 1840 was opened on the 23rd of December, Louis-Philippe again proceeding in state to perform that ceremony in person. When the king took his seat on the throne, the peers were arranged on his right, the deputies on his left. The latter attended in great numbers; and groups were formed round count Molé, MM. Thiers, Guizot, Dupin, Sauzet, and Berryer, apparently, before his majesty delivered his address, engaged in animated and eager discussion. The royal speech commenced with congratulating the chambers on the internal peace enjoyed by France; on the progress of industry; and upon the respect which was paid to the laws and institutions of the country. The king also expressed his own personal gratification at the manner in which the duke d'Orleans had been received during a recent tour made through a great part of France, and on the testimonies of respect and affection which were paid to his royal highness. His relations with foreign powers, the king said, had preserved a pacific character. The French flag, in conjunction with that of Great Britain—"faithful to the spirit of that amicable union which was always so advantageous to the two countries"—had watched over the independence of the Ottoman empire, the existence of which was so essential to the maintenance of general peace; and he trusted the great powers would soon settle, on a just and equitable footing, the entangled question of the East. In Spain, tranquillity prevailed in the greater part of the northern provinces; and sanguine hopes were entertained that peace would soon be restored in those in the East. This was the result of the wise government of the regent (the queen-dowager, Christina), and the bravery of the Spanish army; supported by the French and British governments, in faithful execution of the treaty of 1834. In America, the Mexi-

can government had complied with the terms of the treaty; but a French fleet still blockaded the ports of the Argentine republic. Further reinforcements had been sent to Africa, where it was required that the war should be carried on with vigour, in order that nothing might, hereafter, interrupt the progress of a settlement which the French arms were never to quit: the condition of the finances was such, as to enable them to bear this new charge. The peers and deputies were informed that various subjects would be laid before them, and would call for their attention—viz., the regulation of civil pensions; the formation of lines of railway; the government of prisons, and the introduction of a penitentiary system, &c. The king closed his address in the following words:—"Peers and deputies, it is in the midst of, and in conjunction with you, that I love to congratulate France on her happy progress in that career of civilisation, and legitimate freedom, which some turbulent and discontented spirits still endeavour to disturb. But, by the assistance of Heaven, and your loyal support, their efforts will remain powerless, and these last traces of former disorders will disappear before the good sense of the public and the national will."

In the election of president in the deputies, M. Sauzet was the ministerial, M. Odillon Barrot the opposition, candidate. There were only 274 deputies present, 172 of whom voted for the former, and only 94 for the latter; the other votes were scattered between MM. Dupin, de Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, and Guaguier.—MM. Calmon, Gauneron, Martin (du Nord), and general Jacqueminot, were elected vice-presidents. M. Martin defeated M. Vivien, who was supported by the ministers, by ten votes; but as the successful candidate had been a member of the ministry of the 15th of April,

it was considered as a proof, that the coalition, by whom that ministry was overthrown, was losing ground; the government did not, therefore, consider the result of the contest in the light of a defeat.

The debate on the address took place in the peers on the 6th of January, 1840. M. d'Alton Shee, the count de Noailles, and the marquis de Deux-Brézé, were the principal speakers against the government. The first of the three said, the present ministers had attacked those of the 15th of April, had displaced, and succeeded them; they had not repudiated, however, but had adopted, their policy and acts. The count de Noailles, and the marquis de Deux-Brézé, censured the policy pursued by the government in the East; which was only calculated to advance the interest of England. The count recommended a Russian alliance, as more favourable to France than an English one; and said, the government "ought to have two objects in view. First, to prevent England from getting possession of Egypt, or even acquiring any dominion there at all, which would give her a preponderance in the Mediterranean, fatal to the interests of France; and to do everything to enable Egypt to become a strong and independent kingdom. Secondly, to endeavour to obtain for France some direct territorial advantage, not in the East, but on the Rhine."—M. Dufaure and M. Villemain undertook the defence of the administration. M. Dufaure said, the ministry had, by accepting office, placed itself in the breach to defend the crown; its conduct was, therefore, neither unparliamentary nor unconstitutional. With respect to the Eastern policy, France was not isolated on that question; her name had had full weight given to it in the balance of European politics; and no question could be settled without reference to her wishes.—M. Villemain dissented from the idea of the count de Noailles, that France ought to look for advantages in the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. Such a dismemberment he described as "unjust and dangerous; and it was unwise and impolitic to evince eagerness to share in a partition, the very intention of which was not yet disclosed." This speaker especially enlarged on the benefits of the alliance with England. "The union of the two powers," he said, "was one of the foundations on which rested the security of Europe, and the liberty of the world."—The address was adopted with only one amendment, referring to the nationality of Poland, for which M. Villemain voted.

The debate on the address commenced in the deputies on the 7th of January. It was a much longer document than the address of the peers; but it was couched in the same spirit, and concluded with assuring the king, that the deputies "would not be wanting, on their part, in the faithful support of the constitutional monarchy."

In vain did insensate spirits still attempt disturbance: faction could have no hope for the future. France guaranteed that it should be powerless. Reason and the national will watched over the throne they had raised: the rights of the crown were indissolubly linked with those of the nation; and the glory of the crown added to the greatness of the country."—There was no opposition to the address, and little discussion—after a preliminary skirmish, commenced by M. Odillon Barrot, upon the unparliamentary conduct of the ministers, in adopting the policy of the cabinet they had displaced—till the paragraph referring to the Eastern question came under discussion. Then several members took the same line that had been adopted by the opposition in the peers; and the same dislike of the English alliance was expressed by M. de Valmy, M. Mauguin, and others. M. de Lamartine was in favour of partitioning the lifeless and decaying empire of the sultan among the European powers. He wanted France to stand between Russia and England, placing under the protection of the former the population with whose interests she could sympathise; and opening out to the latter a communication to India, for the benefit of the world, while, at the same time, she permitted Austria to remain dominant in the Adriatic; and found her own interest, influence, and prosperity, in holding the balance of power newly created in the East.—M. Villemain again repudiated the idea of dismembering the Turkish empire. It was not the object of France to destroy old kingdoms, or to create new ones. Her policy was to maintain and strengthen whatever remained of vitality in the Mohammedan nations—a vitality which the dismemberment proposed by M. de Lamartine would destroy.—On the 8th, M. Thiers made an able speech. He dissented from the policy of Russia, which pointed to the dismemberment of the Turkish empire; preferring that of the government, as tending to save and preserve that empire by the adoption of a system of precautionary measures. "The policy of the whole world," he said, "was the policy of precaution—the policy of peace—which did not exclude views of grandeur when such views were practicable. The nation with which France ought to be associated in the policy of precaution—in the policy of keeping things in *statu quo*—was England. He was a partisan of the English alliance; such a partisan as a man might be who did not forget the dignity of his own country; but he did not pretend to say, that, if there were wrongs, and acts of injustice, and ill-treatment on the part of England, that that alliance ought to be preserved. For his own part, he had no wish to renounce such a noble alliance, which was founded, not only on physical power, but the moral force of principles. England and France, together, might raise their two flags, on

which would be inscribed—'Moderate freedom, and the peace of the world.'—M. Duchâtel expressed his agreement in the general principles of M. Thiers, as to the policy to be pursued by France. That policy was to arrest the progress of Russian ambition, and to maintain the system of *statu quo*, for which the best guarantee was, the continuance of the alliance with England.—In the course of the discussion, the paragraph relating to Algiers was somewhat modified, with the consent of the ministers, so as to express a wish and a determination to "guarantee the progress and security of the establishments which France wished to preserve on a soil which her dominion would no longer relinquish." All other amendments were rejected; and the separate paragraphs being agreed to, the address was adopted, as a whole, by 212 votes to 43.

Triumphant as the ministry seemed by these divisions, their term of office was soon brought to a close. On the 9th of February, M. Guizot was appointed to succeed general Sebastiani as ambassador to England; and his nomination—as he was known to be an advocate for the English alliance—was supposed to indicate the wish of the government to bring any matters of difference that might exist on the Eastern, or any other question, to an amicable termination. Before he left Paris for London, the king communicated to the chambers, that an agreement had been concluded for a marriage between the duke de Nemours and the princess Victoria Augusta Antoinette, daughter of the duke of Saxe-Coburg, and a cousin to the queen of England. The minister of finance followed up this message, by asking that the chamber should vote 500,000*f.* (£20,000) to defray the expenses of the marriage; that an annuity of the same amount should be settled on the duke during his life; and a jointure of 300,000*f.* (£12,000) upon the duchess, should she survive her husband. A committee of deputies was appointed to draw up a project embodying these proposals; and whilst they were engaged in the task, an opposition to the measure was organised; MM. Odillon Barrot and Thiers being the chief movers in the agitation. Out of doors, also, the grants were violently opposed.—The ground taken by the opposition was, that whilst, previous to the revolution of July, the private property of the princes had merged in the royal domain—Louis-Philippe had stipulated, that his immense property, estimated at 80,000,000*f.* (£3,200,000), should be divided amongst his children; he himself having the direction of it during his life. And it was asked, why the king—whose annual income, private and public, exceeded 25,000,000*f.* (£1,000,000)—should not support his own family, without imposing that burthen on the country? The disapprobation of this measure, out of the chambers, was greatly increased by the publication of a very severe *brochure*, from the pen of

M. Cormenin, entitled, *Questions Scandaleuses d'un Jacobin au Sujet d'une Dotation*; one object of which was, to show how many marshals and public officers might be paid with the sum proposed to be devoted to the duke de Nemours. When the committee presented their report, the chamber, by the votes of 226 deputies to 200, refused even to consider it. The ministers immediately resigned; and the king, greatly to his mortification, after having in vain attempted to form a cabinet, through the duke de Broglie, count Molè, and M. Guizot, found himself obliged, on the 26th of February, to send for M. Thiers, and make him president of the council, with the choice of what other office he pleased to unite with it; entrusting him, also, with full powers in the nomination of his colleagues. He chose the office of foreign affairs for himself; and M. Vivien was appointed *keeper of the seals, and minister of justice and religion*. General Despens Cubieres, *minister of war*. Admiral Roussin, *minister of the marine and the colonies* (a new office, which the business connected with Algiers rendered necessary). M. Remusat, *minister of the interior*. M. Gouin, *minister of commerce*. Count Jaubert, *minister of public works*. M. Cousin, *minister of public instruction*. M. Pelet de la Lozere, *minister of finance*.

This ministry was formed of the principal members of the "left centre," and of the *Doctrinaires*, who had opposed the Molè cabinet. The division of the latter party appeared to be favourable to the government; and M. Thiers took an early opportunity of testing his strength. On the 24th of March, the minister of the interior applied for a grant of 1,000,000*f.* for the secret-service money of 1840. The opposition first moved to reduce the sum by 100,000*f.*; which was negatived by 241 votes to 158. They then opposed the grant itself; but it was carried by a majority of 246 to 160. The adhesion of the "right centre" to the ministers produced these majorities. M. Thiers had had communications with the leaders of that party, and succeeded in convincing them, that the course taken against the proposed *dotation*, was the only one that could be adopted to save the Orleans dynasty from downfall, and preserve the constitution from the attacks of the extreme party in the state. They also were given to understand, that he would pursue a moderate policy; and although they had voted for the *dotation*, they thought it better to give the present ministry a fair trial, than, in the existing state of parties, to try another change.—Notwithstanding the refusal of the *dotation*, the marriage of the duke de Nemours was celebrated on the 20th of April; and the king, queen, and the other members of the royal family, received many congratulations on the occasion. The government commemorated the event by issuing an *ordonnance*,

extending the amnesty of May 8th, 1837, to those persons who were condemned *par contumace*—that is, in their absence—for refusing to appear and answer the charges made against them. There were a number of republicans exiled from France, who, by this measure, were enabled to return; it was, therefore, an important concession to the liberals; and it was the only one made by M. Thiers whilst he remained in power.

Soon after the grant of secret-service money was so triumphantly carried, the minister of finance introduced a project for imposing a duty of 20f. per kilogramme on foreign sugar, more than that paid by the produce of the French colonies. This measure was intended to promote the growth of beetroot sugar at home, as well as the culture of the sugar-cane in the colonies; and, after some discussion, it was adopted.—During the session, a negotiation with England, opened to procure permission for the removal of the remains of Napoleon I. from St. Helena to France, that they might repose “amongst the French people, whom he loved so well,” was brought to a satisfactory termination. The British government offered no opposition to the request, which was communicated to them by M. Guizot; and the English minister for foreign affairs, in announcing the acquiescence of her majesty’s government, expressed a hope, that “the promptitude with which the request was complied with, might be considered as a proof of her majesty’s wish, that the last trace of the national animosities, which, during the life of the emperor, armed the two nations against each other, should be effaced.” M. de Remusat proposed, that the prince de Joinville (the third son of the king) should be sent to the island, in command of a frigate, for the purpose of conveying the body to France; and that 1,000,000f. should be appropriated to defray the expense. The proposal was received with acclamation by the chambers; and gave a brief popularity to the ministry.—In June, a project for making a railroad from Paris to Rouen was passed; and before the session closed, on the 15th of July, measures for the better regulation of the salt mines; for renewing the privileges of the bank of France; and for establishing a series of transatlantic mails, became laws. A project to limit the term of labour for children in factories, passed by the peers by a majority of 91 to 35, was so distasteful to the capitalists, that although the limitation was as much required in France as it had been in England, the ministers were afraid to introduce it into the deputies. The conversion of the *rentes*, which several of them, and especially M. Gouin, had so warmly advocated when in opposition, was adjourned; and this was found not to be the only instance in which the liberal chiefs abandoned their principles. Some of the liberal journals—the *Constitutionnel*, the *Courrier Française*, and *Siècle*—

became warm supporters of the ministry; which the *Presse* as vehemently opposed; charging M. Thiers with having purchased the advocacy of the three journals we have named by the most unscrupulous abuse of the patronage of the government.

The adjournment of the chambers was followed by preparations for the celebration of the “three days of July,” which, that year, were to be distinguished by the transfer of the mouldering remains of the men who perished in the revolutionary movement that placed Louis-Philippe on the throne, from their various places of sepulture to one grave in the Place de la Bastille, where a column, dedicated to liberty, was to be erected over their ashes. This project was conceived by M. Thiers, and announced by him soon after his accession to power. It was, of course, highly popular amongst the working classes, most of whom were republicans, as it appeared to legitimise the right of insurrection, and they received it with enthusiasm; whilst it was condemned by all the thoughtful and sober-minded. The 28th of July was fixed upon for the ceremony. On that day, the bones of the deceased, having been previously collected, were placed in funeral cars, and conducted, with great pomp, to their new grave, escorted by a body of the military, and attended by an immense number of spectators. The *cortège* passed the Louvre; and the king, attended by M. Thiers, presented himself at one of the windows. The monarch was warmly greeted; but, except at this moment, the disposition of the people appeared to be much inclined to tumult. They sang the *Marseillaise* and the *Parisienne* with a wild enthusiasm, which alarmed all the lovers of order; and, if the minister of war had not taken the precaution of introducing large bodies of military into the capital, there is little doubt but the ceremony would have ended in a fresh attempt at insurrection. As it was, it gave a renewed impetus to that revolutionary feeling in the people, which had, on previous occasions, threatened so much danger to the government. It was followed, within ten days, by a renewed attempt of Louis Napoleon to overthrow the throne of Louis-Philippe.

Since he left Switzerland, to prevent a war between that country and France, the prince had resided in England, chiefly in London. As we have already remarked, he never abandoned his designs on France; but the reasons which induced him to think that he could make a successful attempt in 1840, are not known. He appears to have made the arrangements without consulting any of his friends; they were entirely his own; and, probably, he was induced to expect success from the repeated manifestations which were made, by the French people, of their respect for the memory of Bonaparte; and from the dissatisfaction which was felt with the

government of Louis-Philippe—a fact which the friends of that sovereign found it impossible to conceal. An anonymous French writer, in an essay on the fortunes and genius of the son of Hortense, remarking at some length on the Strasburg and Boulogne affairs, asserts, that “he was not a conspirator of an ordinary kind:” in fact, that “he revolted from projects of conspiracy.” The writer justifies this assertion, “from a consideration of the rashness of the acts, and the absolute impossibility of success.” Louis Napoleon “prepared nothing; he organised nothing; his plans were not warranted by strategy.” In the writer’s opinion—“To obey destiny, to follow his star, to sound France with the sword of Napoleon, to bring to light what feelings of affection it contained for the name of Bonaparte and the empire; to call upon the people to declare their will upon the system which, as he believed, engrossed all their favour and enthusiasm—this, sincerely and impartially, was what Louis Napoleon had faith in, and endeavoured to bring about, in entering Strasburg, sword in hand, on the 30th of October, 1836, and in disembarking at Boulogne on the 6th of August, 1840.”

Certainly there was no appearance of a well-arranged conspiracy in the descent which was made upon Boulogne; but Louis Napoleon must have contemplated it for some time, because he took with him a tame eagle, which he had trained to fly to the top of a column, and there alight, and spread its wings—an accessory to his enterprise, intended to produce a striking effect; but, in the result, it gave rise to much ridicule. Some parties in Boulogne were also informed of his intended attempt, and they were prepared to meet him. In London, he had been joined by general Montholon, colonel Pasquin, and several other officers; and, in July, he engaged a steamboat, to convey themselves and him to France. If we are to believe his declarations, and those of general Montholon, not one of them knew the object of the voyage when they embarked; but once on board, he told them that he intended to land at Boulogne, and again raise the standard of the eagle on the soil of France. He also prepared various proclamations, in one of which he nominated a provisional government, of which M. Thiers was to be the head; and marshal Clausel was named commander-in-chief of the troops of Paris. In another, addressed to the people of France, he said—“Banished from my country, I should not have complained, had I been the only unfortunate; but the glory and honour of the country were exiled with me. Frenchmen! we will re-enter it together.” * * “When one enjoys the honour of being at the head of such a people as the French, there is a certain way to do great things, and that is to will them. At present, there is nothing to be found in France but violence on one side, and

license on the other. I wish, in surrounding myself with the most eminent in the country, without exception, and in supporting the interests and wishes of the masses, to form an imperishable edifice. I wish to give to France true alliances, a solid peace, and not to cast it into the perils of a general war.” He had had a uniform made similar to his uncle’s, and, attired in that dress, sword in hand, he harangued his followers when on board the steamer; and all appear to have promised to stand by him, though they must have known that the enterprise was a most desperate one.

They embarked at London on the 5th of August; the captain of the steamer having been instructed, by his owners, to be prepared to receive fifty or sixty passengers, and to take them where he was directed. Early on the morning of the 6th, this vessel was seen by a custom-house officer of Boulogne, steering for that port. Soon after, he saw a boat, full of men, leave the vessel and make for the shore. He hastened, with two assistants, to the spot where it appeared they were about to land; and, as soon as they were near enough, he inquired who they were, and where they were going? One of them replied, that they “were a part of the 40th regiment of the line, on their way from Dunkirk to Cherbourg; but one of the boat’s paddle-wheels being out of order, they were obliged to land.” There were fifteen or sixteen men on board, in uniform, who disembarked, and the boat returned to the vessel. The men who landed made the officer and his assistants prisoners; five other men, belonging to the customs, who were making their rounds, were also arrested. The boat made three trips to the vessel, and about sixty men landed—thirty in the uniform of the 40th regiment; the others were also in uniform, but not of one regiment; and there appeared to be officers of various ranks. Before all the men had been set on shore, four persons arrived from Boulogne, who immediately joined the new arrivals; and all proceeded, as soon as the landing was effected, to Boulogne, by the column on the heights. The men marched on the city, led by three officers, two wearing the uniform of a lieutenant-general; and the third was Louis Napoleon, attired in the costume made in imitation of his uncle’s. When within 200 paces of the place for collecting the *octroi*, the custom-house officers were liberated, at their own intercession, on giving a promise to return to Vimereux without holding communication with any one. The “invaders” then made their way to the barracks of the 42nd regiment, from whom they expected support. Many of the men soon gathered together, wondering what the appearance of the little troop meant; and the proclamation, addressed to the army, was read to them. This document concluded with the following sentences:—“Soldiers!

the great shade of Napoleon speaks to you by my voice! Hasten, then, whilst his remains are traversing the ocean, to drive away the traitors and oppressors, and show him, on his arrival, that you are the worthy sons of the grand army; that you have reassumed the sacred emblems, which, during forty years, have caused the enemies of France to tremble, and, among others, those by whom you are now governed. Soldiers, to arms! *Vive la France!*" The proclamation was signed "Napoleon;" and countersigned by general Montholon, as major-general.

An officer of the 42nd, lieutenant Aladenize, joined the party; and they were parleying with the soldiers, when the commandant, Puygelier, arrived. The men are said to have shown signs of hesitation, which that officer soon put a stop to; and, at his orders, they seized those who were endeavouring to seduce them from their allegiance. A scuffle ensued, in which a pistol Louis Napoleon held in his hand went off—some say by accident, others that he discharged it—and wounded a grenadier. This was the only casualty that occurred. Louis Napoleon and his followers immediately made for the coast; but, when they arrived at the column, he said he would not quit the shores of France any more, but would die there. As the royal troops and some corps of *gendarmérie* were in swift pursuit, his followers forced him away. The fugitives hurried towards the coast, but found that a division of their pursuers intercepted that route. They then made for the *Etablissement des Bains*, near a league distant, and in a different direction. Arrived there, they found the boat belonging to that institution on the beach: they immediately entered it, and pushed from the shore. Before they got many yards, a party of the military came up, and firing upon them, two of the party, count Dunin and M. Faure, were killed; and Louis Napoleon was slightly wounded in the arm. The confusion which this attack caused amongst the men, rendered them, for the moment, regardless of the boat, and it upset. Some of the persons on board were drowned; the rest were made prisoners, and conducted to the castle of Boulogne: amongst them were Louis Napoleon,* generals Voison and Montholon, colonel Bouffé-Montauban, M. de Persigny, and most of the London associates of the prince. The steamer in which they crossed the channel was also seized: two carriages, ten horses, and 1,000 muskets were

found on board; also the eagle, which was intended to have inaugurated the triumph of the nephew of the emperor, in a way which, it was confidently expected, would have astonished those who witnessed it.

Louis Napoleon did not remain long at Boulogne; for as soon as intelligence of the events of the 6th reached Paris, he was ordered to be conveyed, with his companions, to that city, where they were placed in the Conciergerie. Shortly after they arrived, the king issued an *ordonnance*, convoking the peers to sit as a criminal court, to try the prisoners for "an attempt against the safety of the state." Orders were also given to arrest all persons then at large in France who had been charged with complicity in the Strasburg affair. They were all captured with one exception—colonel Vaudrey. He was residing at the time in Paris, with his brother-in-law, M. Périer. This was known to the police; and the commissary went himself to arrest him. Fortunately for the colonel, the officer was unacquainted with his person. When the commissary arrived, Vaudrey, his wife, and her brother were conversing together. The former, on hearing of his arrival, retired into a closet; and the officer, on entering, found only madame Vaudrey and M. Périer conversing together. The commissary mistook the latter for the colonel; and on his stating the object of his visit, M. Périer requested to see the warrant under which he acted. It was shown to him, and he went with the officer, without resistance, to the prefecture. On arriving there, before entering, he told the commissary who he really was; and that officer, indignant at having been deceived, returned to look after the colonel, but he had escaped.

The trial commenced on Monday, September 28th, and excited an immense interest. The gates of the hall were no sooner opened, than the tribunes reserved for the public were filled; and at twelve o'clock the lawyers and the accused took their places; being soon followed by the peers—between 160 and 170 responding to their names. The absentees, about 70, consisted chiefly of the marshals and other officers of the army, with several admirals, and peers who had been high functionaries of the empire. There were nineteen prisoners; the other parties arrested being discharged, after examination. MM. Berryer and Marie appeared as counsel for Louis Napoleon; and MM. F. Barrot, Delacour, and

Suddenly he darted forward towards the port—it is supposed with the intention of leaping into the water—but he had not perceived the chains. He was suddenly stopped by them, and fell against a little boy, who was standing looking on at the strange scene. And so he was caught, and at once marched to the upper town château. This little boy is now a man, and may be pointed out to any curious visitor, as the person against whom his present majesty, the emperor, fell, when he tried to jump into the port."

* In the *Athenæum* of March 23rd, 1861, a letter appeared, written from Boulogne, and signed "B. J.;" in which mention is made of this affair. B. J. says, he fell in with a person who "was present when Louis Napoleon, wet to the shoulders, was conveyed (after his capture) to a little open space, now covered by the customs entrepôt. This open space had chains round it. Louis Napoleon was standing in the centre of the place, surrounded by a posse of national guards, custom-house officers, and cocked hats of various degrees of authority.

Barillon for the other prisoners. The prince, on being asked his name, age, profession, &c., replied—"My names are Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. I am thirty-two years of age; was born in Paris; and am a French exiled prince, residing in London." When the *acte d'accusation* was read, the witnesses—a curious collection of custom-house officers, pilots, national guards, officers and privates of the 42nd regiment of the line, and citizens of Boulogne—were present. The eagle, colours, arms, and other emblems of imperialism, seized at that port, were on a table before them. After the reading of the document, there was a short suspension of the sitting; and when the peers returned, Louis Napoleon begged to offer a few observations before he answered any interrogatories. The purport of his brief address was, that the people of France having established the empire—an act of national omnipotence which never was revoked—all that had been done subsequently was illegal. "When," said he, "in 1830, the people resumed their sway, I was in hope that they would have repaired a great injustice, and again sanctioned the votes of four millions of citizens given to my family. My intention was, to abide entirely by the wish of the people, freely expressed in an assembly of the nation. I would have bowed to the principle of the sovereignty of the country; and whether it had decided in favour of a republic, a monarchy, or an empire, it would have found me full of respect for its decrees." As no such expression of the public will had been given, he thought his late attempt fully justified: it was culpable only as he compromised a number of friends, who followed him blindly, without his explaining to them the motives by which he was actuated.

When the usual interrogatories were put to him, he refused to reply to those which had formed part of his former examination, as he "had nothing to add, and nothing to change." He acknowledged the proclamations which were placed before him; and said he had affixed the names of general Montholon and colonel Voisin to those documents without their consent. He also placed, without their consent, the names of various persons in the list of "a provisional government," because he "wished to take, as the chiefs of that government, men in positions of dignity, although they were not of his own principle." General Montholon, when examined, declared that he left England without any information as to the designs of the prince; and that, without knowing them, he found himself involved in the affair of Boulogne: he then told Louis Napoleon that he was ruining himself and his friends; but that he would not abandon him in the hour of danger. A number of witnesses were examined, who proved the facts that transpired at Boulogne; and also the direct connection with them of most of the prisoners. At the close of

the evidence, the advocate-general addressed the court upon it; and M. Berryer then spoke on behalf of Louis Napoleon, and made a powerful appeal in his favour, grounded upon the fact, that, in 1804, four million votes had declared that France demanded hereditary government, in the person of Napoleon. "And what did you do," he asked, "in 1830? You revived the political dogma of the sovereignty of the people, on which the empire was founded; and, with it, the hereditary rights of the Napoleon family. Is this a subject for judgment? Really, one can hardly comprehend that there should be a person here under accusation. You have, by consecrating the principle, re-established the empire. This principle had been abolished; but you restored it. Again I say, and I will say it a thousand times, there is no person here liable to judgment." On this idea the counsel enlarged; and he concluded with a personal appeal to the judges. "I will ask you to say," he exclaimed—"you whom we know—whether, if the prisoner had triumphed, you would have denied his rights, and refused to associate yourselves with his power? Judges and legislators, you respect the laws; well then, open the code, and what do you see there? Death! death for the offence before your tribunal. Death! oh, no; you will not pronounce that verdict; you cannot. You cannot, at the same time, attach the name of Napoleon to a glorious tomb and to a scaffold! You can pronounce another sentence—perpetual imprisonment, for instance—a punishment of infamy! Oh, no, you cannot! You cannot forget that you are men; and you will remember that France, which has its eye upon you, desires, above all things, respect for its feelings. You pronounce an infamous punishment against the nephew of the man to whom you owe everything. You turn against the family of your benefactor, for benefits which he conferred upon you. Marshals, dukes, barons—who made you what you are? You will say, your exploits, your services. Be it so; but it is to the magnificence of the empire alone that you owe, nearly all of you, the right of sitting in this assembly. Monsignore, you have to pronounce upon a question which is purely political. You are not judges: you are politicians. Send, then, the accused again into exile—exile is the position which the law has created for him. Let the law be executed, and his exile recommence."

This speech, which in itself was mere empty though eloquent declamation, created an immense sensation in the court, and appeared to produce a great impression on the peers; exciting the more interest as coming from such a stanch legitimist. When the effects had somewhat subsided, general Montholon handed in a brief written defence, merely embodying what he had said in reply to the interrogatories put to him. The counsel for the other prisoners addressed the court for their

clients, much to the effect of M. Berryer's eloquent speech; and the procureur-general replied, warmly contending, that the principles laid down by the advocate of Louis Napoleon could not be tolerated in a country which had recognised the revolution of July. The court adjourned after the speeches; and, three days after, reassembled, to pronounce sentence. Four of the prisoners were acquitted: the rest found guilty. Prince Charles Louis Napoleon was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress situate on the continental territory of France; general Montholon, colonel Pasquin, M. Lombard, and M. de Persigny, to twenty years' "detention;" M. Mesanion to fifteen; colonel Voisin, and MM. Forestier and Ornano, to ten years; colonel Montauban, Dr. Conneau, M. Bataille, and M. Orsi, to five years; M. Laborde to two; and lieutenant Aladenize to transportation.

It was determined, by the government, that Louis Napoleon should be confined in the castle of Ham. This fortress, situated about twenty leagues from Paris, is described as "a sort of bastille, as gloomy and cold in appearance as the castles of the middle ages; nor is its interior more cheerful than its exterior." But he was not sent there alone; general Montholon and Dr. Conneau were imprisoned with him; Charles Thèlin, his valet (who was one of those tried by the peers and acquitted, but who was desirous not to leave his master), and madame Montholon, were also permitted to become voluntary prisoners. The presence of the latter—a most amiable and accomplished woman—was as great a source of comfort to the prisoners, as it was an act of devotion on the part of the lady. There was a garrison of 400 men in the castle, under the command of M. Demarle; and sixty were always on duty, as guards, in various parts of the exterior and interior of the prison. As soon as Louis Napoleon arrived, he wrote to M. Berryer, thanking him most heartily for his able and energetic defence. In this letter, he said—"I know not what fate may have in store for me; whether I shall ever have the power to prove my gratitude; or, if I have, whether you would accept such proofs. But whatever may, hereafter, be our respective positions, we may always preserve our esteem and regard for each other; and I assure you, that, should my trial be attended with no other result than the acquisition of your friendship, I shall consider that it leaves me a gainer." In prison he applied himself to study; and, not long after the commencement of his imprisonment—writing to a lady, he said—"I do not wish to change my abode. I am here in my proper position; for, with the name I bear, I must live either in the gloom of a dungeon, or the light of power."* Whilst at Ham, he wrote his works entitled

Considérations sur la Question des Sucres; L'Extinction de la Paupérisme; the Fragments Historiques, and essays on various subjects. He was, for the first nine months of his confinement, subjected to some indignities and espionage, against which he protested in a letter to the government: subsequently his treatment appears to have been modified; and, as a prisoner, he had little to complain of.

The Eastern question, which excited so much attention in the previous year, was productive of greater differences between France and her allies, and of more important events, in 1840. The sultan was still at war with his rebellious pasha, Mehemet Ali, whom M. Thiers evinced a great desire to support, with a view to increase the influence of France, and decrease that of England, in the Mediterranean. The pasha demanded the possession of Egypt and Syria, as their absolute sovereign, with the right of hereditary succession to his family. The sultan was willing to grant the hereditary viceroyalty of Egypt (reserving his own suzerainty), and the government of Syria for life. But he would make no further concession; and his reasons were forcibly urged in a proclamation issued early in the year. "If," his highness observed, "such vast countries should be conceded to Mehemet Ali and his heirs in hereditary right, the dominions of the Porte will be split into two parts, and the relations between the subject and the sovereign will exist only in name. Never will it be permitted, that a governor, in arrogating to himself the sacred right of sovereignty, should occupy a territory so great and so considerable. If the intentions of the pasha are only to provide for the future fate of his descendants, certainly the hereditary government of Egypt should suffice for him." England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, adopted the views of the sultan, who was encouraged to persist in them from a revolt, in the spring of 1840, of the Druses and Maronites of Lebanon, against the authority of Mehemet Ali; a revolt to which the exactions of the officers of the pasha gave rise. As France declined to accede to the proposals of the sultan, the other powers, on the 15th of July, signed a treaty with Turkey, embodying them. The concessions to Mehemet Ali were, however, made dependent expressly upon his acceptance of the terms of the treaty within ten days after they were communicated to him; and his giving orders, within the same time, for the withdrawal of his forces from all parts of the Ottoman empire not included in Egypt and the pashalic of Acre. By a supplementary treaty—in which the right of the Porte to close the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus against the ships of war of all nations was recognised—the four powers, in case of the refusal of Mehemet Ali to accept the terms offered him, guaranteed effective military aid to the sultan.

* *The Early Life of Louis Napoleon; from authentic sources.*

This treaty was communicated to the French government immediately after it was signed, accompanied by a very conciliatory note, which bore date the 18th of July. The four powers appealed to the past to show "the importance which they attached to the moral effect likely to be produced by the harmony and combined action" of all the five cabinets in the adjustment of the affairs of the East; and expressed their regret, that "their efforts to attain this end had been unsuccessful. Although, recently, they had proposed to France to unite with them for the execution of an arrangement between the sultan and Mehemet Ali, based on the views which the French ambassador in London himself proposed at the close of the previous year, that government had not thought fit to accede to the arrangement. It had made its co-operation with the other powers depend on conditions which they regarded as inconsistent with the independence of the Ottoman empire, and the future peace of Europe. In such circumstances, nothing remained to the four powers but either to abandon to chance the future of the great affairs they were called upon to adjust—and thus to manifest their impotence, which would leave Europe exposed to greater hazards—or to proceed in their own course, without the co-operation of France; and effect, themselves, the pacification of the Levant. They had considered it their duty, placed in that position, to adopt the latter alternative; and had concluded a convention with the sultan, by which, they trusted, the complications in the Levant would be satisfactorily adjusted. In signing that convention, the four powers felt the greatest regret at being momentarily separated from France in an affair so essentially European. They indulged the hope, however, that the separation upon that subject would be of short duration, and that the sincere friendship they so ardently desired to feel for that power, would not be interrupted."*

These conciliatory expressions had little effect in soothing the irritation of the cabinet of the Tuileries; the members of which felt, that the position of France must be lowered in the estimation of the European public, when such important matters as were involved in the Eastern question were settled without her concurrence, and on terms opposed to her views. Many of the French people, when the conditions of the treaty became known, and they were informed (though untruly) that their government was not consulted upon them, felt their national honour wounded; and the press—ministerial, legitimist, and republican—for once united; declared that the nation had been insulted, especially by England; and pronounced for war. The measures which M.

Thiers submitted to his colleagues, as called for by the occasion, were—1st. To increase the army to a war establishment of 400,000 men.—2nd. To guard against such events as occurred in 1814 and 1815, by surrounding Paris with fortifications.—3rd. To reinforce the Levant fleet.—4th. To provide the funds for these heavy expenses, by opening an extraordinary credit, on the authority of the ministers, to the amount of 100,000,000*f.* (£4,000,000). The king gave what must be considered a reluctant assent to these measures; for he had no wish to break off the friendly intercourse with the other powers; and especially desired to maintain that with England. Several weeks after the treaty of the 15th of July had been communicated to the government, and after the failure of Louis Napoleon to raise the standard of insurrection at Boulogne, his majesty had visited that town, purposely to thank the inhabitants for their loyalty. On that occasion, in reply to a wish that there might be no interruption to the friendship between the two countries (expressed by an Englishman, who was present when the king received the principal inhabitants), his majesty said—"While I live there shall be peace between France and England." M. Thiers professed to be favourable to the English alliance, though opposed to the policy pursued by the government of London in the East; and it was, probably, in the assurance that there would be no rupture with that power, that the king was induced to consent to the four propositions being submitted to the cabinet, by whom they were sanctioned. The first step taken towards carrying them into effect was, the issuing a royal *ordonnance*, opening the credit necessary to give the government the means of raising the additional men for the army, and increasing the fleet. When the minister began to carry out his measures, he found, that, with the exception of men, he could procure nothing that he wanted in France. For horses, he had to send to Germany and Switzerland; for artillery, to Russia; and for steamboats, to England. M. Thiers, however, cared little for this, so that he could but procure what he considered the necessary force; and he employed the months of August and September in active measures to put the army and navy on a war footing.

The question of fortifying Paris was also discussed in the cabinet. Two plans were proposed. The king was in favour of detached forts, erected on the eminences, many of them within half cannon-shot, by which Paris is surrounded. Each of these detached forts was to be capable of standing a siege; and the plan proposed was one that enabled their fire to command all parts of the city.† The leaders of the republican

guns. Those of no less than six cross each other in the Rue St. Antoine, and the Place of the Bastille, the constant centre of insurrection." He terms this "a curious and instructive circumstance."

* *Moniteur*, July 20th, 1840.

† Sir A. Alison says, that he "is in possession of a very curious map, showing the proposed position of all the detached forts round Paris, and the range of their

party soon discovered the advantage which would thus be placed in the hands of the authorities, who could render the forts quite as effective against domestic insurgents as against foreign foes. They, therefore, opposed their erection, and recommended an *enceinte continue*—a wall, surrounding the city, which they thought might be converted to their advantage. The discussion in the cabinet upon the question was carried through the month of August, and into that of September; and, in the face of a determined opposition, the erection of the forts was resolved upon; but it was also determined, probably with a view to weaken the opposition on the part of the people, to adopt both plans, and connect the *enceinte continue* with the detached forts; a plan which had been recommended by a commission that sat on the subject in 1836. M. Thiers—who would have preferred the *enceinte continue* alone—sanctioned this plan to please the king; and on the 10th of October, an *ordonnance* appeared, signed by Louis-Philippe, and countersigned by M. Thiers—declaring, that the fortification of the capital was a case of urgency, and decreeing the immediate commencement of the forts, towards the expense of which, a credit of 600,000*f.* (£24,000) was opened. On the 20th, orders were given for raising a bastioned wall round the capital; to be thirty feet high, terraced, and faced with masonry, with *glacis* and *contrescarp* in earth.

Whilst France was arming, with the intention, on the part of her ministers, as it was supposed at home and abroad, to take advantage of any circumstance that might occur to commence hostilities—England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia were acting cordially with the sultan. When the treaty of the 15th of July was communicated to Mehemet Ali, he refused, with great vehemence, to comply with its conditions, exclaiming, “*Vallah-billah-tillah!*” I will not surrender one foot of the land I possess; and, should they declare war against me, I will overturn the empire, and bury myself beneath its ruins.” He did not calculate upon the active measures that would be taken against him. As soon as his refusal was known, Austria and Russia agreed to send, the one 40,000, the other 50,000 men, to protect the Turkish territory wherever it was threatened; and the English squadron, which had been for some time laying in the Bay of Besika, where a French squadron also was stationed, received orders to sail immediately for the coasts of Syria and Egypt. This squadron comprised nine ships of the line, six frigates and sloops, and four steamers. It was commanded by admirals Sir R. Stopford and Sir C. Napier; and was joined by two frigates and two sloops, under the Austrian colours; and one Turkish corvette: making a total of twenty-four vessels, large and small. Sir R. Stopford, on his arrival off the coast of Syria,

* By the Almighty God.

summoned the Egyptian general to evacuate that country; and as no reply was given, nor any movement made, he divided his squadron, retaining six line-of-battle ships under his own orders, and sending the remainder to blockade Alexandria. In the brief contest that ensued, the gallantry of the English sailors was conspicuous. They captured Sidon on the 27th of September; Beyrout, after a most damaging bombardment, on the 10th of October; and Acre, where there was some severe fighting, on the 3rd of November. Mehemet Pasha now found that further resistance was useless: he agreed to comply with the demand of the allies, to withdraw his troops from Syria and Candia, and to give up the Turkish squadron which he had detained at Alexandria. The allies, on their part, had some difficulty to induce the sultan to withdraw a sentence of deportation which he had, in September, pronounced against Mehemet Ali. But at length this was effected, and hostilities ceased.

The social state of France, during this period, was calculated to cause great uneasiness to those who took the trouble to watch the indications of public opinion, and to ascertain what were the feelings of the great majority of the people—of the masses, who were collected together in such numbers in the faubourgs of the capital, and who formed the immense majority of the inhabitants, whether of the towns or villages. Louis-Philippe was always considered as the king of the *bourgeoisie*, rather than of the *ouvriers*. The aristocracy, with few exceptions, stood aloof from the Tuileries, retaining their predilections for the elder branch of the Bourbons. Little was done to conciliate them; but much was effected to promote the interests of the bankers, the traders, the shopkeepers, and the middle classes generally, whose representatives formed the great majority of the chamber of deputies. These classes, in the towns, had little to complain of; but the numerous landowners in the country were suffering greatly from the weight of the public burthens to which they were exposed; and whilst the urban mechanics and artisans could scarcely procure necessities for themselves and their families (for, although government found employment for many by the public works it undertook, including railways, which, it was found, the means of private individuals would not allow them to carry out, the wages of all were low), the rural peasantry were involved still deeper in poverty. The official statistics of France show a most extraordinary state of things prevailing in that country in 1840, and forcibly illustrate the evils of that minute division of landed property which prevails there, and which some political economists wish to introduce into England. There were, at that period, in France, 10,860,000 separate “estates,” which were distributed amongst about 6,000,000 proprietors.

The rents and burdens of this property were estimated as follows :*—

The Rents		1,580,579,000f.	£63,223,160
The Taxes on Land	562,094,684f.	1,123,632,972f.	£44,945,318
Interest on Mortgages, and other charges	561,538,288f.		
Clear Income of 6,000,000 Proprietors		456,946,028f.	£18,277,842

Under such a state of things, it was impossible but that great distress and great discontent should prevail; and as the chamber of deputies represented only the 230,000 electors who paid 200f. a-year in direct taxes—the masses who paid less than that sum having no voice in the representation—the opinion, that there would be a less lavish expenditure by the government, and more comfort for the people, if they were better represented, became general; and the cry for an extension of the suffrage, raised in Paris towards the close of 1839, by some of the liberal leaders;† and for a “reform in the representation”—which a few years before had been almost universal in England—was heard in many parts of France. Petitions, calling for such an extension and reform, were sent to the chamber of deputies, and warmly supported by M. Arago, and as warmly opposed by M. Thiers. The question was taken up by the press; and the axiom of one of the journals, that, “at this moment, reform appears to all the world, and even to the chamber itself, the inevitable result of the disordered state of society,”‡ was repeated by many. In addition to “reform” principles, those of the communists or socialists were widely circulated amongst the working classes, both by means of the press and by the agency of associations formed for that purpose. It was, most probably, a knowledge of this prevalent feeling of discontent which impelled Louis Napoleon to undertake his Boulogne expedition, which, could he have penetrated into the interior of the country, might have had a very different result.

Before the session closed, a “reform section” of the liberals was regularly organised, at the head of which were MM. Odillon Barrot, Arago, and Lafitte. They had their agents in the large cities; and whilst at Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulon, Metz, and other towns, these agents got up reform demonstrations, in the shape of banquets, a “monstre” meeting of the kind was arranged for Paris, to be held at St. Maude, near Vincennes, on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. A committee was appointed to make the arrangements; and 3,000 persons accepted their invitations, 2,600 of whom, it is said, belonged to the national guard. The government now took the alarm; and, on the 10th of July, the prefect of the police of the Seine, acting under instructions from the minister of the interior, issued a proclamation, forbidding

any assembly to be held of more than 1,000 persons. Remonstrance against this edict was vain; but the promoters of the movement, though they postponed the festival, did not abandon it. It took place on the 31st of August, in a private field near Chatillon, and was attended by 6,000 persons. There was much oratory, and the speeches were very violent; whilst the demeanour of the people was most orderly; and the result was, the holding of similar meetings in many of the large towns, in various parts of France. But the working classes did not stop at the demands for reform. They accompanied those demands, and their republican demonstrations—shown by singing the *Marseillaise* and *Parisienne* in the streets, and by the institution of Jacobinical clubs, in defiance of the law—by an agitation for an increase of wages, which, early in September, led to serious riots in Paris, that were only put down by the display of an overwhelming military force, and the arrest of a number of workmen, of whom ninety-nine were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment.

These events, added to the warlike measures adopted by the government, had a serious effect upon the trading and commercial interests. The funds fell considerably; and there was a visible depression in all industrial pursuits, whether connected with home trade or foreign commerce. The king, not unnaturally, felt alarmed at the aspect of affairs, which he deemed so threatening, that, soon after the *ordonnance* for the commencement of the fortifications of Paris appeared, he left the Tuileries for the Château d’Eu, in Normandy, and summoned M. Guizot from London to meet him there. That statesman—who had not failed to transmit a despatch to lord Palmerston, after the signature of the treaty of July; in which he ably defended the policy pursued by France with respect to the affairs of the East—had, nevertheless, constantly endeavoured to preserve the *entente cordiale* with England, which he considered to be of the utmost importance to France. In his interview with Louis-Philippe, at the Château d’Eu, he expressed to his sovereign his conviction that England had no desire to see a rupture in the alliance. That the good and cordial understanding formerly existing between the two powers, was merely suspended, not entirely broken up; “that, by a few concessions made by each, it might be restored; that the declamations of the journals, on either side the Channel, were not to be taken as a true test of the public feeling; and that there was no real necessity for the expensive warlike preparations,” which were considered the origin of the existing discontent, as they caused such heavy burthens to be laid on all classes of the people. The constitution of the ministry, also, formed the subject of the secret discussion between the king and M. Guizot. The policy of the latter differed essentially from that of

* *Stat. de la France*, vol. vii., p. 91. *Histoire de Huit Ans de Louis-Philippe*, by Regnault.

† See ante, p. 540.

‡ *National*, May 7th, 1840.

M. Thiers; which, he thought, had brought the nation to the verge of a precipice; and he recommended, that men of greater eminence and weight, and of more cautious and moderate politics, should be introduced into the cabinet, and that the measures of the government should be tempered with more prudence and forethought. These opinions coincided very much with those of the king, who resolved not to give way again to the violent councils of M. Thiers, and to take the first opportunity of removing him from a position in which his foreign policy appeared to be embroiling France with all the other powers of Europe; whilst, at home, it had produced anything but happiness and content.

It was not long before his majesty had to interpose his veto upon Thiers's warlike propositions. When the commencement of the siege of Beyrout was known in Paris, the minister demanded a further augmentation of both the army and the navy; an early meeting of the chambers, that they might grant the necessary supplies; and the dispatch of the Levant squadron to Alexandria, to cover that important position, and to support the moral attitude of the Egyptians. The king refused his assent to these propositions, and M. Thiers and his colleagues threw up their offices. The mediation of the duke de Broglie effected a compromise for the moment; but it was felt that it could not be lasting. M. Thiers, however, on the 3rd of October, wrote to M. Guizot (who had returned to London immediately after the interview at Eu), for the purpose of proclaiming the pacific intentions of the cabinet. England, he said, "had gratuitously sacrificed, for a secondary interest, an alliance which had maintained the integrity of the Ottoman empire much more effectually than it would be by the treaty of the 15th of July." Since the conclusion of that treaty, and the offer to admit France into an alliance already formed, she had isolated herself. "But, faithful to her pacific policy, she had never ceased to counsel moderation to Mehemet Ali. Though armed, and at liberty to act, she would do everything to preserve peace." Four days after, on the 7th, a step was taken which must have been forced upon the minister by the king: orders were sent to admiral Dulan to leave the mouth of the Dardanelles, where he had been stationed all the summer; and he sailed for Toulon, arriving at that port about the end of the month. The same day that admiral Dulan was recalled, information was received of the issue of a firman by the sultan, deposing Mehemet Ali. On the 8th of October, M. Thiers again dispatched a note to the French ambassador at London; in which M. Guizot was requested to inform her majesty's government, that "France would not, under any circumstances, consent to the dethronement of Mehemet Ali." The dearest interests of Europe were, said M. Thiers, "con-

nected with the continuation of the existence of Turkey as an independent nation. The abasement of that empire would contribute to the aggrandisement of the neighbouring states, but to the detriment of the general equilibrium; and her ruin, in the existing position of the great powers, would materially modify the aspect of the whole world." France, in conjunction with her allies, was therefore disposed loyally to contribute to the conservation of the Ottoman empire: but the integral part of that empire extended "from the shores of the Euxine to those of the Red Sea:" and "it was as essential," M. Thiers contended, "to guarantee the independence of Egypt and Syria, as that of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus."

At this time, through his organs in the press and his agents in the provinces, M. Thiers was labouring to excite an angry feeling against England. The language used, both in the journals and at the meetings of the ultra-liberal opposition, was very violent; and war was threatened, if any attempt were made to depose the Egyptian viceroy. But, on this point, lord Palmerston quite agreed with the French foreign minister: if Syria were preserved to the Porte, he had no wish or intention to interfere with the pasha's Egyptian rule; the appeals to popular passions and prejudices in France, were, therefore, quite unnecessary; and it was much to be regretted that they were resorted to. Several of the journals took the opportunity of attacking the king as the friend of England. This was done, not only in Paris, but in the departments, where, in September and October, the audiences at the theatres insisted upon the *Marseillaise* being sung; and although the authorities endeavoured to prevent these demonstrations, they were obliged to succumb. At Paris, on the 6th of October, a demand was made for this air at the Italian Opera: it was resisted, and a great disturbance ensued; but those who demanded the *Marseillaise* carried their point. With the manifestation of republican feelings, a great desire for war with the sultan was evinced; and, on the 13th of October, the national guards of Paris—who had been in the habit of assembling together, after drill, to discuss the current events of the day—sent an address to their commandant, marshal Gérard, complaining of the inaction of the government in the affairs of the East. The marshal declined to receive this address; and the guards then adopted one to M. Thiers, calling upon him not to see France insulted.—The next day, as the king was leaving the Tuileries in the evening for St. Cloud, another regicide fanatic discharged a carbine at the royal carriage. Like his predecessors in crime, he failed in his aim; the king remained unhurt; but the carbine burst, wounding the assassin; and one of the balls with which it was loaded, struck a saw held by a workman who stood on the opposite side of

the way, and knocked it out of his hand. The assassin was immediately seized. He gave his name as Darmès, and said he was a native of Marseilles. He avowed that he fired the carbine, and said he "did it to rid his country of a tyrant—the greatest who had existed, either in ancient or modern times. He was sure of his mark," he added, "if the carbine had not burst. But he had charged it too heavily—with five balls and eight slugs." Conveyed to prison, he remained there several months, when he was tried, found guilty of the attempt to assassinate the king, and sentenced to death. He was guillotined on the 31st of the following May.

Considerable public sympathy was evinced for the king after this attempt on his life; and this made his majesty think that it would be advisable to convoke the chambers at an early period, as that sympathy might be made available for his purposes connected with the fortifications of Paris, upon which he was very anxious to take the opinion of the legislature. The critical state of public affairs was also a sufficient reason for an early commencement of the session. An *ordonnance* was therefore issued, convoking the peers and deputies to assemble on the 5th of November. The meeting of the chambers was preceded by the resignation of M. Thiers and his colleagues, as they again renewed the proposals made after the siege of Beyrout was announced, and they were again rejected. Their retirement was followed by the formation of what was called the Soult-Guizot ministry, M. Guizot being summoned from London to take the portfolio of foreign affairs; and marshal Soult becoming president of the council and minister of war. Their colleagues were M. Duchâtel, *minister of the interior*; M. Humann, *minister of finance*; M. Martin (du Nord), *minister of justice and public worship*; admiral Duperre, *minister of marine and the colonies*; M. Villemain, *minister of public instruction*; M. Cunin-Gridaine, *minister of commerce and agriculture*; M. Teste, *minister of public works*. The count de St. Aulaire succeeded M. Guizot as ambassador to England.

On the 5th of November the king opened the session. On his way from the Tuileries he was greeted with much enthusiasm, and appeared more than usually affected by the public demonstrations which were made as he passed. In his speech, the Eastern question was the first subject alluded to, as it was the one most prominent in the public mind. His majesty said—"Measures taken, in concert, by Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, for the purpose of regulating the relations between the sultan and the pasha of Egypt, had imposed serious duties upon him. He had the dignity of his country at heart, as much as its security and repose. In persevering in the moderate and conciliatory policy, of which they had reaped the fruits for the last ten years, he had placed France in a

position to face the chances which the course of events in the East might produce." And though "the continuance of general peace was necessary for the common interests of Europe, the happiness of its population, and the progress of civilisation—and he depended upon the peers and deputies of France to enable him to maintain it—he should equally rely upon them, if the honour of France, and the rank which she held amongst nations, rendered fresh efforts necessary." His majesty announced that peace had been re-established in Spain; that as the Argentine republic still withheld the satisfaction demanded, fresh forces had been sent there; that success had crowned several important expeditions in Africa, where the valour of the soldiers of France had been signalled; that the city of Boulogne had been the theatre of a foolish attempt, which had called forth the devotion alike of the army, the national guard, and the population; that, when the budget was presented, it would be seen that economy had been attended to in the ordinary expenses; and that proposals would be made to the chambers in behalf of literature and education. The speech concluded with assurances from his majesty, that he "had never claimed with more earnestness and confidence the loyal assistance of the chambers. Anarchical passions were abroad, but they had not been encouraged by impotency. Under whatever form they might appear, the existing laws would always afford the means of putting them down. For himself, in the trials imposed upon him by Providence, he could only be grateful for the protection which that Providence had never ceased to throw over him and his family; and it would be his endeavour to prove to France, by a never-failing attention to her interests and her happiness, the gratitude inspired by the testimonials of affection with which he was surrounded in those cruel moments."

The first movements in the deputies were all favourable to the ministers. M. Sauzet was elected president by 220 votes to Odillon Barrot's 154; the four vice-presidents were MM. Calmon, Dufaure, Jacqueminot, and Salvandy; and in the committee of the deputies, nominated to draw up the address, ministers had a majority of seven to two. In the different *bureaux*, there was much preliminary discussion; and, from the explanations given by MM. Thiers and Guizot, the difference between the two ministries was found to be essential. The late cabinet wanted to increase the army, already amounting to 480,000 men, by adding 150,000 more; whilst M. Guizot and his colleagues maintained, that the former number was amply sufficient for every purpose for which the army was required. M. Thiers was in favour of a direct interference in behalf of Mehemet Ali, and would have thrown the gauntlet of defiance down to Europe. M. Guizot, on the other hand, wished to act in the spirit of

conciliation, thinking war an alternative that should, if possible, be avoided. The addresses in both houses were drawn up in the spirit evinced by the cabinet. In that from the peers, it was declared, that "the dignity of a people was its very existence; that they knew how dear the dignity of France was to the heart of the king; and that both his majesty and his peers were ready to make any sacrifice, sooner than submit to the degradation of their country." But the tone of the document, on the whole, was pacific; and it was carried with little debate.

In the deputies, the discussion did not commence till the 25th of November. Just at that juncture, the news of the capture of St. Jean d'Acre by the English fleet had been received in Paris; and it gave a fresh impulse to the violence of the war party, which was quite perceptible in the speeches of the late ministers and others. The debate was opened by marshal Soult, who alluded to the reception he met with in England, when he went as ambassador extraordinary to attend her majesty's coronation, as a proof of the friendly feeling of that country. He also denied that France was insulted by the treaty concluded between the other four powers, as her concurrence had been solicited, and refused.—M. Thiers, on the contrary, contended that "France had been grossly duped. A pretext had been sought and found to break off her alliance. A treaty was made without her knowledge and consent. He did not accuse the English cabinet, or the English people; he accused one man, lord Palmerston."—M. Guizot denied that the government of England had shown any bad faith, though it had certainly been guilty of a want of courtesy. As regarded the Eastern question, Egypt was secured to Mehemet Ali, and he had lost Syria. These were accomplished facts; the French cabinet was bound to accept them as such, and recommend the pasha to submit.—The debate continued several days; MM. Odillon Barrot, de Tocqueville, Berryer, de Lamartine, Mauguin—in fact, all the principal speakers in the chamber—taking part in it. MM. Berryer and Mauguin were very violent against England; the latter recommending France to give up her alliance with that country for one with Russia.—M. de Lamartine took the same line as M. Guizot. He denied that France had been insulted; urged the chamber to disregard the violence of an incendiary press; and besought the deputies not to credit the existence of any hatred towards France on the part of the other European powers.—In the course of the debate, a charge was brought against M. Thiers, of having kept back several items of important intelligence, especially that of the signing of the treaty of July 15th, for the purpose of influencing the funds; that certain parties made large sums, from a knowledge of circumstances which were withheld from the public; and that he participated in the profits

thus made. The ex-minister indignantly denied the charge, in support of which certainly no proof was adduced; but it adhered to him, notwithstanding; and may have contributed to increase the ministerial majority upon the address, which was adopted, on the 5th of December, by 247 votes to 161.

The address carried, marshal Soult, on the 12th of December, brought the question of fortifying Paris before the chamber of deputies. He stated what the ministers had already done, and urged the matter as one which admitted of no delay; estimated the expense at 140,000,000f. (£5,600,000); and asked the chamber to grant an extraordinary credit to that amount. The question was again raised, whether the city should be defended by forts, or by a wall; for although the ministers stated that they had adopted the mixed plan recommended by the commission of 1836, the liberals, admitting the necessity of some system of fortifications being adopted, strongly advocated the *enceinte continue*, in preference to the detached forts. The question was warmly debated; but no conclusion was come to at the time.

M. Humann, the minister of finance, brought in his financial statement for 1842, on the 30th of December, 1840. In doing so, he was obliged to admit, that "the public revenue, in spite of its progressive increase, was no longer equal to the expenditure of the state." In addition to the ordinary expenses, 400,000,000f. (£16,000,000) had been voted for works of public utility; and thus the sums which had been left disposable by the sinking-fund had been absorbed. There was a deficiency, as to the outlay for the army and navy, of 500,000,000f. (£20,000,000); and the treasury had to support another excess of 256,000,000f. (£10,240,000), arising from estimates anterior to 1833. For 1842, the ordinary and extraordinary expenses would, M. Humann said, exceed, according to his estimation, 1,316,000,000f. (£52,640,000); whilst the income would be only 1,162,000,000f. (£46,480,000); leaving a deficiency of 154,000,000f. (£6,160,000). The income was raised from indirect taxes, estimated to produce 396,054,610f.; direct taxes and revenues, 695,757,500f.; public domains and forests, 39,744,500f.; various items, 30,281,532f.; making a total of 1,161,838,142f. The expenditure exceeded that proposed for 1841 by 190,000,000f. (£7,600,000); and the finance minister proposed again to appropriate the reserve or surplus of the sinking-fund to the current expenses, and to raise a loan of 450,000,000f. (£18,000,000) for the completion of the great works undertaken by the army, marine, and public works departments. A credit of 250,000,000f. (£10,000,000), in treasury bonds, was also asked for; which, with a treasury reserve of 120,000,000f. (£4,800,000), would be used, in order to delay the negotiation of the loan till the funds had reached a price at which it could



Eugène Lami

C. Mottran

Funeral of Napoleon.

Napoleon's Lichenbegängnis.

Cérémonie des cendres de Napoléon.

be made to advantage. The details of the budget gave rise to considerable discussion in the following year; but the minister ultimately succeeded in carrying all his propositions; although, before the arrangements were finally completed, he demanded extraordinary credits for 534,000,000f. (£21,360,000), being an excess of 84,000,000f. (£3,260,000) beyond the loan which the chamber sanctioned. Of this sum, 75,000,000f. (£3,000,000) were to be devoted to the defence of the frontiers and the interior of the kingdom, irrespective of the fortifications of Paris; the same sum was to be devoted to barracks and military magazines; and 12,000,000f. (£480,000) to purchase artillery and powder.

The pressure of public business, the tendency of public opinion, and the importance of the events which were, at this period, transpiring, do not appear to have prevented the royal family of France from partaking of many of the pleasures and enjoyments of social and domestic life. The princesses, including the duchess d'Orleans, "passed part of their mornings in the queen's room, in which each had her work-table. The king generally joined them, and had the most remarkable publications of the day read aloud to him, in the midst of the family circle. In the evening the duchess d'Orleans took her place by the side of the queen; and, when her majesty retired, returned to her own apartment, and employed herself with the duke in reading. The activity of their minds gave life to their domestic privacy; nor did they ever seek frivolous amusements, as a relief from the monotonous duties of royalty. An enlightened taste for art gave a higher tone even to the dull uniformity of court *fêtes*. Sometimes the first artists of the Conservatoire were summoned to the Tuileries, to execute the music of the greatest composers; and the king listened with pleasure to the airs which brought back the recollections of his youth. Sometimes the duke d'Orleans revived the elegant splendour of other times at Chantilly. The duchess gave a charm to these *fêtes* by her youth, and her graceful and unaffected gaiety; but then, as always, she was afraid to allow herself to be carried away by the current of happiness, and contemplated the extreme brilliance of her life with an anxiety for which no cause could be assigned."* On the 9th of November, her happiness was increased by the birth of the duke de Chartres; and, writing to a friend a few weeks after, she said—"This year will soon be ended. It has been rich in blessings. May God grant us thankful and faithful hearts! May He give us strength in his wisdom to resist our enemies, both those with whom the world surrounds us, and those we find in our own hearts! May we serve him, the God of mercy, by our words, our actions, our whole lives! May He be with those whom we

* *Memoirs of the Duchess d'Orleans.*

love; may He lead them to himself, protect them, bless them! Ah, how is the heart filled with wishes and prayers; and how does each year add to their number!"

The only other important event of the year was the arrival of the body of Napoleon I. from St. Helena. The *Belle-Poule*, and the *Favorite* corvette, had sailed from Toulon, for St. Helena, in July, under the command of the prince de Joinville, with whom were associated the particular friends of the deceased, general Bertrand, general Gourgaud, and the younger Las Casas; and Marchand, his valet. The vessels had a pleasant voyage, and arrived safely at St. Helena, where the prince and his companions were received with the utmost attention by the commandant, and the officers of the garrison. On the 16th of October the grave was opened. When the winding-sheet was unrolled, the body was found in a high and unlooked-for state of preservation; and an eye-witness thus describes it:—"The emperor himself was once more visible. His features, though somewhat changed, were perfectly recognisable; the hands were white, and characteristically beautiful as ever; even the favourite costume of the imperial guard remained still entire, or nearly so; also the epaulettes, decorations, and hat. At the feet were two vases, containing the heart and the stomach. We need scarcely add that this scene was beheld with deep and general emotion." The embarkation took place the same day; and, on the 18th, the vessels commenced their homeward voyage. On the 30th of November they arrived at Cherbourg, where the body was removed to the *Normandie*, steamboat, and taken up the Seine. It was not landed at Courbevoie, near the bridge of Neuilly, till the evening of the 14th of December. The next day was fixed for its interment, in the church of the Invalides, which contains the ashes of Turenne, Vauban, Lannes, and the paladins of France. The coffin was placed on a magnificent car, and conveyed from Courbevoie, in the midst of countless multitudes, with an immense military escort, 150,000 soldiers assisting at the ceremony. On arriving at Paris, the *cortège* passed by the Place de la Concorde, and the bridge of the same name, to the church; where the king, M. Guizot, the royal family, the archbishop and all the clergy of Paris, and many of the citizens, were assembled to receive it. The body was formally presented to the king by the prince de Joinville; and generals Bertrand and Gourgaud, by command of his majesty, laid the sword and hat of the deceased on the coffin, which was placed on an altar in the centre of the church, while the *Dies Iræ* was chanted. It was then placed in a shrine prepared for it; the eyes of many of the spectators being filled with tears †

† *Annuaire Histoire.*

The sincerity of Louis-Philippe, and of his minister, in the emotions they displayed on this occasion, has been much questioned. The adherents of the Bonaparte family, who were very numerous, did not conceal their belief that both were playing a farce; and it is certainly difficult to imagine, that the king, at all events, could be sincere. As a measure of policy, the removal of the body displayed very little wisdom on the part of the ruling powers. It was necessary for their security, that the name and actions of Napoleon, if not forgotten, should have been placed in a proper light before the people. Under his sway, the glory of the French arms was, no doubt, at one time, wonderfully increased; but he lived to bring disgrace and ruin upon the empire, from which it revived under the Restoration. These facts should not have been suffered to fall into oblivion: the removal of the ex-emperor's corpse from St. Helena, and the splendid ceremonial with which it was interred in the Invalides, however, revived all the *prestige* of the deceased—threw into the shade all his defects, and all the evils his ambition had created; and kept alive that national feeling for the name of Bonaparte, which we shall see, hereafter, culminating in favour of one of his family, and enabling him to revive the empire. Its immediate effect was not favourable to the existing *régime*. Although it had been the government of the king to whom the people were indebted for the transfer of the body of Bonaparte from St. Helena to France; although one of his sons had commanded the vessels sent upon the expedition; and although his majesty honoured the magnificent funeral with his presence—yet no one cried “God bless” him! while shouts of “*Vive l'Empereur!*” were heard on every side; and the *Marseillaise* and the *Parisienne* were sung in every street. The opposition papers interpreted all these demonstrations into expressions of disapprobation of the government, as they undoubtedly were. “The opinion of France,” remarked some of the journalists, “has made itself heard, even in the legions of the army. The ministry has sustained a severe rebuke: nothing remains but its resignation.”* Such was the return made for the effort to conciliate popular prejudices, and calm down popular passions, by bringing the remains of Napoleon from the East, “to repose on the banks of the Seine, amidst the people he loved so well.”†

During the closing months of 1840, the English alliance continued to be the subject of great vituperation on the part of a considerable portion of the public speakers and the public press of France. Many persons seriously took up the proposition of M. Mauguin, that France should seek, in Russia, an ally more identified with her in interest and policy, than she could expect,

* The *National* and *Siècle*.

† *Annuaire Histoire*.

after recent experience, Great Britain to be. Before the end of December some friendly notes passed between the Russian ambassador and M. Guizot; in which the former expressed the regret which his imperial master felt in common with the other European powers, that France should have isolated herself from them upon the Eastern question; and the desire of the czar, that an amicable understanding should continue to exist between himself and France. These notes were represented to contain an offer, on the part of Nicholas, to separate himself from the other powers, and enter into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the government of Louis-Philippe. It was some time before this misrepresentation was rectified, and it had a considerable effect upon both the enemies and friends of the English alliance. The former were found amongst all parties and classes; and, to quote a contemporary writer, “the feeling was one of anger and exasperation. Carlists, *juste milieu*, ‘centres,’ *Doctrinaires*, and all the varieties of the *gauche*, seemed to share it equally; the provincial press being beyond measure violent and exciting. The chamber was in a state of decomposition as to parties. The foreign minister was unpopular; and, amidst all this, the court was under-working, and plotting for its own purposes.”‡ The political horizon was indeed overclouded; still, those who watched the signs of the times narrowly, did not anticipate war. It was considered, that the French government would not wantonly plunge into hostilities to revenge the treaty of July 15th, which, although it was the occasion of a considerable addition being made to both the sea and land forces of France, yet it had not been followed by any unfriendly act on the part of the other powers. Both the king and his war minister were known to be favourable to peace; and the conduct of Great Britain was conciliatory and friendly. Indeed, the calm and dignified attitude which the government of London and the people of England assumed, under what were, most undoubtedly, great provocations to an opposite course, materially contributed to preserve peace. An *émeute* was anticipated in Paris, towards the close of the year, in consequence of the conviction of the abbé de Lammenais for publishing a seditious pamphlet, entitled *Le Pays et le Gouvernement*. In this *brochure*, he represented the country and the government as being in a state of complete antagonism; proclaimed the necessity of a complete and radical reform; and denounced the English alliance. His cause was espoused by the pupils of the Polytechnic school, and others opposed to the government; who paraded the streets, shouting “Death to the English!” and “Down with Guizot!” It was thought that the abbé would not surrender; and that

‡ *Annual Register*.

any attempt to apprehend him would be opposed. However, he quietly gave himself up—paying the fine to which he was subjected, of 2,000*f.*; and was conducted to prison by the officers of police, to undergo his further sentence of one year's incarceration.

On the 1st of January, the *corps diplomatique*, the public functionaries, deputations from the various scientific societies and other public bodies, waited upon the king, as usual, to present their congratulations on the *Jour de l'An*. This annual custom at the French court is usually looked upon merely as an interchange of compliments; but there are occasions when greater importance is attached to what takes place; and New-year's-day, 1841, was one of them. For the first time since January 1, 1830, the archbishop of Paris and his clergy attended this reception; and the prelate made a brief but very feeling address to his majesty; thanking Providence for "having made him twice taste the sweetest joys the heart of a father could feel;" and for having "extended its protection over him in the last attempt upon his life;" and fervently praying that "blessings might be showered down on him and his august family; that dissension might be allayed, and France become stronger and more prosperous, as her children became more united." The king, in reply, said he "received, with much gratification, the expression of the wishes of the archbishop and clergy of Paris. It was gratifying to him to see them assembled on that occasion, as it had long been the object of his earnest desire." He declared his "determination to defend religion, and cause it to be respected;" noticed the absolute necessity of "the moral support and co-operation of all those who desired the maintenance of order and the reign of the laws;" observed how necessary it was "especially to prevent the renewal of those odious attempts, respecting which the archbishop had expressed himself in a manner that had much affected him;" and placed amongst the first duties of government, "that of causing religion to be cherished, and of combating immorality." To the diplomatic corps the king was cordial and courteous. He took the opportunity of expressing his pacific sentiments; evinced an anxiety to disavow a charge made in some quarters, that France was "a cause of perturbation in the midst of Europe;" and expressed his strong disapprobation of the violent menaces of the war party, "who appeared to desire confusion, in order to subvert the throne."

The peers and deputies assembled again on the

4th of January. The great question, after the budget, was that of the fortifications of Paris, which the king so earnestly desired to see completed. A committee was appointed to consider the proposals and demands of M. Soult; of which M. Thiers was a member. The other members appointed him president and reporter; and in that capacity, says a contemporary, he was "enabled to present to the chamber, with the authority of a recommendation from the committee, his own particular views on the question." Those views we have already explained. Himself in favour of the *enceinte continue*, he had, when minister, agreed to unite with that plan the detached forts, to oblige the king; and he pressed the committee—following the example of the commission of 1834—to sanction both. The report agreed to was in accordance with his advice: it recommended, that the wall and the forts should be simultaneously executed, and that the entire works contemplated should be completed in three years. The ministers adopted this report, which M. Thiers presented to the deputies on the 13th of January. The discussion to which it gave rise was animated and interesting. Several amendments were proposed and rejected; and a project of law, embodying the report, but extending the time for the completion of the works to five years, that the expense might not fall too heavy on the nation—was adopted on the 27th of January, 1841, by 237 votes to 162. The peers had the project for these fortifications before them for two months, before they finally agreed to it; which they did on the 1st of April, by 147 votes to 85. It received the royal assent the next day, and the works—which had been commenced, so far as selecting the sites for the forts, and breaking ground on some of them—were then carried on unremittedly, and with all possible dispatch. Now that they are completed, the wall takes in the entire city, as far as St. Denis and Mont Valerien. It extends round Paris on both sides of the river; is furnished with terraces, for walking and ornament—bastions for defence; and has a continuous wet ditch or fosse at its base, which is crossed by draw-bridges. It is twenty-two miles in extent, and presents nearly a hundred salient points, which are covered with artillery. The detached forts are in advance of the wall; all occupy commanding positions; and the combined works, with an army faithful and true, may be rendered truly formidable, whether against a foreign or domestic foe.

CHAPTER XXI.

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN; PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHAMBERS; THE FINANCES; THE FRENCH NAVY IN 1841; FORGED LETTERS ASCRIBED TO LOUIS-PHILIPPE; PROSECUTIONS OF THE PRESS IN CONSEQUENCE; CHRISTENING OF THE COUNT DE PARIS; DEATH OF GARNIER PAGES; PROSECUTION OF LEDRU-ROLLIN; A NEW SURVEY OF PROPERTY; DISTURBANCES AT TOULOUSE, LYONS, AND PARIS; INAUGURATION OF THE NAPOLEON COLUMN AT BOULOGNE; ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE ONE OF THE PRINCES; TRIAL OF THE CRIMINALS; AFFAIRS OF THE EAST; TREATY OF JULY 13TH; INTERRUPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN; TREATY ON THE SLAVE-TRADE; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1842; THE JOUR DE L'AN, 1842; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS; THE QUESTION OF REFORM; DEATH OF M. HUMANN; LAW ON RAILROADS; TERRIBLE RAILWAY ACCIDENT; DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBERS, AND THE ELECTIONS; DEATH OF THE DUKE D'ORLEANS; HIS FUNERAL; CHARACTER OF THE DUKE; MEETING OF THE CHAMBERS TO SETTLE THE REGENCY; FOREIGN AFFAIRS; CLOSE OF THE YEAR.

THE relations between France and Spain formed one of the earliest subjects discussed in the chambers in 1841. On the 12th of October, 1840, the queen-dowager Christina, who had been regent of Spain from the death of Ferdinand VII. (the queen Isabella being a minor), had resigned that dignity, because, as she stated in her act of abdication, signed at Valencia, she could not "acquiesce in any of the measures which her ministers advised her were necessary to calm public opinion, and to terminate the existing state of affairs"—rendered perillous by the contest between the supporters of absolutism (whom the regent favoured) and the friends of a constitutional government, just come into power, under general Espartero, the duke of Vittoria. The queen-dowager left Spain for France; arriving at Paris towards the close of November. She was received outside the city, with military honours, by the king, who conducted her to the Palais-Royal, where apartments were provided for her; and she continued to be treated with the greatest respect—confidential communications continually passing between her majesty and Louis-Philippe. This state of things had produced a note from M. Ferrer, the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, to the French government; in which "the continuation of the friendly relations customary between allied courts," was required; and the minister thus alluded to the position of queen Christina:—"The Spanish government does not presume to expostulate against the sojourn in France of the ex-regent, Donna Maria Christina; it neither does insist on hospitality being denied to Spaniards who seek abroad a temporary asylum. Queen Christina now only represents a fallen power, the return of which is impossible. Her person is not a principle; and she cannot, in any case, lay claim to any personal right or prerogative, saving that of dowager-queen, to secure to herself an existence worthy of her past rank. But the regency of Spain will ever and loudly protest against all secret or avowed intrigue, which might be tolerated or encouraged along the frontiers; for instead of regarding it as a desire to maintain the

good relations required by the law of nations, it would see, in such a proceeding, a disloyal and hostile conduct, of which it would avenge itself without delay, no matter who was guilty of it."

When the peers met, on the 4th of January, a project was before them to sanction a credit of 700,000*f.* (£28,000) to assist foreign refugees. The duke de Noailles, in the discussion on this project, called attention to Spain; recommending, that the government should neglect no opportunity of exercising a just influence over the affairs of that country, lest England, which had separated from France on the question of Syria, should also undertake of herself to settle them.—M. Guizot, in his reply, repeated what he had previously said in the debate on the address—that "it was not the intention of the king's government to interfere, either directly or indirectly, in the affairs of the Peninsula. The ministers would respect the freedom of the government of the queen, but would not take any part in the internal dissensions of the country. The then government of Spain was her government *de facto* and *de jure*. It was recognised by the whole country; but," M. Guizot observed, "he and his colleagues were far from wishing to identify themselves with the existing ministry of Spain; as they had their fears and their scruples, which they were not bound to state publicly." He had no apprehension that Spain would be delivered up to the influence of the rivals of France; and "if the throne of the queen should be in danger, the government of the king would not hesitate to act, in spite of the opposing influence that had been talked of."—He said nothing of the presence of the ex-regent in Paris; nor of her influence at the Tuileries; which many of the peers thought would not be directed to promote the best interests of France; and they would have been glad had her majesty been ordered to leave the capital. The vote of credit was sanctioned, however, with no restrictions upon its application.

There were few measures of importance brought before the legislature during the session of 1841. The subject of reform was not entirely

forgotten, but no direct motion was made upon it. When the vote for secret-service money was before the chamber, on the 18th of February, M. Duchâtel made some remarks on the perilous state of the country. He said, that "culpable associations were at work in the shade, and menaced, not only the existence of government, but of society itself. Pains were taken to spread doctrines amongst the working classes subversive of all order. Organisation was attempting mysteriously to attack the social system in its essential base—the right of property. Security and repose were wanting to the government, and there was no fixed to-morrow for any one in France;—the present was continually tottering—the future was an enigma." The minister attributed this state of things to the instability of the ministerial majority in the chamber. "Government," he said, "wanted more immobility, that it might acquire respect abroad, authority at home, and be enabled to maintain the supremacy of the law."—MM. Courcelles and Odillon Barrot contended, that the evils arose from the violations of the charter; and could only be rectified by a complete change in the representative and governmental systems.—M. Guizot replied, that that "was not the time to hazard the existence of society, by stirring, unnecessarily, fundamental questions;" and the chamber supported the ministers by voting the grant of 1,000,000*f.* by a majority of 235 to 137.

On the 6th of March, the prince de Moscow, son of marshal Ney, took his seat in the peers; and immediately addressed the chamber, declaring he should never desist from seeking a reversal of the sentence recorded against his father.—On the 12th, and seven following days, in the deputies, a report, brought up by M. de Lamar-tine, from a commission appointed to consider the question of literary copyright, was under consideration. The report was an eloquent production, in which the author, pointing out the difference between intellectual and manual labour—remarked, that genius "creates everything, and forgets itself. It asks only of men to be permitted to serve and enchant them; it demands only from glory the fortune of a name destined to immortality, leaving in poverty or destitution the family of the philosopher or poet, whose works form the intellectual riches of a nation." The "legal constitution of the right of individual artistic and literary property," was described as "a change specially characteristic of the times." "Genius, born everywhere, was the great leveller of the world, by elevating the general level of the people. Literary prosperity was, therefore, in an especial manner, the embodiment of the spirit of democracy; and glory was the nobility of equality."—It was proposed by this report, that the copyright of an author's or artist's works should be se-

cured to his family for fifty years after his death. The chamber was not at all disposed to agree to this long term; and M. Ville-main moved that it should be reduced to thirty years. This compromise, adopted in its first stage, was rejected in its subsequent one; and the old law remained.—The chamber, however, settled the long-agitated question respecting the employment of children; a law being framed, limiting the age at which they could be taken to work in mines, factories, or workshops; fixing the hours of labour; providing for their education; and containing regulations to preserve them from ill-treatment.—The first attempt to introduce the principles of "free trade" into the commercial transactions of France, was also made this year. The government brought forward a project for lowering the import duties—and, though protection was continued, abolishing, in most instances, prohibition. There was a long and a very angry opposition made by various interests, which, had they been united, might have been successful. Divided, they failed in their object; and the "*Loi des Douanes*" was adopted.

After his budget was passed, M. Humann, on the 25th of May, again brought the state of the finances under the consideration of the deputies. On that occasion, he said—"The financial situation had become such, that it could not long endure. It was in vain that they strove to provide for former deficits, when they were condemned, every year, to see new ones arise. Deficit was another word for discredit, impotence, and anarchy: and was it possible to escape from such a result, at no distant period, when they could do nothing but accumulate loan upon loan—the sad expedient of prodigality reduced to its last shifts?" On considering the budget which would have to be brought in the next year, for 1843, after subtracting all those expenses which were temporary, the deficiency would be at least 60,000,000*f.* (£2,400,000). How was it to be supplied? The old taxes could not be increased, nor new ones imposed, without causing discontent, perhaps riot: but the finance minister thought that the produce of the existing taxes might be improved, by means of a new valuation of taxable property of every description. It was resolved that that course should be adopted; and a circular from M. Humann was sent to all the surveyors and assessors throughout the kingdom, directing them immediately to commence a survey, to be followed by a valuation of every species of property upon which imposts were collected.

The session was brought to a close on the 8th of July. A few days before the prorogation, detailed reports on the state of the army and navy were laid before the chamber of deputies. As the material condition of the French navy has, of late years, been the subject of frequent

discussion and comment, the following list of the ships in that navy in June, 1841, may be interesting, as affording the opportunity of comparing the past with the present:—

SAILING VESSELS.		Brigs.	
Ships of the Line.			Guns.
4	of 120	21	of 20
2	" 100	3	" 18
3	" 90	4	" 16
5	" 86	17	" 10
9	" 82	9	" 8
Frigates.		Schooners, Cutters, &c.	
7	of 60	70	of 2 to 6
1	" 58	Transports.	
11	" 52	3	of 925 tons.
6	" 46	1	" 150 "
3	" 40	STEAMERS.	
Corvettes.		Horse-power.	
10	of 30	5	of 220
1	" 29	23	" 160
3	" 28	1	" 150
7	" 24	1	" 120
4	" 20	1	" 100
6	" 16	1	" 80
		1	" 80
		2	" 60
			Guns.
			of 6
			" 6
			" 6
			" 6
			" 6
			" 4
			" 3

The total was 245 vessels of all sizes, and 5,553 guns. There were, also, then building twenty-three ships of the line, ten frigates, fourteen brigs, and twenty-eight steam-ships, with a complement of 2,213 guns.

The chief features in the domestic history of France for 1841, are connected with the movements of the opposition, and the disturbances which pervaded almost every part of the kingdom, after the commencement of the new valuation of property, for the purpose of increasing the amount of the national revenue. The efforts of the opposition—legitimist, moderate, and republican—aimed, as much at making the king unpopular, as at increasing the public discontent with his government. At the close of 1840, the baroness Feuchères died; and all the rumours connected with that female, the last prince of Condé, and the destination of his highness's property, were revived.* This scandal had not died away before one even more serious was broached. The *Gazette de France*, early in January, published fragments of letters, said to have been written by the king when he was in exile; in which he professed the most entire devotion to the interests of England. Another journal, *La France*, on the 24th of January, under the title of "*La politique de Louis-Philippe, expliquée par lui-même*," published extracts from three letters alleged to have been addressed by his majesty, after he ascended the throne, to lord Stuart de Rothesay, the English ambassador; in which he was made to express sentiments not at all in accordance with French feeling. The original letters were said to be in the hands of M. Larochejaquelin. These extracts excited a very angry feeling in Paris, as they all tended to show that his majesty was disposed to patronise, and act upon, a policy which was considered extremely anti-national. Thus, in one extract he

* See ante, p. 427.

was made to promise to abandon Algiers. "My resolution is most sincere and most firm," ran this extract, "to maintain inviolable all the treaties which have been concluded, during the last five years, between the powers of Europe and France. With regard to what concerns the occupation of Algiers, I have most particular and powerful motives for faithfully fulfilling the engagements which my family have made with Great Britain."—"But I beg you to call the attention of the British cabinet to the actual state of opinion in France, which would cause the evacuation of Algiers to be the signal of the most violent recriminations against my government."—The second extract related chiefly to Poland, and ascribed the failure of the insurrection there, as due more to "the wise and salutary influence" of France, than "to the colossal forces of Russia."—In the third, the king was made to say—"I will never renounce my purpose to subdue (*maîtriser*) the press, our most dangerous enemy;" and that the fortifications of Paris "would be the means, not only of repelling a foreign invasion, but also of retaining in submission to their duty the most turbulent population of Paris, and of her amiable faubourgs." These pretended extracts were eagerly copied into the columns of the *Quotidienne*, the *Echo Français*, the *National*, and the *Commerce*. All those papers were seized by the police; and the editors were informed that they would be prosecuted for forgery, and for an offence against the king's person. The subject was mentioned in the chambers: there M. Guizot denounced the letters as fabrications; and said the king had never made any engagement either for the complete or partial surrender of the African conquests: but, unfortunately, the public were much more inclined to believe that the letters were the veritable productions of Louis-Philippe's pen, than to put faith in the denial of his minister.

The first of the offenders who was tried was the editor of *La France*, as, in that paper, the extracts denounced as forgeries first appeared. He was prosecuted by the advocate-general, who said—"If the letters were genuine, it would result, that the king, who had been elected, in 1830, to answer the wishes of the nation, had betrayed them on every point; that he had consented to the crushing of Poland, in order to advance the interests of Russia; that he was disposed to abandon Algiers, in order to promote those of England; that with him the preservation of his dynasty was the sole object, and not the maintenance of the constitutional government: and, in fine, that the fortification of Paris was, in the hands of the king, a project only for oppressing the citizens; that it was directed, not against the stranger, but against his own subjects." M. Berryer was counsel for the accused, whom he defended with his wonted

ability; and the jury returned a verdict of acquittal. Two men, named Lubis and Montour, were then tried for forging the documents; but there was not sufficient evidence to bring home the charge, and they were pronounced "not guilty."* The prosecution of the other journals was dropped: it was no use proceeding against them when the original offender had escaped. As the attacks on the government were continued through the press, the aid of the law was, however, again called in. M. Thoré having written a pamphlet, which combined wild republican with as wild communist sentiments, he was prosecuted, convicted, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 1,000f. M. Alphonse Esquiros—a Spaniard—for writing a book called *The Gospel of the People*, in which the so-called "rights" of the populace were as boldly developed and contended for as they were by Tom Paine in the days of the first revolution—was also condemned to be imprisoned one year, and to pay 500f. The *National* attacked the chamber of peers—accusing them of having forfeited their independence by a slavish submission to the king; and of other political offences. It was a severe article, but contained much truth; and, in England, would not have been considered as going beyond the license allowed to a journalist in criticising the acts of his political opponents. But the editor was summoned to the bar of the chamber, and condemned to one month's imprisonment, and a fine of 10,000f.

While the struggle was going on between the press and the government, a solemn ceremony took place at the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame: the count de Paris, the first child of the duke d'Orleans, was christened on the 2nd of May. The ceremony was performed with great pomp and solemnity; and thousands thronged the aisles of the cathedral to witness it. "Nothing could be more beautiful or more solemn than the ceremony," wrote the duchess, the next day, to a friend; "nothing more touching, more pure, than my little angel, when presented at the altar; nothing more profoundly moved than his poor mother's heart at that moment. I know not if I deceive myself; but I thought I saw, in the eyes of all present, a look of tender affection for this child. It was not flattery. No, it was the truth. The baptismal prayers are beautiful. I followed them throughout the ceremony; and I found them very much in harmony with my own sentiments."†

On the 23rd of June, one of the most distinguished opponents of the government—M. Garnier Pagès—whose name has been frequently mentioned in connection with the events of the few years preceding 1841—died. He was distinguished as a writer, as well as an orator, in the chamber of deputies; and the exertions necessary to the discharge of his duties were too

much for his strength. He succumbed under them, and expired when his talents were at their height, and his fame in its zenith. His funeral was made the occasion of a great political demonstration. It was attended by 10,000—some accounts say 20,000—persons; whilst 100,000 lined the streets through which it passed; and the orators, over his grave, bitterly attacked the parties in power. The deceased had represented the department of the Sarthe in the chamber; and his successor was Ledru-Rollin—whose name subsequently became distinguished, first as an earnest and successful supporter of a republic, and then as a refugee. Ledru was born at Mons, in 1807, and educated for the profession of the law. From 1832 he had practised as an advocate in the court of cassation; being chiefly employed to defend political prisoners; and had acquired popularity from his daring and brilliant eloquence. He had no opponent; but, the evening before his election, he made a violent speech against the government, at Mons, where the electoral colleges met. The speech appeared in the *Courrier de la Sarthe*, published at that city; and the government determined to prosecute the orator and his publisher. Both were found guilty, and were sentenced—Ledru-Rollin to four months' imprisonment, and a fine of 3,000f.; and M. Haureau, the publisher, to a fine of 2,000f. and three months' imprisonment. Ledru-Rollin appealed, and the verdict was set aside in his case, on account of an error in the proceedings. He was tried again at Mayenne, and acquitted—thus escaping without punishment; while his publisher had to undergo the penalties pronounced against him. These proceedings, as might be expected, contributed to make the new deputy for the Sarthe a much more bitter opponent of the government, in the chamber, than he had been as a private individual.

About this time, the assessors and surveyors in the departments began to act upon the circular from M. Humann, instructing them to make the new survey and valuation of taxable property. This proceeding was very unpopular. The public—having been used to the survey being made by local officers in divisions, arranged by the councils-general of departments, the councils of arrondissements, or the municipalities—deemed it unconstitutional. As the fiscal agents pursued their work, and it was found that a general increase in the value affixed to property, and, of course, the levy of a larger sum in taxation, was the result—the discontent soon became converted into a decided opposition. From the first, the municipalities, in many places, refused to assist or protect the government officers. The mayor of Metz, baron Dufour, issued a notice, stating that "M. Humann's circular was a violation of the laws of the 4th Frimaire, of the year 7; of the 4th Germinal, of the year 11; and of the 21st of April, 1822." He declined to render

* Regnault. *Annuaire Histoire*.† *Memoirs*.

any assistance to the surveyors; and the municipal councils of Auxerre, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Poitiers, Tonnerre, and many other places, followed his example: in fact, so widely was the spirit of resistance spread, that one-half the kingdom is described as being in a state of passive insurrection.* The first place where violence was resorted to was Toulouse. There, when the fiscal agents appeared, and the inhabitants refused to admit them into their houses or upon their grounds, the municipality stood aloof; the national guard supported the inhabitants; the surveyors, unable to act, applied to the prefect, M. Floret, and he wrote to the government for instructions. The government removed M. Floret; put a new prefect, M. Mahul, in his place, and ordered the survey to be proceeded with. The municipality were willing to have it made by their own officers: this the prefect would not allow; and on the 12th of July, the contest commenced. The workmen came forward to support the local authorities. They erected barricades; and, during that day and the next, made head against all the force which the prefect could send against them. M. Mahul was obliged to leave the town, to secure his own safety, on the 13th, when some of the rioters, who had been arrested on the 12th, were liberated; and no further attempt was made to carry out the survey till the following month. Then M. Duval was sent down, as commissioner, with extraordinary powers; the general of the district Saint-Michel, was replaced by general Rulhières; the national guard was dissolved; and a large force of artillery and infantry occupying the streets, the survey and valuation were at last effected. There were riots at several other places—the most serious one occurring at Lyons. There the surveyor was supported by a military guard, which was opposed by the inhabitants; and the tumult was not suppressed till the artillery was called in, and the streets were cleared by repeated discharges of grape.—In August, and the following months, a riotous disposition was displayed in Paris. Large assemblages of men collected at different times, in the faubourgs and streets, and many acts of personal violence, and destruction of property, were committed. All the riots which occurred in the capital were put down by the municipal guard, without the aid of the national guard or the troops of the line. But these serious manifestations of the diseased state of the public mind, soon led to further outrages.

Whilst the survey and valuation were in progress, the government sought to make a diversion in its favour, by giving a popular *fête* at Boulogne, in honour of the inauguration of the "column of the grand army," which Napoleon had commenced, with the intention of commemorating his invasion of England. That inva-

sion never took place; and the column remained unfinished till Louis-Philippe completed it, and had a statue of Napoleon cast in bronze, to place on the top. This statue represents the emperor in his imperial robes, crowned with laurels, and holding a sceptre, surmounted by an eagle, in his hand. Beneath the statue, on the pedestal, was the following inscription:—"On the 16th of August, 1804, Napoleon, in presence of the grand army, distributed, on this spot, decorations of the legion of honour to the soldiers and citizens who had deserved well of their country. The four corps were commanded by marshal Soult: the flotilla by admiral Bruer. Wishing to perpetuate the remembrance of this day by a monument, Louis-Philippe, king of the French, finished this column, consecrated to the grand army of Napoleon." The 15th of August was fixed for the inauguration of the statue and column; but the *fêtes* commenced two days previously, and were continued for several days. The rejoicings were general. Many of the English—of whom there were some thousands, at the time, in Boulogne—joined in them; and all went off very harmoniously, till it was discovered that the letters V. P. W. had been scratched upon the statue, previous to its elevation. These letters were understood to signify, "*Vaincu par Wellington*;" and as the "mutilation" of the statue was deemed to be the work of an Englishman—as it no doubt was—it was very near causing a serious disturbance between the inhabitants and their visitors. The mutual interests of both, however, soon caused the acerbity created by this event to subside.

Hitherto, the designs of the malevolent and the disaffected had been confined to conspiracies, or individual attempts, to assassinate the king; they were now directed against his sons. On the 13th of September, the 17th light infantry, which had won bright laurels in Algeria, was to make its triumphant entry into Paris. The dukes d'Orleans, de Nemours, and d'Aumale (the latter of whom had just returned from Africa) rode out to meet it; and, with a brilliant staff, put themselves at its head. The soldiers had reached the Rue Faubourg St. Antoine, when a man suddenly placed himself in front of the advancing corps, presented two pistols at the duke d'Orleans, or the duke d'Aumale—some say at both—and attempted to fire them. Only one was discharged; and the ball, missing the princes, wounded colonel de Vaillant in the knee, and severely injured his horse. The man who attempted to commit the murder was instantly arrested. His name was François Quénisset, a journeyman sawyer. He was conveyed to prison; and the procession moved on, "under the escort," says a contemporary account, "of several hundred municipal guards and cuirassiers, and of as many of the secret society men (republicans), in blouses." It was supposed that this

* Regnault.

attempt was connected with *émeutes* which took place on the 17th and 18th, in Paris; and at Clermont-Ferrand, on the 16th and 17th, in which several soldiers were killed and wounded. At Toulouse and Mâcon disturbances also occurred; four of the populace being killed at the latter place—two mortally, and several more or less severely wounded. The *National*, of the 19th, in an article on the affair at Mâcon, having said, that “the government neglected no opportunity of bringing the army into collision with the citizens, or of habituating the troops to shed the blood of the people,” was seized.

In November, a court of peers was assembled, to try François Quénisset, and several parties who had been arrested subsequently, for the attempt to assassinate the duke d’Orleans. It had been ascertained, on examining the prisoner, that he had been in prison previously, and was well known to the police. He belonged to a secret society, called *Travailleurs Égalitaires*, or *Communists*; and he accused several parties as accomplices in his crime, which led to their arrest. Seventeen were placed before the court. They were all workmen, chiefly sawyers and cabinet-makers. It appeared that Quénisset belonged to an honest, respectable family, and had served in the 15th regiment. Before he had been long in the army, he was guilty of insubordination, and condemned to five years’ imprisonment, but escaped at the end of two years; when, probably, having no means of getting an honest living, he took to dishonest practices, which were the cause of his being confined in the prison of the Madelonnettes, in Paris. He found there a number of political prisoners—republicans—as well as thieves: the two were in the habit of quarrelling, and the thieves generally obtained the advantage. One day, he took the part of one Mathieu, a republican; this led to an intimacy; and Mathieu promised him a place of 5,000*f.* per annum when his party got into power. On being liberated from prison, he met, after a time, some of his old republican prison friends, and was by them introduced to the society of *Travailleurs*. The attempt on the princes was arranged at the wine-shop of a man named Colombier, where the club used to assemble; and Quénisset was fixed upon to make it. These facts were established in a long trial, which ended in the conviction of Quénisset and two members of the *Travailleurs Égalitaires*—the vintner Colombier, and a workman, named Bourrier—of the capital offence. They were sentenced to death: the other prisoners were found guilty, as accessories, and were sentenced to various periods of transportation and imprisonment.

M. Dupoty, the editor of the *Journal du Peuple*, one of those papers constantly read by the members of the *Travailleurs Égalitaires*, was also tried as an accessory to the crime of Quénisset before the fact—the tendency of many

articles in his paper being to justify assassination. He was found guilty, but not unanimously—22 peers, out of 155, voting against the verdict. The sentence was five years’ imprisonment. This proceeding alarmed all the members of the press; and a meeting of the principal editors and political writers was held, at the end of December, for the purpose of considering the position in which they were placed; and of adopting resolutions suitable to the occasion. Several eloquent speeches were made at this assembly; and a “declaration” and “resolutions” were adopted, in which the proceedings against M. Dupoty were denounced as being a violation even of the extreme laws of September; which, to make them applicable to any writer, book, or journal, required, “that the writer should so directly have excited to the assassination of the king, or to the overturning of the power of the laws, that such provocation, even without having produced any effect, should constitute, in itself, an *attentat*.” The interpretation of the court of peers made “every hostile word contemporary with an *émeute*, a *complot*, or an *attentat*, sufficient to constitute complicity in such acts, and to bring penalties upon the writer.” The parties present at the meeting, declared themselves “determined to oppose every legal means of resistance to this new system of intimidation;” and appealed to the chamber of deputies, “to rise to the duty which circumstances imposed upon it;” stating, that “if, contrary to all expectation, it failed to do its duty, they should appeal to the electoral body, which was invested with political rights, being convinced that that body would not forget the 66th article of the charter, which confided the rights of the press, as well as all other rights created by that charter, to the patriotism and courage of the national guards, and of all French citizens.” These documents were widely circulated, and afforded fresh materials for the enemies of the government to use against it.

The foreign events with which France was connected in 1841, were not very important. It had been one of M. Guizot’s first objects to restore the good understanding which, previous to the treaty of July 15th, 1840, had existed between France and the great powers of Europe. In this he was successful; and a supplementary treaty was concluded on the 13th of July, 1841, to which France was a party. This convention guaranteed the integrity of the sultan’s dominions; and “the great powers, being anxious to give the sultan a public proof of their respect for the inviolability of his rights of sovereignty, as well as of their desire to confirm the security of his empire,” recorded, in this document, their resolution, “on the invitation of the sultan, to ratify, by a solemn act, their undertaking to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire; in virtue of which, the passage of the

Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles is to remain for ever closed to the vessels of war of foreign nations, as long as the Porte shall remain at peace." Russia had already agreed to recognise that "ancient rule," by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi: by the treaty of July 13th, it became, and has since remained, part of the public law of Europe. In assenting to it, however, the other powers ignored the fact, that Russia had eighteen sail of the line in her ports on the Black Sea; and that, therefore, she had the means, at any time, of making an attack on Constantinople, long before any of the other powers could interfere in behalf of the Porte.

The relations with Spain were interrupted before the year closed. M. de Salvandy had been sent to Madrid, as ambassador from France; and, by this act, the government of Paris acknowledged the rights of the queen Isabella. As her majesty was still a minor, and Espartero was sole regent—having been elevated to that dignity after the abdication of the queen-dowager—he required that the ambassador should present his credentials to him. This request M. de Salvandy refused to comply with; and, after a not very dignified dispute, he left Madrid. On the 4th of October, an insurrection broke out at Pampeluna, in Spain; which extended to Madrid, where an attempt was made to obtain possession of the persons of the queen and her sister; which failed. The insurrection was put down before the month closed. A suspicion that the ex-regent Christina was connected with it, led to the withdrawal of the pension which had been paid to her since the death of Ferdinand. Espartero issued a decree, suspending the payment, on the 3rd of November; and announced that he had taken the step from "just political reasons, causes, and considerations of public propriety."

On the 20th of December, a treaty was signed at the foreign-office, London, by the plenipotentiaries of England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; whereby the other four powers agreed to adopt the laws of England for the suppression of the slave-trade. That abominable traffic was to be constituted, in the practice of the contracting parties, a piracy; and all their subjects who engaged in it, or embarked capital for carrying it on, were declared guilty of felony. France, by the conventions concluded with England in 1831 and 1833, had agreed to the mutual right of search; and the other three powers, by the treaty, recognised that right in the case of all vessels bearing their flags.

Before the year closed, an elaborate report was published by the administration of customs in France, on the external commerce of the country. From this document, it appeared that the foreign trade had progressively increased since 1830: and, in 1840, the exports had amounted to 1,011,000,000*f.* (£40,440,000); and the imports to 1,052,000,000*f.* (£42,080,000).

The session of 1842 was opened, with the usual ceremonies, on the 27th of December. The king commenced his speech by announcing the settlement of those questions connected with the East, which had excited the just solicitude of the peers and deputies. A convention, concluded with Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, and the Porte, "consecrated the common intention of the powers to maintain the peace of Europe, and consolidate the empire of the sultan."—"In consequence of the prospect of peace, the great burdens imposed upon the country had already," said his majesty, "experienced considerable reductions;" and the result now to aim at was, to "re-establish a balance between the revenue and expenditure of the state." The peers and deputies were informed, that their ambassador to Spain had not been allowed to present his credentials to the queen, and had been recalled; that a treaty for abolishing the slave-trade had been agreed to by the five great powers of Europe; that "a project of law would be presented to them, for constructing the principal lines of a great system of railroads;" that negotiations were in progress for "extending the commercial relations, and for opening new markets, for the productions of the soil and of the arts of France;" that "measures had been taken to prevent any external complication from disturbing the security of the African possessions," where their "brave soldiers were pursuing on the land, henceforth and for ever French, the course of their noble labours;" and that "financial laws and others, having for their object to introduce useful improvements in the public administration, would be presented to them." Allusion was made by his majesty to "the intrigues and crimes of the factions," which "debarred the country from fully enjoying all the blessings Providence had bestowed upon it, and retarded the development of that legal and pacific liberty which France had at last achieved, and of which he made it his glory to insure her possession." In all the difficulties of the position, however, "my government," said the king, "will do its duty. I will maintain everywhere, and constantly, the authority of the laws, and cause them to be respected, as it will respect them itself. Your loyal support will aid me in enlightening the country, with persevering sincerity, in regard to its true interests. We shall strengthen by its support, and by our union keep entire, the sacred deposit of order and public liberty which the charter has confided to us. Future generations will reap the fruit of our endeavours, and the gratitude of our country will be our recompense."—The next day, M. Sauzet was proposed as president by the ministers; M. de Lamartine by the moderate opposition (his pretensions having been put forth by the *Presse*, then in the hands of Emile Girardin); and M. Odillon Barrot by the extreme "left." In the

election, 193 votes were given for the first, 64 for the second, and 45 for the third; thus showing that the ministerialists formed the majority of the chamber. The four vice-presidents were also selected from the ministerial ranks. No other business was transacted till the new year came in.

The *Jour de l'An* was, as in 1841, marked by an expression of opinion, on the part of the diplomatic corps and the public bodies presenting addresses to the king; and by his majesty in his replies, which excited much public interest. To the ambassadors—who, through their senior member, the marquis de Brigole-Sales, representative of Sardinia, had congratulated the king on the escape of the princes from assassination, and on the adhesion of France to the treaty of July—his majesty expressed his thanks for their sympathy, and said—"The year 1841 had been productive of happy results; since the great cabinets had given in that year, by their own accord, a new pledge of security to general peace, which, he trusted, they would continue to preserve unimpaired." The peers and deputies, in their addresses, also alluded to the attempt on the lives of the princes, and to the public prosperity; and M. Sauzet, the president of the latter, congratulated the king "on the noble example offered by his majesty and the royal family, whose lives were devoted to the practice of every virtue, and the dispensation of favours." His majesty was promised the support of both chambers; and the duke de Broglie, vice-president of the chamber of peers, said—"Their cause was good, and their success certain. Nothing in the aspect of events seemed to forbode new storms; there was nothing to dim their joys and their hopes on that day." The king, in his replies, took up most of the topics touched upon in the addresses; concluding by appealing to the faithfulness with which he had observed the promise he made eleven years previously, "that the charter should always be a truth;" and expressing his conviction that, with the assistance of the two chambers, he and his government would "defeat the culpable intrigues of men who tampered with a credulous ignorance, in order to secure the success of their projects;" and "would triumph over all attacks on social order and private property; guaranteeing to France the maintenance of her repose, and the development of her prosperity."

There has seldom been a session of the French chamber which presented features of less importance and interest, or in which the debates were less exciting, than that of 1842. The addresses in both chambers, in reply to the king's speech, were mere echoes of that document; and the only portions that called forth remark, were the paragraphs referring to the treaty recently concluded with respect to the slave-trade, and to the relations with Spain. M. Thiers, and several

other members of the chamber of deputies, expressed great dissatisfaction with the treaty; and particularly objected to the concession of the right of search, though this was not a novel innovation. After several speeches had been delivered, M. Jules Lefebvre proposed the following addition to the paragraph of the address referring to the treaty:—"We have also the confidence that, in granting its concurrence to the suppression of a criminal traffic, your government will know how to preserve from every attack the interests of our commerce, and the independence of our flag." His amendment was adopted.—When the affairs of Spain came under discussion, M. Eustace de Beaumont moved an amendment to that portion of the address expressing a hope, "that the differences which had arisen between the two countries would not seriously disturb the friendly relations previously existing between them."—M. Guizot opposed the amendment. He said, the government had complied with all the chief demands of Spain; and, as a mark of affection and deference (France considering herself the natural protector of the young queen), an ambassador was sent to Madrid. "The claims of that ambassador were in conformity with the practice observed in every monarchy, with the public law of Europe, and with all the precedents. In Greece and the Brazils, during the minority of the sovereigns, the same pretensions had been raised by the regents, which Espartero had set up at Madrid, and all the powers had declared against them. The presentation, by an ambassador, of his credentials to the real sovereign, was a European right; and the moment the affair became known, the governments, both absolute and constitutional, and Great Britain among the rest, supported the demands of France." This amendment was negatived.—The discussion extended, in both chambers, to the affairs of the East, to the war in Algiers, and to the general state of the country; and all the explanations of the ministry appear to have been satisfactory.

The amendment to the address, with reference to the treaty on the slave-trade, prevented the government from ratifying that agreement; and M. de St. Aulaire was instructed to propose certain modifications in its provisions to the earl of Aberdeen, then foreign minister of England. Lord Aberdeen, however, declared, that notwithstanding his anxious desire, and that of his cabinet, to throw no difficulties in the way of the French ministry, he could not consent to those modifications, because their spirit was evident from the offensive language used towards England in the course of the debate.—As far as France was concerned, therefore, the treaty became null and void; but the conventions of 1831 and 1833 remained in full force. The treaty of December 20th was confirmed, and carried out by all the other powers.

The question of reform was, early in the session, brought formally before the chamber of deputies, having first been discussed in a council of state on the 16th of January—the king, the duke d'Orleans, and the principal officers of his majesty, being present. The king himself was opposed to any change being introduced in the existing order of things. He was of opinion, that the cry for reform was “a malady of the age, which would pass away if the authorities only knew how to treat it.”—M. Guizot thought that the agitation was got up for party purposes; and, as far as M. Thiers and some others who supported it were concerned, he was, no doubt, correct. There were, however, many sincere and honest advocates of change; and the minister was wrong when he maintained that the demand “was entirely a fictitious one; that it had no foundation in the interests or wishes of those who ought to be considered as representing the country; and that what was asked for might be withheld, without endangering the public tranquillity.” These were the sentiments held by the king, and by the majority of the council. Some of the members deemed it dangerous to defy what they termed the popular voice; and they had expected to be supported by the duke d'Orleans. To their surprise, however, he took the same view as the king and Guizot; and it was resolved that the ministry should oppose reform.*

They were soon called upon to act. Early in February, two motions on reform were made in the deputies. The first was termed, *Un projet pour l'extension du cercle des incompatibilités*; and it proposed—without prohibiting the electors from electing public functionaries—that no deputy, who was not in office when elected, should accept any appointment under government during the period that he held his seat, nor within the first year after he vacated it.—The second was termed, *Un projet pour l'admission des capacités*; and extended the right of voting to all males of full age, whose names were placed upon the rolls to serve as jurors. In the debate, the great speaker for these projects was M. de Lamartine, who, as the ministers would not accept him as their candidate for the presidency, completely separated himself from the government, or conservative party, and threw himself into the ranks of the liberal opposition. The principal opponent was M. Guizot. The former spoke with his usual eloquence; and he was excelled by no deputy in that quality. He first defended the propositions on their merits—and much could be said for both; for the number of government *employés* in the chamber, gave the ministers an immense control over its deliberations; and it was perfectly reasonable to maintain, that the man who was qualified to serve on juries, was also qualified to exercise the

* Regnault.

franchise. He next made some forcible remarks upon the enmity by which “men, honourable, well-intentioned, but blinded by political passion, and entrenched in a political majority,” were disposed to feel for those—no matter how essentially they might have served them on former occasions—“who proposed innovations, even if they were the most prudent, the most wise, the most likely to promote the conservative interests of the government.” He concluded by describing what would be the consequence of that “resistance—eternal resistance,” which “the men in power had inscribed on their banners. He understood this policy,” he said, “during the period which immediately followed the revolution of July, and down to the close of 1834. During all that period, resistance was the first duty; and gloriously the ministers and the deputies had discharged it. But, after 1834, the danger was over; the necessity for resistance existed no longer; and there arose a variety of questions, on which the ideas of the leading statesmen were not abreast of the spirit of the age. He grieved to say, that there existed in France a feeling, not of national degradation—the nation would never be degraded—but that important interests were strangled, and that earnest desires were thwarted. He warned those in power, and the chamber, to beware how they increased this painful feeling in the class of intelligent men, who were certainly more alive to impressions than that territorial class, in whom all political power was vested. It was for the best interests of the country, that they should not lightly reject proposals tending to make the chamber more independent, and to recruit the electoral body with active and patriotic additions, which would impart new life to its decaying members, and would confer on the government additional strength to resist the concealed, but never-dying, coalition against the liberty and independence of the French people.”

In arguing against the first project, M. Guizot said, “they heard, on every side, of the passion for place, honour, and emolument, which had seized all classes of citizens, even the most humble; of the obloquy by which functionaries were surrounded—even those who appeared the most respectable and eminent. How was this to be removed? There was but one way—by the establishment of salutary rules, to make eligibility to office the result and the reward of years of preparation and study—of a life of honour and usefulness. If they did this, they would soon surround office with the respectability which should belong to it.” But “the only effect of the proposed law would be, to lower the character of the legislature, to impoverish the administration, to enervate the public service, and to degrade the country. Were they willing to hold France out to the world as a country overrun with the gangrene of moral and political

corruption?—as a land where the ministers were unworthily influenced by the deputies; the deputies by the electors; and the electors themselves by their vile personal ambition, and their lowest local interests?" The experiment had been tried in France; and he called upon the deputies to "recollect the deplorable consequences which ensued from the self-denying *ordonnance* of the constituent assembly; to figure to themselves the great voices doomed by that *ordonnance* to an impotent silence; to recollect Barnave rendered dumb, and unable to mount the tribune, at the very time when an insane faction was precipitating France into an abyss." The demand for an increase in the number of electors the minister described as equally indefensible, and unfounded in justice or reason, as that for excluding placemen from the chamber. "By the reduction of the qualification for the franchise from the payment of 300f. to 200f., the 99,000 electors of 1831 had been increased to 224,000; under those circumstances, what reasonable ground was there for a further extension of the suffrage? Were they desirous of swamping intelligence, education, property—by the masses, who did not possess one of those qualities? That moment was also most inopportune for mooted such a question. The effervescence produced by the treaty of the 15th of July had not subsided; and if the idea once got afloat, that the chamber was prepared to entertain a project of electoral reform, it would be immediately concluded that the career of innovation was again opened—the chamber being turned into a national assembly; and no one could tell where it would stop."*

These arguments were enlarged on by other speakers; and the question was nearly a fortnight before the deputies. When put to the vote, the first project was negatived by 198 votes to 190; the second, by 234 to 193.

The finances, this year, did not present a very favourable aspect; and the "balance between revenue and expenditure," which the king, in his speech at the opening of the session, had represented as so desirable to "aim at," was not attained. M. Humann opened his budget; but he had not laid the details before the chambers, when, after a short illness, his death took place, on the 25th of April. He had been a member of seven out of the nineteen cabinets formed and dissolved since 1836; and was much respected both by his various colleagues and by the public. His funeral, on the 30th, was a very splendid ceremony. The beautiful new church of the Madeleine, consecrated that morning, was opened for service, for the first time, on that occasion. All the ministers and chief *employés* were present; and the garrison of the capital was placed under arms. He was succeeded, as minister of finance, by M. Lacave Laplagne, who took up the subject of the

budget where his predecessor had left it. The details were very numerous; but it is sufficient to state, that the expenditure amounted to 1,300,000,000f. (£52,000,000); and the estimated receipts to 1,236,711,000f. (£49,468,440); showing a deficiency of 63,289,000f. (£2,531,560).

A large sum in the estimates was devoted to public works; of which 29,500,000f. (£1,180,000) were applied to railways. M. Guizot and M. Teste introduced the subject on the 27th of April. They had to announce, that the numerous speculations entered into three or four years previously had generally failed; only two lines, out of the many proposed, being in the course of construction—viz., one from Paris to Rouen; and another from Paris to Orleans. It was proposed, therefore, that several main lines should be undertaken by the state; the localities interested, and private individuals, being allowed to contribute to a certain extent. Five lines, all radiating from Paris, were proposed.—1st. To the Belgian frontier, by Lille and Valenciennes.—2nd. To the shores of the channel, opening railway communication between Paris and London.—3rd. To the German frontier, by Nancy and Strasburg.—4th. To the Mediterranean, by Marseilles.—5th. To the Atlantic, by Nantes and Bordeaux. The project embodying these five lines was referred to a commission, of which M. Dufaure was the reporter. That commission recommended, that there should be three lines added to those proposed by the government.—1st. A line from Tours to the frontier of Spain, by Poitiers, Angoulême, Bordeaux, and Bayonne.—2nd. A line opening a communication with the centre, by Bourges, Nevers, and Claremont.—3rd. A line from the Mediterranean to the Rhine, by Lyons, Dijon, and Mulhausen. The chamber adopted the suggestions of the commission; but when the proposals became known, the commercial, banking, and manufacturing interests, expressed a great desire that the works should be undertaken by companies; and they were joined by the brokers, who had found such a great increase to their business from the traffic in shares. Ultimately, it was arranged that the lines should be undertaken by government and companies jointly; the former to purchase and prepare the ground, and construct the viaducts, bridges, and sleepers; the companies to buy and lay the rails, erect stations, and, when the lines were opened, defray the working expenses, and all those arising from the "wear and tear" of the roads, the carriages, and the engines. It is very probable, but for this arrangement, France would never have had a complete railway system; but the sums expended by the government added very considerably to the floating debt, and often greatly embarrassed the minister of finance.

While this subject was under discussion in

* *Moniteur*, Feb. 7—18, 1842. *Annuaire Histoire*.

the chamber, one of the most terrific railroad accidents on record took place, on Sunday, the 8th of May, when the king's *fête* was celebrating at Versailles. In the afternoon, there was a display of all the magnificent waterworks in the gardens of the palace; which concluded at half-past five o'clock, when most of those present took their departure. The train, which went by the road on the left bank of the Seine, was very full of passengers. The doors of the carriages were locked; and they were drawn by two engines. Between Bellevue and Meudon the axle of the foremost engine broke; it immediately stood still, the fire and grease-boxes falling on the ground. The other engine dashed over it, killing the conductor and stokers. It was thrown over by the shock; and its burning coke and cinders also became scattered about. The first three carriages were impelled into the ruins of the engines, and broken considerably. Being newly painted, they caught fire; and those travellers who could not get out, were burnt to death. Those who were in the broken parts of the carriages were much crushed; but most of them were enabled to extricate themselves, and escaped with life. The passengers in the fourth and succeeding carriages were also severely hurt; the injuries of some proving mortal. It is impossible to describe the terror of the people, who soon rushed to the spot, or the horrible sufferings of the passengers in the burning carriages. Their shrieks were dreadful; and though the prefect of police, a number of his assistants, and several medical men, were soon on the spot, it was some time before any effectual assistance could be rendered. In some cases, the burnt bodies were so calcined and fused together, that they could not be removed separately. "As soon as possible," says one of the journals of the day, "troops were brought to the place to aid in keeping order; priests came to administer consolation to the dying; several government officials gave directions, and undertook responsibility; and, in short, all seems to have been done, after the catastrophe, that humanity or propriety could dictate." Fifty-three persons were killed, and forty seriously wounded. Amongst the dead, was one entire family of eleven persons. Admiral Dumont d'Urville, the circumnavigator, his wife and son, were also killed; as was Mr. George, an Englishman, the engineer in charge of the second engine, who was suffocated in his efforts to save the passengers locked up in the carriages.* This event cast a deep gloom over the capital; which, even amongst the gay and volatile French people, was not readily dissipated.

The railway project occupied the chambers till the 11th of June. On that day the session closed; and, on the 13th, a royal *ordonnance* appeared, dissolving the chamber of deputies;

* *Annuaire Histoire,*

fixing the elections for the 9th of July; and the meeting of the chambers for the 3rd. of August. The elections were very eagerly contested; and the same disposition of the electors was found to prevail, in France, as existed in England. Those in the large towns were mostly liberals, many being deeply tinged with republicanism; whilst in the small towns and the rural districts, the ministerialists were generally in the majority. In Paris, two decided leaders of the republicans were returned—MM. Carnot and Marie; three colleges elected Dupont de l'Eure; and Ledru-Rollin was returned for Sarthe; whilst M. Garnier Pagès (son of the deputy who died in 1841) was elected for the Eure. Lafitte, Mauguin, Odillon Barrot, de Tocqueville, Lamartine—all the distinguished leaders of the liberals, in fact—were returned by large majorities, where they were opposed; still the ministers had the greater number of ostensible supporters in the chamber; but, unfortunately, their party was not "one and undivided;" there were several sections amongst "the king's friends;" and his cabinet could not always depend on support. At this time, according to Regnault, the question of the suffrage divided the legitimists. Whilst one section of that party strenuously opposed any extension of the suffrage, as destructive to the monarchic and aristocratic principle; another, seeing, in the loyalty of the rural population, a counterpoise to the ultra-liberalism, and the republican tendencies of the urban electors, wished for a general extension of the franchise, as they thought numbers would be in their favour. It is probable that they were right; but all mere political questions were for the moment thrown into the shade by a deep affliction which fell on the royal family.

On the 14th of July, the duke d'Orleans—who was, on the following day, to have assumed the command of the camp at St. Omer's, of 40,000 men—was returning from Neuilly, where he had been to take leave of the king and queen, on his way to join the duchess at Plombières. Near the Porte Maillot, the horses in his chariot ran away, and, fearful of being overturned, the duke jumped out. In jumping, either his spurs or his sword caught his cloak; he was thrown heavily to the ground, and was taken up insensible. Being conveyed to the nearest house, medical advice, and the king and queen, were sent for. The physician and the parents of the sufferer arrived nearly together; the duke d'Aumale accompanying their majesties. It was found that congestion of the brain was the consequence of the fall, and that there was no hope of life! The rector of St. Philippe de Roule was brought to the bed-side of the dying prince, and administered the rites of the Roman catholic church. The prince appeared to be quite senseless; he now and then uttered a few

words in German, which were supposed to be remembrances to the duchess; but, with that exception, he did not utter a sound. He lingered for four hours—all the royal family, except his wife, being round his bed. At three o'clock he expired; and there was an impetuous burst of grief from all present when it was known that every hope of life had fled.

A messenger was immediately dispatched to Plombières, and steps were taken for the removal of the body. It "was placed on a litter, and carried by soldiers to the chapel of the château of Neuilly. The king, the queen, madame Adelaide, and the duke d'Aumale followed, on foot, the melancholy train, which was escorted by a battalion of the 17th light regiment. The soldiers had tears in their eyes. Behind the litter, mingled with the members of the royal family, walked the ministers, officers of all ranks, and citizens of every class, who had gathered on the first news of the catastrophe. Some ecclesiastics, who had also followed the procession, recited prayers beside the royal deceased."* The corpse was deposited near the altar, in the chapel, and there remained till the funeral took place.

The duchess had gone to Plombières on the 3rd of June, for the benefit of her health; and many happy days she had passed there—the duke always joining her when his public duties permitted. Her health had much improved; and she was anticipating her return to Neuilly, when her hopes and her happiness were at once blighted by the announcement of this sad calamity, rendered more acute from the escape of the postilion, who succeeded in pulling his horses up a few minutes after the duke jumped out of the carriage; and it was therefore evident that, had his royal highness kept quiet, he would have received no injury. Very painful was the first interview of the duchess with the king and queen, after the terrible loss they had all sustained. It took place at Neuilly, on the 16th of July. "Oh, my dear Helen!" said the king, when he first saw her, "the greatest of all misfortunes has fallen upon my old age." She appeared sinking under her emotion, when the queen said, in her tone of gentle authority—"My beloved daughter, live for us and for your children." She passed on almost immediately to the chapel, where she knelt beside the coffin, gazing intently upon the pall which covered the remains of him she loved beyond all things on earth. "After a short prayer, she arose somewhat revived, and withdrew to her apartment, to put on the mourning dress, which she never laid aside."†

The funeral took place on the 30th of July, in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame. The funeral *cor-tége* was very imposing. It was headed by the *gendarmerie* of the Seine, and numerous bodies of troops, followed by six mourning coaches and the car, on which was placed the vase containing

* *Moniteur*.† *Memoirs*.

the heart of the duke. The archbishop and clergy of Paris then took up the procession; next came the magnificent car bearing the body; marshals Soult, Molitor, Gérard, and Vallée; the chancellor of France and the minister of justice officiating as pall-bearers. All the great officers of state, the marshals of France, the officers of the duke's and the king's household, and the princes, joined the solemn procession, which was closed by several bodies of troops. The route was from the Pont de Neuilly, through the Arc de Triomphe, and along the Champs-Élysées, the Place de la Concorde, the quays of the Tuileries, of the Louvre, and of L'Ecole, the Place du Châtelet, the Pont Nôtre-Dame, and the Rue d'Arcole, to the opening in front of Nôtre-Dame, where it arrived at three o'clock, and was received by a salute of twenty-one minute guns, fired from a battery of artillery, stationed behind the cathedral. When taken into the church, the coffin was placed on a superb catafalque, and the funeral service was performed. It was then consigned to the tomb, and the procession dispersed; the princes returning to Neuilly, where the king and his family remained.

Not only was this event a great interruption to the domestic happiness of the royal family, but it threw a deep cloud over all the political prospects of the future. Much had been expected from the duke d'Orleans. His grave and reserved character, though it always insured respect, did not cause the general public to feel much interest in his movements; but the rectitude with which he performed all the duties of life, and the known friendship which existed between him and some of the most eminent liberal leaders, led to a belief that he would be a conscientious king, and would greatly advance the cause of progress when he came to the throne. His recent declaration against reform had somewhat weakened this feeling, but it had not destroyed it; and he was considered as the hope of Louis-Philippe's family. No one, we believe, rejoiced at his death; but there were many of the republicans who felt that it had removed a great impediment in the way of their success. By his family, and the few friends whose intimacy he encouraged, he was greatly beloved, and his habits were very domestic. Writing to a friend, in the spring of 1843, the duchess said—"He so loved this season! We used to take walks together; we went to see the children at Neuilly; there he made me nosegays of the earliest flowers; he would not put any in his button-hole, as he used to do. 'It is not sedate enough for a man who is past thirty,' said he. He made the children stay abroad all day long; and, when I sent for them to come in, he said, laughing—'You think the children are well as long as they are under your eye.' We sometimes dined at five o'clock, that we might drive out after dinner; we passed the evening in that

perfumed garden of Neuilly, in making enormous *bouquets*. At nine o'clock we came in. We talked—we discussed all the serious and important topics of the moment. The politics of the day led us to his favourite subject—the moral greatness of France, her influence in the world, her defence, her isolated position, the character of her people, &c. I felt the indefatigable ardour of his mind, and the admirable and dispassionate calmness with which he judged his country, its position, and its prospects."

But he was no more; and his death rendered it necessary that the chambers should be summoned to an extraordinary session, for the purpose of making provision for a regency, should the king die while the count de Paris was a minor. They were to meet on the 3rd of August; but a royal *ordonnance* summoned them for the 26th of July—before the funeral. When the king appeared on the *estrade*, to open the session, accompanied by his four surviving sons—the duke de Nemours, the prince de Joinville, the duke d'Aumale, and the duke de Montpensier—his majesty's emotion was so great that he could not speak. He made a second attempt, and failed; the audience then burst forth into one long loud cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" which appeared to animate him, and he read a few words from a paper in his hand, announcing the melancholy purposes for which the peers and deputies were summoned. His utterance was frequently impeded by his tears; and, at the close, having bowed in acknowledgment of his warm and cordial reception, he sank back on his seat, covered his face with his hands, and sobbed convulsively. When he took his departure, the cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" were loud and long-continued.

There was again a party contest for the election of president and vice-president of the deputies; but the ministerial candidates were chosen. The project of law organising a regency was first discussed in the chamber of deputies. It provided that the king's minority should cease upon his attaining the age of eighteen years. That if, at the king's death, the successor was a minor, the prince nearest in succession to the throne (as established by the charter), if he had attained the age of twenty-one years, should be regent till the sovereign had completed his eighteenth year; and have the full and entire exercise of the royal authority in the name of the king. There were also provisions for the protection of the person of the regent; for his taking an oath to be true and faithful to the king; and for the education of the young sovereign, of whom the queen and the duchess were to be guardians during his minority. When the project was discussed, several amendments were proposed, but none were adopted. In the course of the debates upon them, M. Thiers made a speech, in which he spoke so decidedly for ministers, that he created quite a sensation amongst his own supporters.

The supposition was, that, as he had lost his great friend in the royal family, he now meditated a coalition with Guizot, as the most likely means of attaining that power he was known to covet. M. de Lamartine, on the contrary, spoke as decidedly against the bill—contending, that the regency should be conferred, by a vote of the chamber, on the duchess d'Orleans. The discussion ended by the deputies adopting the project, as brought in by the minister of the interior—the majority being 316 to 94. The peers sanctioned it by 163 to 14.—The month of August had nearly closed before this business was transacted; and the chambers were then prorogued till the 9th of January, 1843.

The foreign relations of France were not interrupted, in 1842, by any disputes with other countries, though the foundation was laid for a difference with England, which was very near leading to war. The beautiful group of the Society Islands, in the Pacific, made known to the English public in the last century by the enterprising captain Cook, had for some years been the resort of missionaries; and most of the inhabitants of Otaheite (or Tahiti)—considered the gem of the Pacific Ocean—had been converted by Englishmen, to whom they were much attached. Their queen, Pomare, made repeated applications to be taken under British protection; using, on one occasion, the following poetic language:—"Let your flag cover us, and your lion defend us; determine the form in which we may shelter ourselves lawfully under your wings." These repeated requests were partly prompted by the presence of Roman catholic missionaries, who, although they made converts, did not render themselves generally acceptable to the people. The missionaries belonged to France, and there was a great jealousy between them and the protestants. The queen was not favourable to the Roman catholics, but appears to have placed great confidence in Mr. Pritchard, a missionary, who had been appointed English consul of the island. Through this functionary Pomare applied to lord Palmerston, to inform her, "whether the Roman catholic missionaries, who belonged to France, and persisted in coming to Otaheite, and disturbing the peace of the government, had the sanction of England?" To this, the only answer that could be given was, "that Otaheite was an independent state; and the queen of England could not interfere; its own rulers must determine what foreigners should be permitted to dwell in the island." Not long after, in 1838, admiral Dupetit Thouars, the French admiral in the Pacific, being informed that some outrages had been committed upon two French missionaries in Otaheite, appeared off that island on the 30th of August, and demanded reparation, which queen Pomare was compelled to yield; and also to conclude a convention with the admiral; by the terms of which,

Frenchmen, of every profession, were to be allowed to establish themselves in any part of her dominions.

Louis-Philippe, soon after his accession to the throne, appears to have contemplated making a settlement in the Pacific, for two objects—first, to afford a refuge for those Frenchmen who engaged in the South Sea fishery; secondly, to form a convict depôt. New Zealand was surveyed, and at first selected as the new colony; but France was anticipated by England in the settlement of the three islands which form the New Zealand territory. In 1842, the admiral in the Pacific was ordered to take possession of the Marquesas—a group of four islands of middle size; with numerous islets. This group lies between 8 and 11° S. lat., and 138° and 141° W. long. They are peopled by about 20,000 inhabitants, described as “a tall, robust, and finely-formed race, but the least reclaimed from barbarism of all the nations of Polynesia—carrying on war with the most savage ferocity, and practising cannibalism.” Before the admiral carried out his orders, he went again to Otaheite, where the quarrels between the rival missionaries had kept the queen in a state of constant alarm. At last, as she could not obtain the protection of England, she resolved, being pressed by the Roman catholic missionaries, to accept that of France. On the 9th of September, 1842, accordingly, this protectorate was proclaimed; the flag of Otaheite was lowered, and that of France hoisted in its place; and the French consul was invested with great power over all the inhabitants of the island, natives and foreigners. They agreed to respect the British missions; but some acts of violence and outrage, committed in the following year, were the subject, as will be seen further on, of warm discussions between the diplomatists, and of angry language in the parliaments of the two nations, which at one time threatened serious consequences. The admiral followed up the establishment of the protectorate at Otaheite by taking possession of the Marquesas islands. The official announcement that they had been occupied in the name of the king of the French, appeared in the *Gazette* of the 20th of December.

In Europe, on the 16th of March, the powers which had taken part in establishing the kingdom of Greece, found themselves obliged to remonstrate with the Greek government upon the

advance of its troops to the frontiers of Turkey, as it was likely to lead to hostilities with the sultan. The troops were withdrawn. With the other powers of Europe, the intercourse was friendly throughout the year; and Europe itself was tranquil till towards its close. In November, an insurrection against the power of Espartero broke out in Spain. It commenced in Barcelona, where a junta was established; the watchwords being—“Down with Espartero and his government!” and “Justice and protection to national industry!” The city was bombarded on the 3rd of December; and, after a fire of fifteen hours, the revolutionary junta surrendered its functions, and its supporters were disarmed; but the insurrection continued to rage in other parts of Spain.

The year 1842 closed with the appearance of a cordial understanding between the government of France and the other European powers, especially with England. The attitude of the French people was no longer so threatening to foreigners; and though the orators and writers of France, who professed to guide public opinion, still evinced a great and unreasonable jealousy of their old enemy and their present rival—as they considered her across the water—still, even in their effusions, an improved tone of feeling prevailed. To this change, in the opinion of a contemporary writer, M. Guizot had greatly contributed. His predilection for England caused him to be called *le Ministre de l'Etranger*; and he had for some time to “endure all the unpopularity which, in France especially, attends a minister who is suspected of being little sensitive on the subject of national honour.” But “he boldly stood forward to oppose the torrent of declamation and abuse poured forth against Great Britain on the occasion of the final settlement of the Eastern question; and he was not afraid to avow himself the advocate of an alliance with England, at a time when M. Thiers and his party exerted themselves to the utmost to make the name of our country hateful to France, as a bye-word for treachery and ambitious aggrandisement.” The happy results were seen in the improved state of France; and, for some time, both government and people seemed more disposed to devote their energies to the development of the great natural resources of the country, and the encouragement of the national industry, than to foreign wars.

CHAPTER XXII.

STATE OF PARTIES; MARRAST AND LOUIS BLANC; THE JOUR DE L'AN; OPENING OF THE SESSION; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS; THE SECRET-SERVICE MONEY; REFORM; EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES; THE FINANCES; DEPUTATION OF THE PEACE CONVENTION OF LONDON TO THE KING; MARRIAGES OF THE PRINCESS CLEMENTINE AND THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE; VISIT OF THE DUKE DE NEMOURS AND THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE TO ENGLAND; VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO FRANCE; THE DUKES DE NEMOURS AND DE MONTPENSIER IN THE PROVINCES; THE DUKE DE BORDEAUX IN ENGLAND; AFFAIRS OF SPAIN, OF GREECE, AND OF OTAHEITE; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1843; REMARKABLE SPEECH OF M. LAFITTE; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS IN THE PEERS AND DEPUTIES; PROSECUTION OF THE "GAZETTE DE FRANCE," AND THE "QUOTIDIENNE;" M. VILLEMAIN'S PROJECT ON EDUCATION; AFFAIRS OF OTAHEITE; CASE OF MR. PRITCHARD; FINANCES; DEATHS OF M. LAFITTE AND THE DUKE D'ANGOULEME; AMNESTY; VISIT OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE TO ENGLAND; AFFAIRS OF SPAIN; NARVAEZ ABROGATES THE CONSTITUTION; AFFAIRS OF GREECE; DISAPPOINTMENT OF RUSSIA; DISACCORD OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

THE state of parties in France was again undergoing a change, and new men were appearing on the political stage. M. Lamartine having joined the opposition, several of his friends, though differing essentially from MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, and still more essentially from Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin, had followed him into the anti-ministerial ranks. There was a subservient house of peers. That house, ever since the abolition of the hereditary peerage, had been gradually falling in public estimation. The majority of its members were men of small means, and they looked to the patronage of the government as the main source of their support; hence they were ever ready to follow the beck of the minister. The deputies were much upon a par with the peers as to their worldly circumstances: amongst them, offices were liberally bestowed; and although a large majority of the electors were well-disposed towards the powers that be, and wished to maintain the present order of things—the mass of the men whom they sent to represent them was kept together only by the influence of the appointments which they obtained from the minister, either for themselves or for their families. We have noticed the prevalence of this species of official corruption in France at an earlier period, and M. Guizot's defence of it.* As time progressed, the evil rather increased than abated; and it extended from the representatives to their constituents—displaying itself, not unfrequently, in the most offensive form, among the denouncers of undue influence and the advocates of purity.

The ministers had a numerical majority in the chamber of deputies—the result of the elections of 1842. The opposition, also, had a rank-and-file, by no means contemptible in numbers; whilst it comprised most of the literary and oratorical talent of the chamber. Its principal leaders in the deputies, were MM. Lamartine, Berryer, Lafitte, Thiers, Odillon Barrot, and Ledru-Rollin: out of the chamber, Marrast and Louis Blanc especially distinguished themselves, and

* See ante, p. 531.

were the chief agents in organising the measures which ultimately drove Louis-Philippe from the throne, and, with his family, from France.—Armand Marrast was born in 1802, and received an education eminently qualifying him for literary pursuits. He came to Paris during the reign of Charles X., and soon distinguished himself by his attacks upon the government of that sovereign. He was no better disposed towards Louis-Philippe, whose administration was bitterly assailed in the columns of the *Tribune*, which paper Marrast established in 1830. Our readers will recollect the prosecutions to which that journal was subjected, and its ultimate fate; after which the editor was, for a time, obliged to take refuge in England. On his return to France, he became sub-editor of the *National*: when Armand Carrel fell in the duel with Girardin, he took the management of that journal; and by his able and daring articles, kept alive the feeling against the government; and ultimately conducted to the crisis of 1848. His early predilections are said to have been conservative; necessity made him a republican; and certainly he displayed all the fury and intemperate zeal by which renegades from any creed, political or religious, are frequently distinguished.—Louis Blanc, being born in Paris in 1813, was one of the youngest of those who took part in the public discussions of the day. He was a communist. In 1839, he established a journal, called *La Revue du Progress*, as the organ of certain democratic sections of the community: and in 1840, his work on the *Organisation of Labour* appeared. Socialist doctrines were ably advocated in that publication; the writer contending that men should labour for the community, and that government should pay them wages according to their wants, taking care to preserve every individual from poverty and distress. These doctrines made their way in France; and even became popular with a class in England: but here they soon fell into disrepute; whilst in France, for some time, they met with great success. To oppose this phalanx of talent, M. Guizot had chiefly to rely upon

himself. Marshal Soult, the duke de Broglie, count Molè, and M. Duchâtel, were all devoted to him, and rendered him every assistance in their power; but they were not fitted to sustain the conflicts to which they were soon exposed in the chambers, with the distinguished orators of the more advanced liberal and republican party.

To meet the vicissitudes of 1843, the ministers had in their favour the support of the majority of the constituencies, as well as their majority in the legislature; and also that of a powerful army; whilst peace reigned abroad and at home—the commotions of the past year, and the conspiracies of former ones, having, apparently, been suppressed. On the other hand, there was an impoverished working class in the country and towns; and a *bourgeoisie*, which, though rapidly advancing in the path of prosperity, and for whom the king had done so much, was anything but grateful; whilst the 60,000 of that class who were enrolled in the national guard, were greatly demoralised, and not to be relied upon, should troubles arise. The necessity of finding work, to some extent, for the artisans of the metropolis, also embarrassed the finances, and prevented the balance between revenue and expenditure from being established. Things, however, looked well on the surface; and how few statesmen ever think of penetrating beneath, for the purpose of revealing those secret movements which may threaten disturbance; or of rooting-up those seeds of evil from which confusion may spring!

There was the usual reception at the Tuileries on the *Jour de l'An*. In the addresses presented on that occasion, condolence was offered upon the lamented death of the duke d'Orleans; and, when the king opened the session, on the 9th of January, the loss which France and his majesty had sustained by that event, was alluded to in the speech from the throne. His majesty also noticed the national prosperity, produced by the maintenance of the public order and peace; which, as attested in the rapid increase of the public revenue, was manifested beyond their hopes. He announced, that his "relations with foreign powers continued to be friendly and amicable;" and stated, that "the good harmony prevailing among the powers, had strengthened the repose of the East; and procured in Syria, for the Christian population, the establishment of an administration conformable to their religious faith and their wishes." He "deplored the disturbances which had recently agitated Spain;" where his "sole object had been to protect the legitimate interests of France; to preserve for queen Isabella a faithful amity; and to testify, for the rights of humanity, that respect and protection which honour the French name. He had accepted the protectorate of Otaheite, and had ordered the occupation of the Marquesas islands; thus securing to French navi-

gators in those distant seas, a protection and refuge of which the necessity had been so long felt." In Algeria, the dominion of France, "thanks to the persevering efforts of its brave army, became everywhere stable and respected;" and he "had opened with several states negotiations, which would have the effect of imparting to French agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, more active development, and procure for the national interests additional facilities."

In the chamber of deputies, M. Sauzet was re-elected president; three of the vice-presidents were also re-elected; M. Lepelletier d'Aulnay being substituted for general Jacqueminot. The committees, in both chambers, for drawing up the addresses, were ministerial; but, in the discussion, several speakers, both in the peers and deputies, complained of the abuses that had sprung out of the concession of the right of search, made by the treaties of 1831 and 1833, for abolishing the slave-trade. In the peers, on the 23rd of January, an amendment to the address was moved by the prince of Moscow, to the effect, "that the chamber hoped his majesty would see the necessity of taking into consideration the opinion that had manifested itself relative to the right of search." The supporters of this amendment contended, "that the search made by an English officer, on board a French vessel, was humiliating to the French flag; that it was viewed in that light by the whole nation: the peers could not help partaking in that general feeling, and were bound to express it in the address." M. Guizot and the duke de Broglie defended the treaties; stating, that France had interested herself to obtain the adhesion of other powers to them; "invariably assuring those powers, that the concessions required of them were conformable to the real principles of the maritime laws, which France had always defended. She had urged those powers to adhere to the treaties, in order that England should not arrogate to herself alone the right of visiting the vessels of other nations. Those treaties had existed ten years. During that time only twelve complaints had been made, of which several were found to be groundless; in two cases satisfaction had been given, and three remained unadjusted." The duke de Broglie, having signed the conventions of 1831 and 1833, did not hesitate to take the responsibility of those acts; and he reminded his hearers, that "the chamber of peers, by agreeing to the amendment, would adopt a perilous course, in opposition to that which they had invariably pursued with so much success. The mission of that chamber was, to express and enlighten public opinion, not to yield to it." The amendment was rejected, on the 24th of January, by 118 votes to 67; and, the next day, the address was adopted by 117 votes to 33.

The debate on the address, in the chamber

of deputies, did not commence till the 27th of January. The address drawn up by the committee (all, except Odillon Barrot, supporters of the ministry), while echoing the speech in all its parts, contained, in addition, the following paragraph relative to the right of search. "United by feelings of humanity, the powers apply themselves to the suppression of the infamous traffic in black slaves. We have seen, with satisfaction, that, in continuing to lend to this just aim the support of France, the government of your majesty has refused its assent to an extension of existing treaties. For the strict and faithful execution of these treaties, as long as they exist, we repose on the vigilance and firmness of your government. But, struck by the inconveniences, revealed by experience, and even in the interest of that good understanding so necessary to the accomplishment of the common task, we look forward, with the strongest hope, to the moment when our commerce shall be replaced under the exclusive surveillance of our own flag." In the debate, M. Lamartine again made a long and able speech against the policy of the government; opposing "the whole of the address, in its spirit and its terms, except that paragraph in which the chamber associated itself with the monarchy; and that which alluded to the misfortune [the death of the duke d'Orleans] which had so deeply affected them all. It was painful for him," he said, "to oppose men, to whom he had, for a long time, given his support;" but he justified himself by the acts of the government of late years—particularly alluding to the support it gave to the hereditary peerage, which he thought wrong in a democratic society; to the laws of September, and "to the project for encircling Paris with a continuous girdle of bastilles." The conduct pursued with respect to Spain and the East, fell equally under the condemnation of the speaker; and he contended, that a systematic opposition was required to combat and control the ministerial policy, which was the result of a system. Convinced, he said, "that the government had gone astray; that it departed every day more and more from its principle; that all its steps were retrograde, whilst those of the opposition were advancing; and that the days for complaisance were gone by—he would give a conscientious vote against the address; against the spirit in which it was drawn up; against the entire policy of the government in the past, and probably in the future."

The ministers—Guizot and Soult—defended their policy and their acts, which, they maintained, were true in principle, and tended to the advantage and honour of the country. In reply to several of their opponents, they expatiated on the benefits which had resulted from the English alliance; and Guizot was interrupted, in that part of his reply, by a member of the "left;" who

exclaimed, that he was making "an English speech." He proceeded to say, that "his endeavours to re-establish the good relations between the two countries (interrupted when he took office), had been crowned with success. He had concluded conventions on subjects which had, previously, ever presented insuperable difficulties. He had adjusted the long-pending affair of Portendic; he had also signed with England a post-office convention; another relative to extradition; and a fourth, concerning the fisheries on the French coast. The British ministry, he would say, had evinced, throughout, a spirit of moderation, good-will, and equity, which had greatly facilitated the issue of the negotiations."—The ministers did not object to the paragraph we have quoted, referring to the right of search; but declared they would not consent to open any immediate negotiation upon the subject of the slave-trade treaties. No amendment was, therefore, moved to the address as it came from the committee, except to the paragraph referring to the Eastern question. Adopting the idea, and almost the language of the speech, the address congratulated his majesty, "that an administration had been formed in Syria, conformable to the wishes of the Syrians." For this phrase, M. Berryer proposed to substitute the words, "that the intervention of his government had brought about in Syria the establishment of a regular administration." This amendment was carried by 206 votes to 203. The entire address was adopted by 278 members, 101 opposing it.

The anti-English feeling which was entertained by many members of the chamber of deputies, was again manifested on the 1st of March, when the annual question of the secret-service money was before the house. On that occasion, M. Lamartine again attacked the ministerial policy. He accused the cabinet of subserviency to England, which power exercised undue influence in Europe; Russia did the same in Turkey; and ought not Spain, he asked, to be in the same manner dependent on France? He reproached the cabinet for not having exerted itself to establish a stable and moderate government in Spain; and said that body had evidently no principle to guide it.—Again M. Guizot ably and successfully defended his administration—maintaining, that the power and influence of France had increased abroad; and that, "if they ran through the whole world, from Washington to Calcutta, they would find that the policy of France, since 1830, was approved of. Inquire of any nation, and the wisdom of the French king would be found proverbial. It was asserted," he observed, in the peroration of a speech which made a great impression on the chamber, "that nothing truly great and good could be done without self-devotedness. Life was full of trials, no matter in what condition one was placed; and the higher the position, the more difficult

were those trials frequently felt. The honourable deputy [Lamartine] had said, that he lived to manifest his respect to a high personage above him. Let him bear in mind, that, for twelve years, that personage had served as a mark for the assassin's ball and poniard; and yet he was still watching on, patiently and unceasingly, over the welfare and glory of France: then let him say if that was not real, practical self-devotedness?"—The division upon the grant did not take place till the 4th of March, when it was carried by 244 votes to 155. On the 20th, the peers sanctioned it by 135 votes to 37.

In the same month, the question of "reform" was brought before the chamber of deputies by M. de Sade, who again moved the adoption of the project *pour l'extension du cercle des incompatibilités*. M. Lamartine, to the surprise of the chamber, now opposed this measure, which he had advocated the previous year. He again admitted that there were defects in the government and the representation; but he recommended other means of dealing with them, in order to effect a remedy. An extension of the suffrage he deemed the most rational way to reform the legislature; and he did not object even to give every man, of mature age, and untainted by crime, the right to exercise the franchise; but he would not exclude officials from the chamber. The project was opposed by arguments similar to those brought forward in the previous year; and was negatived, but only by a majority of sixteen.—On the 22nd of March, M. Duvergier d'Hauranne proposed the abolition of secret voting in the chamber. This proposal was also negatived by 201 votes to 193.

In April, Odillon Barrot proposed to the chamber to repeal the laws of September; but the majority decided against him. The following month—a report having been published from a commission appointed in 1840, "to inquire into the best means of emancipating the slaves in the French West Indian colonies"—the government proposed a project of law, for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the commissioners. By this measure, slavery was to cease on the 1st of January, 1853; the slaves to enjoy civil rights during those ten years, but not to be entitled to possess boats or other vessels, arms or ammunition. Slaves were to have the right to purchase their liberty in the meantime; but emancipated slaves were not to enjoy political rights. For five years after emancipation, the slaves were to engage them-

selves to the colonists, and remain in the colonies; the governor in council to fix, each year, the *maximum* and *minimum* of wages: an indemnity of 150,000,000f. (£4,000,000) to be paid to the planters in 1857. This measure was introduced early in May; but an idea became prevalent, that it was brought forward in consequence of English influence, and to carry out English ideas. Such a powerful and active opposition was raised in consequence, that the ministers, without abandoning their views, found it necessary to postpone the attempt to carry them out till another year.—The government was also defeated in an attempt to carry a measure for putting an end to the manufacture of beetroot sugar in France—paying an indemnity of 40,000,000f. (£1,600,000) to the producers. Instead of this measure, the committee to whom the project was referred adopted a different proposition, enacting that the manufacture of beetroot sugar should continue, but that the excise duty should be gradually raised to the rate imposed on American colonial sugars. After some consideration, the ministers adopted the project of the committee, which was sanctioned by the chamber; 286 deputies voting for it, to 97 against.

Before the session closed, the ministers asked for an extraordinary credit of 1,000,000f., as a complement to the secret-service money. It was as much a question of confidence as of money; and several speakers contended that the ministers were undeserving of trust or of support. "They have undermined," said Ledru-Rollin, "the liberties of France in their four principal foundations—the jury, the press, the elections, and the national guard;" and he charged them with having "suspended, disarmed, almost disorganised that force, in spite of the law." M. Lamartine attacked the entire system of the government. "It is time," he said, "that this game should come to an end. France must either cease to be France, or you must cease to govern." Notwithstanding the violence of the opposition, the vote was passed by a large majority. The entire sum voted for the demands of the state, before the session closed (including 500,000f. for putting the forts and frontier towns in a respectable state of defence), was 1,275,435,340f. (£51,017,413). The receipts were estimated at 1,160,516,942f. (£46,420,664); leaving the large deficiency of 114,919,198f. (£4,596,767).—The money questions disposed of, the chambers were adjourned on the 24th of July.

Just previous to the prorogation, a deputation from a meeting which had been held that summer, in London, called the General Peace Convention, arrived in Paris, to lay before the king a "memorial to the governments of the civilised world," which the convention had adopted. Its purport was, to impress upon

* A report was published, in 1842, giving statistics of the French colonies. It appeared, that, in 1839 and 1840, the number of slaves was as follows:—

	1839.	1840.		1839.	1840.
Martinique.....	33,426	35,308	Guiana	3,454	3,489
Guadaloupe	30,200	35,520	Bourbon	27,157	25,715

In 1840, the entire number of inhabitants, free and slaves, in those islands, was 568,515.

those governments the importance of entering into treaties, by the stipulations of which they bound themselves to submit all their differences to arbitrators, to be selected by themselves, instead of by appeals to the sword. On the 20th of July the members of this deputation were introduced to his majesty, who received them most graciously; and, when the memorial was presented to him, he made a brief address, expressive of the interest he felt in it, and of his desire to preserve the peace of Europe. "Peace," he said, "is what we all want. War now costs too much, to be often waged; and I trust the day is coming, when we shall get rid of it entirely in the civilised world." He spoke of arbitration as an excellent substitute for war; alluded to several cases in which it had been successfully applied; and pointed out how perfectly consistent it was, in those cases, with the dignity of all concerned. On other points, relative to the subject of peace, the king expressed himself very freely, in terms highly gratifying to the deputation; and he promised to take the memorial into his serious consideration. The deputation quitted the royal presence, well pleased with the reception they had met with.

There were two marriages in the French royal family this year. On the 20th of April, the princess Clementine, the youngest daughter of Louis-Philippe, was married, at St. Cloud, to the prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg. The civil marriage was performed in that part of the palace called the Gallery of Apollo; the princess being led there by her father, and the queen by prince Augustus. All the other members of the royal family were present, except the duchess d'Orleans; with the following relatives of the bridegroom:—Duke Ferdinand, of Saxe-Coburg (the hereditary prince), and prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; the hereditary prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the king and queen of the Belgians, and duke Alexander, of Würtemberg. The matrimonial party was also increased by the presence of several noble and official persons, connected with the courts of Paris and Saxe-Coburg. The civil ceremony was gone through before baron Pasquier, the chancellor of France; and, at its close, the party proceeded to the chapel, where the religious ceremony was performed by the bishop of Versailles.—The second marriage, which took place in May, was that of the prince de Joinville, to the princess Francisca, the sister of the emperor of Brazil, and of the queen of Portugal. The marriage ceremony was performed in the cathedral at Rio Janeiro; the prince having gone to Brazil early in the year. He returned with his bride to Paris, in the month of July.

The following month, the duke de Nemours and the prince de Joinville visited England, arriving at Woolwich, in the *Napoleon* man-of-war, on the 20th of August. They landed at

the dockyard; and were received by the viscount Hawarden, one of the lords-in-waiting to the queen; by captain F. Seymour, groom-in-waiting to prince Albert; and by count Philippe de Chabot, the French *chargé d'affaires*. The princes proceeded from Woolwich to Windsor, where the queen was then residing; and having spent three days with her majesty and the royal family, their royal highnesses returned to Woolwich on the 24th, and embarked on board the French vessel for Havre. Two days after, several members of the royal family had a narrow escape from death. The king was at Eu, with the queen, the duchess d'Orleans, her children, and some of the princes. On the 26th of August, his majesty resolved to take a ride in a *char-à-banc*; and the queen, the duchess, the count de Paris, and several other members of the royal family mounted the carriage with him, and drove to the coast. After having reached the shore, and inspected a battery just erected, the king proposed to go to Tréport, at the mouth of the Brèle, to inspect another. To reach the village, a drawbridge had to be passed, which both the queen and the duchess considered very dangerous, and wished to take some other route. "These are childish fears," said Louis; "let us go." As they were passing over the bridge, some cannon were discharged: the report frightened the horses; the leaders sprang over the chains, dragging a third horse with them—when the traces broke, and the *char-à-banc* stopped, with the wheels within two or three inches of the edge of the bridge. There never was a more providential deliverance; and, fresh horses being put to the vehicle, the party returned to Eu, with thankful hearts.

While the princes were in England, it was arranged that the queen and prince Albert should visit Louis-Philippe at the Château d'Eu. Her majesty and her consort, attended by the earl of Aberdeen and the earl of Liverpool, embarked at St. Maw's castle on the 1st of September, on board the steam-yacht, *Victoria and Albert*; and landed, the next day, at Tréport. The distinguished visitors were received by the king and queen, the queen of the Belgians, the duchess d'Orleans, madame Adelaide, and the princesses, who arrived in carriages; the princes, with their officers, following on horseback. Lord Cowley (the English ambassador at Paris), M. Guizot, and several other persons of distinction, were present. As soon as the *Victoria and Albert* arrived, the king went on board, and the meeting between the royal personages was of the most cordial description. The visitors accompanied the king to the shore in the royal barge; and, on landing, the queen of England was introduced to the queen of the French, by Louis-Philippe, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering. Introductions between the other royal personages then took place; shouts of

"*Vive la Reine Victoria!*" "*Vive la Reine d'Angleterre!*" resounded on all sides; and they were continued till the party drove off. In the evening, there was a grand entertainment in the banqueting-room of the Château d'Eu, which was hung round with portraits, in handsome frames; the roof being panelled, richly gilt, and painted with subjects taken from the history of France. There were about forty persons at this banquet; including all the members of the French royal family, except the duchess d'Orleans, who, being in mourning, could not, consistently with French etiquette, dine in public. At table, the queen of England sat between the king and the prince de Joinville, with whom, according to the contemporary accounts, her majesty "carried on a most animated conversation, laughing and talking with much enjoyment and freedom." After dinner, the queen visited the duchess d'Orleans in her apartments, and saw "the young people;" to whom she paid such gratifying attentions, that she speedily became a great favourite.

The next day, being Sunday, was spent quietly at the château; the amusements of a French sabbath being dispensed with, from a feeling of deference to the English guests. On Monday, the 4th, a grand *fête champêtre*, in honour of the queen, was given on Mont d'Orleans, a commanding elevation, in the centre of the forest d'Eu. A handsome tent was pitched there, on the spot commanding the best view; within which was a table, covered with "a luncheon," as it was called, in honour of the English; but it was, in reality, a sumptuous repast, spread for seventy-two persons. A vast number of people were collected in the vicinity of the tent, from the neighbouring villages, by whom the royal and distinguished party, as they arrived, were loudly cheered. The king and the queen of England, and prince Albert and the queen of the French, walked together; and the enthusiasm of the assembled crowds was at its height when, after the repast, Louis-Philippe presented to them his royal and youthful guest. After walking round the height, and enjoying the scenery, the party returned to the château, where a concert took place in the evening. There was a grand military display on the 5th; on the 6th, a similar entertainment to that of the 4th; and on the 7th, the queen and prince Albert were accompanied to the shore by the same royal personages who had received them on their arrival: there they embarked for England, well pleased with their visit, and having left the most favourable impressions behind them. As a memorial of her visit, Louis-Philippe presented a cabinet to the queen; which is described as a most delicate and beautiful piece of workmanship. It is fourteen inches long, by nine wide. On the lid and four sides are paintings, by M. Devilly, representing female costume in five different parts of the world—Europe (on the

lid), French India, Senegambia, the islands of the Indian Ocean, and America.

This visit was not entirely one of pleasure. When the Tuileries was ransacked, in 1848, a private correspondence between Louis-Philippe and Leopold, king of the Belgians, was found; from which it appears, that several political questions were discussed. The marriage of the youthful queen of Spain was one of the subjects which came before the royal party; and then the king of the French first, indirectly, hinted at that scheme of family aggrandisement which he afterwards carried out—not to his honour, and very little to the advantage of any party. It was also then known that the duke de Bordeaux contemplated a visit to England; and Louis-Philippe was urgent that he should not be received at the British court; the queen promised to comply with Louis-Philippe's wishes on this point, if the duke visited her dominions in the character of a pretender to the throne of France.

After the queen and prince Albert left France, the duke de Nemours and the duke de Montpensier made a tour through the south and west of the kingdom. As, during the visit of those royal personages, the French people, wherever they came in contact with their distinguished visitors, had shown such symptoms of respect, and even of affectionate attachment, that it was hard to think any dislike or jealousy of England existed amongst them—so the two princes were received so cordially, that a stranger would have supposed Louis-Philippe's subjects were the most loyal people in the world. There was only one exception: the mayor of Mans—it being resolved, by the municipality, to present an address to the dukes—converted that document into a long political lecture, enforcing some of the popular dogmas of the day. The duke de Nemours made a reply, which was considered very happy and judicious; and, when the affair came to the knowledge of the government, the mayor was dismissed from his office.

About the same time, the young duke de Bordeaux arrived in England, where he spent a few weeks in visiting the seats of several of the nobility; being hospitably entertained, amongst others, by the earl of Shrewsbury, at Alton Towers; and by the duke of Northumberland, at Alnwick Castle. His royal highness, in November, took a house, for a short time, in Belgrave-square, where he held *levées*; one of which, on the 2nd of December, was attended by many of the Carlist peers of France, and also by some members of the chamber of deputies—M. Berryer being one of the number. Both peers and deputies came to England for the purpose of offering their homage to the duke, as the rightful heir to the throne of France. A deputation of peasants and mechanics, also, arrived from Brittany, to pay their tribute of

respect and sympathy to the prince, whom they considered as their king. His royal highness's visit to this country was, ostensibly, made in the character of a private gentleman. He did not appear at court; nor were his pretensions, in any way, recognised or favoured by the royal family or the British government. Louis-Philippe, in one of his letters to the king of the Belgians, expressed the pleasure he felt that queen Victoria, preserving in England the favourable disposition she had manifested at Eu, had not received the duke at court: but the French government appears to have taken alarm at the manifestations made in favour of his royal highness; and remonstrated against his being permitted to reside, and hold *levées*, in this country. Those were acts which the British government felt it could not sanction; and his royal highness received an intimation, that "such proceedings could not be permitted; and that, if they were continued, his presence would be offensive in a country whose hospitality he had abused, by making it the arena of schemes directed against a dynasty with which the British nation was in friendly alliance." On the receipt of this notice the duke immediately left England, which he has never revisited; and, probably, this circumstance is one cause of the enmity which the legitimists of France always display towards this country.

That her majesty did not receive the duke de Bordeaux, excited some surprise in England, and more on the continent; especially as the ex-regent of Spain, Espartero, was in London, and had been presented to her majesty. As the acts of the duke, however, were those of a pretender to the throne, occupied by a prince whom the people of France had recognised, and with whom this country had formed an alliance, the course pursued by queen Victoria appears to have been the only one she could honourably adopt. If the duke had not assumed the bearing of a sovereign, doubtless he would have had that courtesy and sympathy extended to him which her majesty has always manifested for the unfortunate. The case of Espartero was different. Having fought bravely in defence of the right of queen Isabella to the crown, he was chosen regent, after the abdication of the queen-dowager Christina. An insurrection broke out against him, as already mentioned, at the close of 1842. It had its origin in the offence the clergy took at his ecclesiastical reforms, and his having appropriated part of the ecclesiastical revenues to secular purposes. The French government, never favourably disposed towards Espartero, is also thought to have encouraged it. The generals Diego Leon, Concha, O'Donnell, and Ubisonda, were connected with the movement, which also united the opposing elements found in the friends and followers of Don Carlos (the supporters of the ex-regent, the

queen-dowager Christina), and the republicans. They were headed by Narvaez, who had done good service against Don Carlos; but was induced to desert the constitutional cause through jealousy of Espartero. The insurrection was successful: in June, 1833, Corunna, Seville, and several other large towns, declared in favour of Narvaez; and whilst Espartero was besieging Seville, Madrid surrendered to the insurgents, on the 24th of July. On receiving intelligence of this event, he raised the siege, and proceeded to Cadiz, where he only anticipated a party in pursuit of him, under general Concha, just time enough to get on board her majesty's ship *Malabar*. A few of his officers escaped with him; and whilst the new Spanish government deprived him and his friends of their titles, commissions, orders, and decorations, he was received in England, where he arrived about the 20th of August, with every mark of respect, as the champion of constitutional government, and the asserter of the rights of Isabella. On the 20th of October the Cortes met; and on the 6th of November, the two legislative bodies declared, by 209 to 16 votes, that the queen was of age, though she had only just completed her thirteenth year.

Louis-Philippe and his ministers had watched these proceedings with great anxiety, as they did some events which transpired in the kingdom of Greece, to the integrity of which France was one of the guaranteeing parties. Otho, after he got the reins of government fairly into his hands, had greatly abused the patronage of his kingly office, by conferring almost all the state appointments upon Germans—excluding the natives from every really important and responsible trust; and he established a government as near despotism as could be. The Greeks, suffering from the exhaustion of the civil war, sullenly submitted; and more than a *décade* passed away before they resolved to do themselves justice. The conduct of king Otho had been highly displeasing to the powers which placed him on the throne; but he disregarded all the remonstrances they instructed their ambassadors to make; as he did those which the Greek people addressed to him. Finding all efforts to induce him to adopt a national policy were made in vain, the Greeks resolved to redress themselves. They took their steps with great precaution; and carried them out without violence. At two in the morning of the 14th of September, 1843, a few shots fired in the air gave the signal for the people of Athens to assemble. A new ministry had been named; and the members of the old one were arrested in their houses. Joined by the entire garrison, the populace repaired to the palace of the king, and demanded a constitution. His majesty, alarmed, showed himself at a window, and promised to take their demand into consideration, and

consult the ministers, the council of state, and the ambassadors of the foreign powers. He was told, that the ministers were no longer acknowledged; and after a short parley, Otho was wise enough to see his real position, and yield to it. In a very few hours, and without any bloodshed, a new ministry was appointed; the members of the old one were released; and a national convention was summoned, to make a final arrangement of the constitution, securing ministerial responsibility and national representation.

The affairs in the Pacific became this year further complicated by the conduct of admiral Dupetit Thouars. When, in the previous September, he induced Pomare, queen of Otaheite, to place her dominions under the protection of France, he engaged to respect the British missions; and the British ministers evinced no disposition to interfere with that arrangement when it was communicated to them; although they might well have objected to such an interference, on the part of France, with a country which had been on the most friendly terms with the English government, long before the French held any communication with it. The acceptance of the French protectorate by the queen produced tranquillity throughout the island; but it was of short duration. The rival claims of the protestant and Roman catholic missionaries appear first to have disturbed it; and, early in 1843, the queen declared she had been imposed upon, and refused any longer to acknowledge the French protectorate. Mr. Pritchard, the British consul, had resigned his office when that protectorate was established; but he had been requested to resume it; and the French say, that it was through his influence—exerted during the absence of the admiral on the west coast of America, where he remained nearly twelve months—that Pomare was induced to repudiate her agreement with them. But whether this was really the case, or whether the queen acted from her own impulse, prompted by the avowed hostility of the Otaheitans to the French, has never been satisfactorily established. She was not suffered, however, long to defy the power of France. When the admiral returned to Otaheite in November, 1843, he found the French flag struck. The queen refused to order it to be re-hoisted; and he landed some troops—took possession of the island in the name of Louis-Philippe; installed M. d'Aubigny as acting-governor; and declared Papiti a free port. A few months after, the natives were in open rebellion, and some of the French posts were attacked. In the night of the 2nd of March, 1844, Mr. Pritchard was arrested, by order of M. d'Aubigny; a proceeding which was announced, and justified, in the following proclamation, issued on the 3rd:—

“*French Establishment in Oceania.*—A French

sentinel was attacked in the night from the 2nd to the 3rd of March. In reprisal, I have caused to be seized one Pritchard, the only daily mover and instigator of the disturbances of the natives. His property shall be answerable for all damage occasioned to our establishments by the insurgents; and if French blood is spilt, every drop shall recoil on his head.—D'AUBIGNY,

“Commandant Particular to the Society Islands. “Papiti, 3rd March.”

The queen was, at the same time, treated with great rudeness and insolence; and many of the natives, alarmed, fled to the mountains. M. d'Aubigny, on the 5th of March, declared the part of the island to which they had gone in a state of siege; and Mr. Pritchard was kept in the strictest solitary confinement, neither his wife nor his children being permitted to see him. His imprisonment became known to captain Gordon, of her majesty's steamer *Cormorant*, then cruising in the Pacific; and on his interference, M. d'Aubigny agreed to release the prisoner, on condition that he left the island immediately. This he did, being conveyed to Valparaiso in the *Cormorant*, from which port he sailed for England. But the disturbances in the island did not terminate with his departure; and there were many riots and affrays between the French and the natives; in the course of which the English missionaries had their houses wrecked, and their property destroyed. These circumstances were the occasion of much angry discussion in the legislatures and the press of both England and France.

The session of 1844 was opened on the 27th of December, in the chamber of deputies, by the king, who was accompanied by the duke de Nemours, the prince de Joinville, and the duke de Montpensier. On this occasion, the route from the Tuileries was lined by 20,000 troops, 26 companies of the municipal guard, and 1,500 police officers. On entering the chamber, the king ascended the throne with a firm step, and read his speech very impressively. It commenced by stating, that “the good harmony between the powers of the state, and the loyal support afforded the government, had yielded their fruit, in the improving and advancing state of all classes of the citizens.” The effect would be, the restoration of an equilibrium between the revenue and the expenses of the state. “Serious events,” his majesty said, “had occurred in Spain and Greece. Queen Isabella II., summoned so young to the cares of state, was, at that moment, the object of all his solicitude, and of his most affectionate interest. He hoped the issue of events would be most favourable to two nations friendly to France; and that in Greece, as well as in Spain, monarchy would strengthen itself by the mutual respect for the rights of the throne and the public liberties. The sincere friendship which united him to the

queen of Great Britain, and the cordial understanding existing between his government and her majesty's, confirmed him in that hope."—The conclusion of treaties of commerce with the king of Sardinia and the republics of Ecuador and Venezuela; the marriages of the princess Clementine and the prince de Joinville; and the successes in Algeria, where one of his sons was amongst the leaders of the forces; with the enumeration of measures which would be submitted to the legislature, were the other subjects alluded to in the speech; and his majesty concluded by saying, that, "always guided by their devotion and fidelity to France, he and his had never had any other ambition than that of serving her well. It was the assurance of accomplishing that duty which had given him strength through the trials of his life, and which would, to its end, be his encouragement and firmest support."—At the close of the speech, the oaths were administered to the prince de Joinville, as a peer of France; and the session was declared opened.

The next day, M. Sauzet was re-elected president of the chamber of deputies; 170 votes being given for him, out of 307: the four vice-presidents were also re-elected. While these elections were going on, M. Lafitte, as the oldest member, occupied the chair; and before he quitted it, he addressed a brief speech to the deputies; in which he said—"In the course of the labours of the session, opportunities would present themselves for examining whether their prospects and their fortunes would not be engulfed in the abyss which opened at their very doors. Whether the struggle entered on in various localities, between the government and the elective powers, did not contain within itself the seeds of another struggle, still more grave, between the two principles which for fourteen years they had laboured to conciliate. Whether the artificial calm created on the surface of the country, was sufficient for their dignity. Whether disorder and anarchy were not at the foundation of their position; and whether good faith and rectitude in the administration of public affairs, were not preferable to the resources of venality—to a traffic in corruption." These remarks called forth repeated interruptions, which the speaker thought were not warranted by "his age, his character, and his position;" which gave him, he said, "a right to speak, when he considered it useful. He would not, however, carry his investigations any further;" but he called upon the deputies "to bear in mind that factions die away; ministries were changed; systems became exhausted: they, however, remained, and were responsible for the obstacles which the country met with in the development of those resources of power, and of prosperity, which it ought to expect from the revolution of July." He then gave up the chair to M. Sauzet; who said, the first session had done its work; and

he called upon the second to do the same, and thus merit the gratitude of the country. The chamber was then declared constituted.

The deputies were surprised by the speech of M. Lafitte, for which they were not at all prepared; and it no less astonished the public. It was regarded as an indication of a stormy session, and of a firm resolve, on the part of those with whom the veteran banker more immediately acted, to endeavour to extend popular rights, and to limit the system of governing by the influence of patronage, which led to that venality and corruption pointedly alluded to by the speaker. The king—who considered Lafitte, notwithstanding his republican tendencies, as his personal friend—was much displeased; so were the ministers. But, on the whole, the speech did them good rather than harm, as it put them on their guard; and they were not at a loss in what quarters to exert their influence, to neutralise or defeat any hostile or embarrassing movements from the opposition side of the chamber.

The discussion on the address, in the chamber of peers, commenced on the 8th of January, 1844. The draft of that document was read by the duke de Broglie, and it called forth little debate. One passage remotely alluded to the presence of the duke de Bordeaux in England in the previous year; and the duke de Richelieu justified his conduct in visiting his royal highness. In doing so, he "merely considered that he was accomplishing an honourable duty; and he rejected, with indignation, all idea of having been influenced by any criminal intention."—M. de Veyrac said, "Two or three thousand Frenchmen had visited the duke;" and he spoke warmly in their vindication.—M. Guizot explained the course which the government had taken. The young prince had visited Vienna, Dresden, and Berlin. Through her ambassadors, France had protested against his presence in those capitals; and that protest had immediate effect. In England, however, "where liberty and publicity were enjoyed to so great an extent, the government had not the same means of repression as those on the continent possessed." But the queen refused to receive the duke, thus showing her majesty's disapprobation of his visit; and the British government had expressed its displeasure at the manifestations which took place at the duke's residence.—This subject disposed of, another arose out of collisions which had taken place between British cruisers and the French fishing-vessels on the Newfoundland fishing-ground. A Frenchman had been shot by a British officer; and as, after investigation, the British government found that the officer was to blame, it granted a pension to the family of the deceased. These were the only points upon which discussion arose; and the usual amendment in favour of Polish nationality being moved and adopted, the address was carried by 115 votes to 14.

In the address of the deputies, a paragraph was introduced, alluding to the vexed question of the right of search; and expressing a hope, "that negotiations entered into with Great Britain, would tend again to place the commerce of France under the exclusive surveillance of its own flag." The visit of the duke de Bordeaux was also alluded to in this document, which pronounced the alliance between France and the Orleans family "indissoluble"—being cemented by the oaths of king and people. "That oath," it continued, "placed the rights of the dynasty under the imperishable guarantee of the independence and loyalty of the nation; and the public feeling branded with reprobation guilty manifestations;" while "the revolution of July, in punishing the violations of sworn faith, had consecrated, amongst Frenchmen, the sanctity of an oath."

The debate commenced on the 15th of January, and closed on the 27th. It was opened by M. Berryer, who considered the paragraph quoted as aimed at himself and friends; and said they could not think of remaining an instant longer in the chamber—a declaration, however, which he qualified before he closed his speech. He had always, he said, been faithful to the oath he took in 1832; and the legitimist leaders went to London, "to tell the duke de Bourbon salutary truths on the situation of the country, and the past faults of his family. Their representations were favourably received by a prince capable of comprehending, and prepared to hear them, because his soul was pure, and free from resentment; and he was innocent of the faults imputed to his ancestors. The great desire of the legitimist party was, to serve France, to exercise their political rights, to avoid everything tending to civil war, and to unite with the rest of their fellow-countrymen in repelling foreign invasion, even were it undertaken in the interest of their cause. Such was the conspiracy that had taken them to London; and they had no more betrayed their conscience, loyalty, or oaths, than they had violated the written law of the land."—M. Guizot denied that all the legitimists had gone to London with the same innocent views. Some of them "saluted the prince as 'king of the future;' and by others he was addressed as 'actual king.' The prince himself held a petty court; and the convocation of the states-general, in which the 'three orders' were to be represented, was there talked of. The demonstrations were futile. The champion of the legitimist party proceeded to England freely and tranquilly, and returned under the official protection of the French government, without experiencing hindrance or persecution. But it was necessary to repress such manœuvres; as the pilgrimage to Belgrave-square had, in his opinion, no other object than to undo the work of 1830."

Several other legitimists spoke in the same spirit as M. Berryer, and then the discussion

turned on the general policy of the government, which M. Thiers attacked. "He felt bound," he said, "on one occasion—the regency bill—to make a new manifestation of adhesion to the dynasty of July;" but he could not support the policy of the cabinet, which "did not appear to him to be sufficiently national and provident;" it had not increased the material prosperity of the country, nor calmed the public mind. He adduced, as a proof of the last assertion, the fact, "that a puerile event which had just occurred in London, had sufficed to alarm all the powers of the state."—In the course of the debate, the old topics of the opposition—the Eastern question, the right of search, the interference of England in Spain, and the general effects of the English alliance, as depressing and humiliating to France—were dwelt upon by M. Thiers, M. Ducos, M. Billaut, and some other members; and M. Duchâtel and M. Guizot defended their administration—the former showing, that when M. Thiers was in power, he had followed the system he now condemned; the latter going more into detail, especially with respect to the affairs of Spain. With regard to that country and Greece, he said, there was a perfect and cordial understanding with England. Both governments had recognised the new order of things in the latter kingdom. "In the civil war in Spain, which terminated in the accession to power of the moderate monarchical party, France had taken no part against Espartero. She had preserved a tranquil and neutral attitude; had created no obstacles to his government; but had remained a mere spectator of the events which led to his downfall. After the victory, the French government had not joined the victorious party, but assumed an impartial attitude; and he [M. Guizot] did not think proper to recommend the king to send back M. de Salvandy to Madrid, because it might have been construed into an act of triumph, or an act of revenge, on the part of France." He had subsequently appealed to the good judgment and political honesty of the British cabinet, which responded to the appeal; at once admitting, that the rivalry and hostility of the two governments in Spain was a cause of misfortune to that unhappy country; and agreeing that their respective ambassadors should no longer place themselves at the head of the two political parties, into which the Spanish nation was divided; but that both "should take an interest in re-establishing regularity and order in the Peninsula, and in assisting its rulers to develop its constitutional institutions." In the course of the discussion, it transpired that the marriage of the Spanish queen, young as she was, had been determined upon. A Coburg prince, and one of Louis-Philippe's sons, had been suggested as suitable candidates for her hand; but, for political reasons, both had been set aside, and the son of the infante Don Francisco de Paula

selected. England had admitted, that no influence likely to be hostile, or that was naturally foreign to France, should prevail beyond the Pyrenees; and Louis-Philippe had renounced any plans for the aggrandisement of his family by an alliance with the Spanish branch of the Bourbons. Such were the conclusions drawn from the speeches in the chamber, and the public discussions to which those speeches gave rise.

When the separate paragraphs of the address came under consideration, various amendments were proposed, all of which were negatived. The paragraph referring to the duke de Bordeaux's English visit was the last, and the legitimists strongly opposed it. The use of the word *flétrir* [brand] was condemned by all the legitimist speakers. M. Lasteyrie read the definition of the word, as given in the dictionary of the French Academy. It conveyed the idea of infamy. And he asked if it was intended "to attach infamy to a demonstration which in itself had nothing criminal." He demanded the suppression of the word.—M. de Larochefajuelin said—"If the paragraph were adopted with the word *flétrir* in it, he, as a man of honour, could not think of continuing any longer to sit in the chamber." He moved to substitute the word *réprimander* [reprove]. The amendment was negatived; the legitimists, twenty in number, declining to vote upon it. As soon as the decision was announced, they all rose and left the chamber. The address was then adopted; 220 members voting for, to 190 against it.

The Bordeaux question was discussed out of the chamber, as well as by the deputies. Several journals avowed legitimist views and opinions; but the *Gazette de France* and the *Quotidienne* went further. They openly advocated the duke de Bordeaux's pretensions; and the propriety of "an adhesion to another form of government than that established in France." The king and his ministers were also attacked; their specific acts and general policy being alike unsparingly condemned. Both the journals were prosecuted. M. Méry, the responsible editor of the *Gazette*, made no defence. He suffered judgment to go by default, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, with a fine of 6,000f. (£240). The editor of the *Quotidienne*, M. Vaugrigneuse, took his trial, and was found guilty. His sentence was one year's imprisonment, and a fine of 8,000f. (£320).

On the 2nd of February, M. Villemain introduced, into the chamber of peers, a project for converting certain schools, established under the authority of the university, into a class of ecclesiastical seminaries, subject to the visitation of the priests. Since 1830, the university, and the schools emanating from that institution, had been exempted from the superintendence and control of the clergy; but the Jesuits, though excluded by law from the French territory,

had, nevertheless, quietly contrived to retain their footing in the country, and gradually to open establishments in various quarters, till, in 1844, they possessed twenty-seven extensive and wealthy ones in the departments of France. Père Roothan was, at that time, the head of the order at Rome, and with him the French Jesuits kept up a constant correspondence. They were also in alliance with the remains of the *parti-prêtre*, which was by no means extinguished, though its connection with the court had ceased since 1830; and, as ministers began to be sensible of declining strength in their electoral struggles, they evinced a disposition to avail themselves of the support of its members, which could only be obtained through the priests. The latter were very desirous of getting the control of the education of the country again into their hands; and M. Villemain was induced, by his colleagues, to bring forward the project above-mentioned. It was firmly resisted by the liberals, headed by M. Cousin; but the measure was carried by the government, though M. Villemain himself was never very zealous in its support.

The affairs of Otaheite afforded the next subject for debate; and the idea of the continued prevalence of "English influence," which had taken possession of the minds of some deputies, caused it to assume a very animated character. Though the ministers denied it, there is no doubt that influence had, in the case before the chamber, some weight. On the 16th of February, intelligence was received in Paris and London, that admiral Dupetit Thouars had, in the previous November, occupied Otaheite, and compelled the queen to hoist the French flag. This proceeding was highly disapproved of by the British ministers, though they did not object to the protectorate; and their views were communicated, by the earl of Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel, to the count de St. Aulaire, in a non-official conversation. Louis-Philippe was not disposed to raise a fresh dispute with England on this question. "We have enough on our hands already," he said to M. Guizot, "with the right of search." The minister was of the same opinion; and, on the 26th, a notice in the *Moniteur* appeared, disavowing the proceedings of the admiral, and declaring that, although the government had sanctioned the protectorate, no authority had been given to its officers to take possession of the territory, or to interfere with the sovereignty of queen Pomare. On the 29th, M. Carné brought the subject before the chamber of deputies; wishing to know why the acts of admiral Dupetit Thouars had been disavowed? "It was considered by all," he said, "that the possession of Otaheite would present great advantages for the national interests in that part of the globe. The conduct of the admiral had met with universal approbation; and it was natural to suppose that the public would not

read without surprise, in the *Moniteur*, the disavowal of his proceedings. It was more a question of national honour, however, than a political one. The banner of France had been planted on Otaheite, and could not be struck without dishonour. He ascribed the opposition of queen Pomare to the treaty, to the influence of Mr. Pritchard; and attributed the disavowal of the admiral's proceedings to the influence of England. If that disavowal was the free act of the government, why wait from the 16th to the 26th of February before it appeared?"—M. Guizot said, that, by the treaty of the 9th of September, 1842, the French admiral in the Pacific had merely accepted, provisionally, in the name of the king, the protectorate of the Society Islands. On the 28th of April, 1843, he [M. Guizot] had forwarded instructions to the admiral, and to M. Bruat, the governor of the Marquesas, and the commissioner for Otaheite, to have a perfect understanding with the queen and the chiefs on all domestic affairs, and to attend to the strict execution of the treaty. At first, the English missionaries had endeavoured to prevail on the queen and the chiefs to evade and ignore the terms of that agreement; and they were abetted by the English naval officers on the station. But, as the French government offered no opposition to the protectorate of England over the Sandwich Islands, England recognised the French protectorate of Otaheite; and when this was notified to the English officers in the Pacific, and to the missionaries, all opposition ceased. Admiral Dupetit Thouars, who had been absent a year, found no difficulty, when he returned, that could not have been surmounted by the exercise of a little moderation and wisdom, without having recourse to force. "The admiral had committed an egregious error in starting the question of the flag, and had deported himself neither with prudence nor wisdom throughout the affair. He had a right to demand the execution of the treaty, whether the queen had signed it voluntarily, or under the influence of fear; but he was not justified in taking forcible possession of her dominions. Under these circumstances, the government conceived that the admiral had exceeded his powers, and did not hesitate to disavow his acts. That disavowal had been the spontaneous act of the government, and was not the result of any exterior influence whatever."—This explanation was not considered satisfactory by the opposition; and, after M. Billaut and M. Dufaure had attacked the policy of the government with great ability, M. Ducos moved, that "the chamber, without approving of the conduct of the minister, pass to the order of the day."—M. Guizot proposed an adjournment, saying, that he would bring forward some additional facts on the following day. He, however, instead of addressing the

chamber again on that occasion, said, if the house adopted the resolution, which was an indirect censure on the government, he and his colleagues would resign. The resolution was put to the vote, when the ayes were 187; the noes, 233. The minority, however, though with justice on their side, had the public with them; and, in all societies, indignation at the dishonour asserted to have been offered to the French flag, and at the influence of England, was expressed.

The subject was not allowed to drop. In the chamber, on the 27th of May, a project of law, relative to the supplementary credit for 1843 and 1844, came before the deputies. The first sum asked for was 600,000*f.* for extraordinary missions. M. Berryer took the opportunity of again introducing the occurrences at Otaheite; taking, in his speech, a review of the French proceedings in Oceania, since 1827. He contended, that the French had a prior possession and occupancy of New Zealand, of which they had been deprived by England; and having traced admiral Dupetit Thouars' conduct through the transactions at Otaheite, he maintained that he was justified in all he had done; and ought to have been praised, not censured, for acts which had ended in the establishment of French power in Otaheite. "Within eight months of that event, queen Pomare would be informed of the disavowal of the admiral's act; and the *Moniteur*, with its disastrous words, would be thrust under M. Dupetit Thouars' nose by an English subject." He quite approved of diplomatic missions being sent to the most remote parts of the globe, "because it was indispensable that the French flag should wave and command respect on all the seas; and that France, being as she was, a commercial and maritime nation, should possess a station in Oceania, for the protection of her trade, and the revictualling of her merchant navy: he could not, therefore, help expressing his disapprobation at the abandonment of her acquired rights over Otaheite, because the occupation of that archipelago gave umbrage to a rival power."—M. Guizot justified the claim of Great Britain to New Zealand, from its discovery by captain Cook, and the frequent visitations from 1790 to 1814. Those islands came into the possession of the British by regular treaties with the chiefs; and when captain Lavand, with the French expedition, arrived, he found that they had legally passed under the dominion of Great Britain. France then directed its attention to another part of Oceania; the result was, the occupation of the Marquesas, and the establishment of a protectorate over the Society Islands: further than that, the interests of the country did not require them to go.—M. Thiers blamed the ministry, with respect to Otaheite, for three things—"First, for going there at all; secondly, for not foreseeing the difficulties the admiral would have to encounter;

and, thirdly, for disavowing him. England had not disavowed her admiral, who had taken possession of the Sandwich Islands; and France ought to have followed her example."

This discussion produced no results; but the imprisonment and expulsion of Mr. Pritchard, which was known in France and England in July, gave rise to angry feelings in both countries. Pritchard arrived in England, in the *Vindictive*, from Valparaiso; and whilst his account of his seizure and imprisonment roused the indignation of the English people, the French press treated the affair as one of which that country, and not England, had a right to complain. The government at London took up the matter very warmly. "I do not hesitate to declare," said Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, "that a gross insult, accompanied by a gross indignity, has been committed. The insult was offered by a person clothed with a temporary authority in Otaheite; and, so far as we can discover, by the direction of the French government. I trust that government will make the reparation which, in our opinion, England has a right to demand." The duke of Wellington and the earl of Aberdeen spoke to the same effect in the House of Lords; and immediate representations were made to the French foreign minister, through the British ambassador at Paris, of the views which were entertained by his government. Both the king and M. Guizot were found ready to listen to them, and to inquire temperately into the merits of the transaction.—The chambers were still in session when this fresh topic of contention arose. The opposition demanded explanations; and M. Guizot was questioned, by several deputies, as to the course the government proposed to take, to meet the tone adopted by the British ministers. M. Guizot declined entering into detailed explanations. He observed, in reply to his opponents' demands, that "there were questions of fact and of international right to discuss between the two governments, which did not always form fit subjects to bring before the chamber. There were moments when discussion threw light on a subject; there were others when it brought nothing but fire. It would never do to discuss, from the tribunes of either house, the diplomatic transactions of the government as they were treated in the daily journals. He was so convinced that it was for the lasting interest of both governments, that the questions connected with Otaheite, admiral Dupetit Thouars, and Mr. Pritchard, should not be debated, that he absolutely refused to go into them. But, when things had followed their natural course; when the opinion and conduct of the governments had been maturely determined; when the facts of the case, and the mutual rights of the parties, had been fully ascertained between the two governments,

he would be the first to come forward, and invite a parliamentary discussion on the subject." The case was left, therefore, in the hands of the two governments. In the negotiations that ensued, M. Guizot maintained, that the French authorities at Otaheite had a right to expel any foreigner who should disturb public order; and that, in the case of Mr. Pritchard, that right was properly exercised. But the authorities at home, he added, thought he was treated with great harshness, in being kept in confinement eight days, and not even allowed to see his wife and children. What the admiral and the governor ought to have done was, to have compelled him to leave the island at once. In taking the course they did, it was allowed they had committed an injustice, and that Mr. Pritchard was entitled to an indemnity. The amount of that indemnity was settled, and the affair ended between the two governments; but it was not suffered to die away by the French press. Continued angry articles appeared on the subject; and in one of them it was maintained, that "the disavowal of M. Dupetit Thouars was a worse act than the *ordonnance* of July. M. de Polignac violated their liberties; M. Guizot had sacrificed their honour." The one was described as wishing to weaken the revolution, the other to weaken France; and it was asked, "which was the greatest criminal, M. de Polignac or M. Guizot? He who sacrificed the revolution at the feet of the grand alliance, or he who had put France at the feet of England?" It was asserted, that the last was infinitely the most culpable; and the feeling was kept up till the next meeting of the chambers, when the ministers only narrowly escaped a defeat on the Otaheite question.

The finances this year, notwithstanding the apparent prosperity of the country, were in anything but a satisfactory state. With the expenditure slightly increased, the revenue had not improved; and in addition to a deficiency of 371,000,000f. (£1,484,000) in the current year, one of 396,000,000f. (£1,584,000) was anticipated for the next. No new taxes could be imposed; so extraordinary credits were voted; and when the chambers rose early in August, the financial prospects of the kingdom were far from promising.

The session, although the policy of the ministers was frequently attacked, had passed over more quietly than was anticipated at the commencement. The menacing speech of M. Lafitte had not been followed up by any demonstrations of the liberal party; except another abortive attempt to carry the project for excluding placemen from the chamber of deputies. A great gloom was cast over that party by the death of M. Lafitte, on the 26th of May. He was in his seventy-eighth year; and apart from his political principles, which, of course, made him many

political enemies, he appears to have been universally respected. At one time pecuniary losses pressed upon him; but he had risen above the threatened storm: the sale of his property left him 8,000,000*f.* (£320,000), after his debts were paid; and he was, therefore, always enabled to maintain his position amongst the wealthy middle classes, over whom he exercised considerable influence. His funeral took place on the 30th. The corpse was followed to the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise by the most eminent personages: and the funeral oration was pronounced over it by Arago.—Shortly after, on the 3rd of June, the duke d'Angoulême died at Goritz. He was the lineal heir to the French throne after Charles X., had it remained in the hands of the elder branch of the Bourbons: but he had joined that monarch in abdicating in favour of the duke de Bordeaux, the son of the duke de Berri, his younger brother—who now remained the sole representative of that once illustrious house. Upon the death of his uncle, the duke addressed a circular to the courts of Europe; declaring that, although he did not relinquish his claim to the throne of France, he only intended to exercise his right, "when Providence, to his conviction, should summon him to be really useful to his country." From that time, he stated, he should adopt the title of the count de Chambord—taking his title from the village of Chambord, whose fine castle, commenced by Francis I., and finished by Louis XIV., and the park, twenty-one miles in circumference, were purchased for him in 1821.

There was little in the domestic history of France, during the summer of 1844, that calls for observation. The royal family and the ministers were absent from Paris a good part of the time; and as the autumn approached, the king was preparing for a return visit which he intended to pay to England. Before he started, on the 4th of October, he issued an *ordonnance* granting an amnesty to all political offenders, whose penalties, pronounced previously to 1844, were to expire before the 1st of January, 1847; and to twelve other political prisoners sentenced to imprisonment for various terms, from six to twenty years, or to banishment. The measure was well received, and obtained for his majesty a temporary popularity.

The next day, Louis-Philippe left the Château d'Eu for England, where he was invited to spend a few days with her majesty at Windsor. He embarked at Tréport, being accompanied by the duke de Montpensier, M. Guizot, and admiral de Mackau, and attended by a numerous suite. The party embarked on board the *Gower* steam-ship. The time of departure being evening, the pier was illuminated in a singular manner. About fifty fishermen's wives—fine sturdy women—each bearing a flambeau, formed a double line, through which the king and his

attendants passed. Portsmouth was the port made for; and the *Gower*, which was followed by two steamers, the *Caiman* and the *Elan*, arrived off the coast at six o'clock the following morning. At Spithead, the little squadron encountered the *St. Vincent* and the *Queen*, two ships of the line, of 120 and 110 guns; the former bearing the flag of admiral Sir Charles Rowley. Eight experimental gun-brigs, and several yachts, belonging to the Royal Yacht Squadron, were also stretched out to seaward; constituting at first a line of signal-ships; and then, turning into the wake of the French vessels, forming an escort of honour. It was seven o'clock when the *Gower* arrived off the Victoria pier. Before his majesty landed, the mayor and the corporation came on board, to present an address, which the king received in the saloon. The address expressed the pleasure of the corporation at his majesty's visit; and the hope, that it would lead "to a more enlarged and general intercourse between the two countries, which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, would contribute to their mutual welfare, to the preservation of the peace of Europe, and to the advantage of every part of the habitable globe." The king replied in English. He said, he "had not forgotten the many kindnesses he had received from their countrymen, during his residence among them many years since. During that period, he was often considerably pained at the existence of differences and feuds between the two countries. He should endeavour, at all times, to prevent a repetition of those feelings and conduct; believing, as he most sincerely did, that the happiness and prosperity of a nation depended quite as much on the peace of those countries by which she was surrounded, as on quiet within her own dominions." He expressed the gratification he felt at the visit of the queen to France in the previous autumn; and his hope, that the kind feelings then existing "would be long cherished between the nations, and tend to promote the happiness and prosperity of mankind." His majesty greatly pleased the members of the corporation by his affable and courteous manner. He himself appeared greatly pleased and interested with all he saw, and with the mementos of "auld lang syne," that presented themselves to his recollection. Before the corporation departed, the recorder asked his majesty for a copy of his reply to the address; he said, with great feeling, "I have no copy: my words came from my heart."

After the corporation left, the steamer entered the victualling-yard; and, about half-past ten, prince Albert and the duke of Wellington, who had just arrived from Windsor, came on board; and there was a very warm greeting between the two royal personages—the king embracing the prince, and saluting him in the continental

fashion, on each cheek. He also seized both the duke of Wellington's hands, and shook them very cordially. There was a vast number of people assembled to witness the landing; and a more warm and hearty reception could not have been given to any one than that the king of the French received. Every symptom of rejoicing was evinced in the town; and the royal party proceeded to the railway station, amidst the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, the waving of banners, and the cheering of the people. The duchess of Kent, and several members of the ministry, were at Windsor, where the king remained till the 12th of October; and the time appears to have been most agreeably spent. It was his majesty's intention to have returned by the *Gower*, landing at Tréport, where he embarked; and the queen, prince Albert, and the duke of Wellington accompanied him to Portsmouth, notwithstanding the weather was very unfavourable, the rain falling in torrents. On arriving at that port, a strong gale was blowing; and as it was deemed by the naval authorities almost impossible that the royal party could land safely at Tréport, they came to London, and proceeded to France, by Dover, to Calais. The queen and prince Albert took leave of their royal guest at Portsmouth; and the king left at a quarter-past seven, having been preceded by the duke of Wellington and colonel Bouverie, who started for the metropolis at half-past four, to make the necessary arrangements. At the Nine Elms station, Vauxhall, Sir James Graham, and several directors of the railway, were in waiting, to receive the king, his son, and friends, for whom one of the royal carriages had been prepared. They started at half-past ten, for New Cross station, where they were to take the Dover train; and were alarmed, as they approached it, by the appearance of flames. A large building at the station was on fire; and it was with difficulty that the king and his party got to the carriages prepared for them. His majesty appeared to feel much regret at the accident, and expressed a hope that the directors were well insured. After a little delay, the king, the duke de Montpensier, M. Guizot, and a part of his suite, were again on their journey; but, in the confusion, it was found impossible to provide carriages for all. Those who were left behind followed, with the luggage, two hours after. It was half-past 2 A.M., on the 13th of October, when the royal travellers reached Dover. They were taken to the Ship hotel; and at day-break, the firing of a royal salute made the unexpected arrival known to the inhabitants. The corporation, brief as was the time, assembled, and prepared an address, which the king received at the hotel. In his reply, his majesty said, "that he left England with a heart deeply impressed by the kind greeting he had received from, and the friendly feelings which had been evinced towards

him by, all classes of her majesty's subjects; and, above all, by the many tokens of friendship and affection which he had received from her majesty. They gave him a favourable opportunity of manifesting towards England those sentiments of amity so essential to the maintenance of peace, and to that good understanding between the two countries which it had ever been the aim and object of his policy to establish. He was most happy to find those sentiments congenial to the wishes of the British nation; and he had no doubt but that they would be reciprocated in his own country."

It was arranged that the king, his son, M. Guizot, and suite, should cross the channel in the French post-office steamer *Nord*, escorted by the English government steamers *Ariel* and *Swallow*. The party embarked at eleven o'clock, after a hasty breakfast; and his majesty being safely landed at Calais, reached Eu the same evening. At the château, which at that time, according to Jules Janin, "had become a kind of chapel of ease to the Château de Neuilly," the king rejoined his family, and met that welcome from them which no man more thoroughly appreciated. At this period, his majesty, as we are informed by no mean authority, in domestic life was happy as a husband and a father. The queen—"modest, amiable, clever"—had married him when he was only a fugitive; and their affection appears never to have ceased. She "loved him at first because he was unhappy, because he was poor—a wanderer, an exile—exposed even to the reproaches of those relations among whom he emigrated. She loved him next for the fortitude with which he supported his ill fortune—for his patience—for the noble life he led, in the enjoyment of domestic happiness." On the throne her love did not diminish; and she shared with him in his affection for his children; and "to bring them up, to instruct," and, it must be added, "to enrich them, seemed his peculiar province. He early understood, that a large family is, in our days, for princes, the most excellent, the least ruinous, and the most easily pardoned of all luxuries." His sons "were all brought up at college, among other children of their age; followed the same courses, contended for the same prizes; and of these prizes, so envied, and so disputed, they won their share." They were, at that time, for their father, "a delightful subject of paternal diligence and zeal;" they were "his joy and his pride;" and his happiest hours were spent with them and his amiable queen.* The prospects of this attached family never appeared to be brighter than at the period of which we are now writing. Three years later they were exiles and fugitives.

The king did not suffer his love of domestic pleasures to attract him from a due attention to public business. He rose at a very early hour—sometimes at four o'clock—and perused any

* Jules Janin.

documents that required his attention. We have been informed, that he never confirmed any criminal proceedings without reading through all the evidence. His forenoons were devoted to his ministers; his evenings to his family: and his love for his sons—his wish to gain them wealth and connections—led to the events which are the greatest blots on his character; the acquisition of the property of the last prince de Condé, and the marriage of the duke de Montpensier with the Spanish infanta, which took place in 1846. It is due to Louis-Philippe to say, that the Spanish alliance was first suggested to him by the queen-dowager, Christina, when she was exercising the authority of regent. In 1840, her majesty formally proposed, that the duke d'Aumale should be betrothed to the then infant queen; and that the duke de Montpensier should be affianced to her sister, the infanta, Louisa Fernanda. His majesty, in reply, said it would afford him great pleasure to see the marriage between the duke de Montpensier and the infanta; but he declined the alliance with the queen, chiefly because he was fearful of interrupting the *entente cordiale* with England, being well aware the government of that country would not like to see a French prince on the throne of Spain. It was indeed rumoured, that the English court had its own views with respect to the matrimonial destination of the queen; and that Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, a relative of prince Albert's, was the prince whom they wished to see honoured with her hand. After Louis-Philippe declined the alliance, queen Christina certainly favoured that of the Saxe-Coburg family, and herself wrote to the reigning duke of Saxe-Coburg, offering the hand of her daughter to his cousin, prince Leopold. Some French writers assert, that she did so with the declared approbation of Sir Henry Bulwer, at that time the British ambassador at Madrid. But lord John Russell, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, who were in office when these offers were made [1840 and 1841], declared, that they "made up their minds not to propose to Spain a candidate for the queen's hand, or to concern themselves in any way with the internal government of that country." They never, for a moment, entertained a wish to put prince Leopold forward; nor did her majesty, queen Victoria, desire that that prince should become a candidate for the hand of the queen of Spain. Sir Robert Peel, also, for his cabinet, said, that as "long as they were in power, they never made any attempt to obtain for a prince of the house of Saxe-Coburg the hand of the queen of Spain." If Sir Henry Bulwer, therefore, did approve of the application of the regent to the reigning duke, it was evidently without the knowledge of his government; but we cannot suppose that he would take such an important step upon his own responsibility.

When the queen-dowager, Christina, went to Paris, after her abdication of the regency, the subject of the marriage was renewed, *viva voce*, between her majesty and Louis-Philippe. And then it was suggested by the king, that Isabella's husband should be a prince of her own family—one of the descendants of Philip V. Of these descendants, with whom a marriage might be concluded, three were sons of Don Carlos, Isabella's rival for the throne; and two were sons of Don Francisco de Paula. The queen-dowager assented to this proposal, and the concurrence of the court of Great Britain was solicited. The earl of Aberdeen was then foreign minister to queen Victoria; and he declined, on the part of her government, being a party to the arrangement. When the queen visited the Château d'Eu, in 1843, the matter was discussed between her majesty, Louis-Philippe, and their ministers; but it was still left undecided. At Windsor, during the time of Louis-Philippe's visit, it was again brought on the *tapis*; and then it was definitely arranged that the queen should select a husband from her cousins, and that the marriage of the duke de Montpensier to the infanta should not take place till *children* (more than one) were born to Isabella. Delayed till that period, the queen of Great Britain withdrew her objection to the marriage, upon which Louis-Philippe appeared to have set his mind; and he was equally anxious that the Coburg alliance should not take place. On that point, however, lord Aberdeen assured him he might be perfectly at ease. "I engage," said his lordship, "that the pretensions of prince Leopold shall neither be advanced nor supported by England; and you shall experience no annoyance from them."*

This was the state of affairs at the close of 1844. During that year, Spain had been again disturbed by revolutions and civil war. Narvaez (who, since Isabella had been declared of age, had been president of the council of ministers), on the 28th of October, abolished the constitution of 1837; and he proposed another, of a much less liberal character—approaching very nearly to the old despotism. This act called forth great disapprobation, and resistance was manifested in many parts of the kingdom; but the army was in favour of Narvaez, and enabled him successfully to carry out the change. Martin Zurbano, the old guerilla chief, attempted, early in November, to raise an insurrection in favour of the constitution which Narvaez had abolished; but he was defeated: two of his sons were made prisoners, and shot; and he shared their fate not long afterwards. On the 4th of December, the Cortes, by a

* The authorities for this statement, and for what will be hereafter said on the subject, are the *Parliamentary Debates*, Regnault's *History*, Guizot's *Life of Peel*, and private letters of Louis-Philippe, found at the Tuileries in 1848, and published in the *Revue Retrospective*.

majority of 124 to 26, adopted Narvaez's project of a constitution; and absolutism was, to a great extent, restored in Spain.

In Greece, the popular movement, at the close of 1843, ended in the establishment of a really liberal and constitutional form of government. That movement had been promoted and supported by Russia, but from a wish to establish her own influence at Athens, instead of that of Bavaria, and not with the object of giving a popular and constitutional monarchy to Greece. The new constitution was accepted by Otho on the 16th of March, 1844; and the Russian minister, M. Kataensy, was immediately recalled to St. Petersburg. The ambassadors of France and England, M. Piscatory and Sir Edmund Lyons, on the contrary, acting in conformity with instructions from M. Guizot and the earl of Aberdeen, rendered every assistance in their power to the king and the constitutionalists. On this subject, at first, the most complete accord reigned between the cabinets of Paris and London; but it was interrupted soon after the formal acceptance of the constitution by the king. M. Metaxas was at the head of the cabinet popularly appointed in September, 1843. He and his colleagues resigned soon after the new regulations had been accepted and promulgated; and then the two governments sup-

ported rival candidates for the office of prime minister. M. Colletti, who, from a long residence in Paris, was well known to the French statesmen, was strongly recommended to king Otho by M. Piscatory; whilst M. Mavrocordato, who was equally familiar with the leading men in London, had the interest of Sir Edmund Lyons exerted in his favour. The latter was appointed on the 11th of April; and for several months carried on the government, without any signs of opposition from M. Colletti, or jealousy on the part of the French minister. By degrees, however, an opposition was got up in the chamber; and on the 18th of August the ministry resigned, in consequence of a hostile vote. M. Colletti and M. Metaxas held the chief posts in the new cabinet; and from that time there was no cordial understanding between France and England with respect to the affairs of that kingdom, which they had been so instrumental in forming. While lord Aberdeen remained at the English foreign-office, however, there were no open breaches, nor any ostensible hostile rivalry between the two embassies at Athens; and it was only those acquainted with cabinet secrets who were aware that any difference really existed between the governments of Paris and London on this question.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SESSION, 1845; RETIREMENT OF M. VILLEMAIN; DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS; DISCUSSION UPON THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE JESUITS; THE RIGHT OF SEARCH; FIRE AT TOULON; PUBLIC DELINQUENCES; WHIRLWIND AT ROUEN; FOREIGN RELATIONS; EXPEDITION TO MADAGASCAR; DISTURBANCES AT OTAHEITE; SESSION OF 1846; THE JESUITS AGAIN; DEBATE ON REFORM; ATTEMPT ON THE KING'S LIFE; MODIFICATIONS IN THE MINISTRY; ESCAPE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON FROM HAM; DEATH OF POPE GREGORY XVI., AND ELECTION OF PIUS IX.; DISSOLUTION OF THE DEPUTIES, AND FRESH ELECTIONS; ANOTHER ATTEMPT ON THE KING'S LIFE; MR. COBDEN IN PARIS; THE SPANISH MARRIAGES; DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE; TERRIBLE INUNDATIONS; MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE DE BORDEAUX; DISTRESS IN FRANCE; POLAND; GREECE; ITALY.

THE session of 1845 was opened on the 26th of December, 1844, by the king, who was accompanied to the chambers by the queen and royal family. His majesty, in his speech, alluded to the war with Morocco,* which had ended in victory and peace; and to the dissensions with the British government, "which might have given rise to apprehensions that the relations between the two states would be weakened. A mutual spirit of good-will and equity had, however, maintained that happy accord which guaranteed the peace of the world." The visit he had paid to the queen of Great Britain, had,

his majesty remarked, afforded "fresh pledges for the long duration of that general peace which secured to France abroad a position dignified and strong; and at home a prosperity ever increasing;" and his "relations with all the foreign powers continued pacific and amicable." The "prosperous state of France" was dilated upon; and was said to be shown in "the improvement of national credit; and the equilibrium established between the annual receipts and the expenses." His majesty concluded by observing, that, "amidst the prosperity of the country, Heaven had blessed the interior of his family, by increasing the number of his children; and by other events, which had been, to him and his, a source of lively satisfaction."

* The war with the emperor of Morocco arose out of the conquest of Algeria; a narrative of its origin, progress, and results, will be found in chap. xxv.

M. Sauzet was again elected president of the chamber of deputies. The four vice-presidents were, MM. Salvandy, Bignon, de Belleyne, and Dufaure; the latter being a member of the opposition. The election of these officers occupied two days, as several ballots took place. When the chamber was constituted, the first business was the introduction of the budget, on the 29th of December, by M. Lacave Laplagne. He prefaced the details by congratulating the chamber upon the increased prosperity of the country. Last year a loan was necessary, on account of the augmented grants to several public departments, particularly those of public works, post-office, war, and the navy. That loan had been contracted at a higher rate than was expected, partly on account of the prosperity to which he had alluded, and partly on account of the mode in which it had been managed. After going through the details, the finance minister said, that the receipts for 1846 were estimated at 1,306,027,832f. (£52,241,113); the expenditure, at 1,302,508,386f. (£52,100,335); showing the unusual result of a surplus of income over expenditure, to the amount of 3,519,446f. (£140,778).

This was the only business transacted before the year closed; which it did under favourable auspices, as far as the state of the finances, of external commerce, and of internal trade and industry was concerned. The improvement which had taken place in the revenue, as well as the increased exports and imports, and the flourishing state of the manufactures of the country, were the results of that system of policy which the Soult-Guizot ministry had pursued—a policy which had preserved peace abroad, and led to the development of the national resources at home. In maintaining peace, the ministers had not compromised the honour or dignity of France; but they had had to encounter great opposition in the chambers and from the press, on the pretence that they had sacrificed both. That opposition was not diminished; and in the session of 1845, it was, on several occasions, displayed with unabated vigour.

When the chambers met, in 1845, it was announced that M. Villemain, the minister of public instruction, was, from the state of his mind, brought on by severe domestic distress; obliged to resign his office. On the 9th of January, marshal Soult applied to the chambers for a pension of 15,000f. (£600) per annum, for the ex-minister; who, though he had filled many important public offices, had no private fortune; and his family was totally unprovided for. The pension was granted; and M. de Salvandy, one of the vice-presidents of the chamber of deputies, was appointed minister of public instruction.

The discussion on the address, in the chamber of peers, did not commence till the 13th of January. It brought out count Molè as an

opponent of Guizot. The count said, "he was in favour of peace and of the English alliance; and there was not a man of sense in the country who was not." But, he "blamed the excessive anxiety of the minister for foreign affairs to maintain it; and also the means employed for that purpose; which had the effect," he contended, "of exciting against that alliance all the national susceptibilities." He wanted to know what had been done with respect to the right of search? and "condemned the occupation of Otaheite; charging the government with great imprudence in taking that step, as the ministers must have known the English government would not regard it with indifference."—M. Guizot remarked, that count Molè had, hitherto, supported the policy he now condemned, in which no changes had taken place since the last session. As regarded the alliance with Great Britain, he said—"The questions which might have impaired the harmony between the two nations, had been regularly and pacifically solved, except the right of search. Upon that question, he had represented to the British cabinet the necessity of devising some other means of attaining the common end—the suppression of the slave-trade; and it was agreed that commissioners should shortly meet to consider propositions for that purpose, equally efficacious, but different from the right of search." There was more discussion to the same effect; and, when that subject was dropped, the count de Montalembert raised another, upon the moral condition of the country, which he described as being in the most unsatisfactory state; and attributed it to the neglect with which the clergy were treated, and the disrespect, in every way, shown to religion.—M. Martin du Nord, the minister of justice, contended, on the contrary, that, "at no period had religion and the clergy enjoyed greater protection since 1830."—The manner in which the Morocco war was conducted, and the terms of peace—"no satisfaction for a single grievance of France having been obtained by the treaty"—were also objected to by the prince of Moscow.—The debate extended to the 18th of January, when the address was adopted by 114 votes to 39.

The general discussion on the address in the deputies, was commenced on the 20th, and closed on the 22nd. The same topics were gone over as in the peers; MM. de Tocqueville, Thiers, and M. Dupin being the speakers on the side of the opposition; against MM. Peyramont and Guizot for the government. Both in the debate on the *ensemble*, and in that upon the separate paragraphs of the address, the indemnity given to Mr. Pritchard was made the subject of severe remark. When the third paragraph was under consideration, the opinion of the chamber was tested upon that question. In that paragraph, satisfaction was expressed, that "incidents which, at the first moment, appeared calculated to

disturb the friendly relations existing between France and England," had been adjusted; and that a "mutual feeling of good-will and equity had maintained between the two states a happy accord."—M. Leon de Malleville moved, that, instead of the latter part of the paragraph, the following should be substituted:—"We are happy to learn, that the accord so necessary to the repose of the world, has been maintained between the two states; but we regret that, in granting a reparation which was not due, the rules of justice and reciprocity, which France should always respect, were not sufficiently taken into account." There was a very animated debate on this amendment. It was considered as implying a want of confidence in the government; and M. Guizot, after having eloquently defended the conduct of himself and colleagues generally, and especially in the Pritchard affair, which had caused the English government to be charged with the same errors and the same faults as were now laid at the door of the French cabinet—said, "The policy pursued, during the last four years, had been good and honest; useful to the country, conducive to its interests, and morally great. In order to succeed, it required the frank and firm support of the great powers of the state; and, if that support failed completely, or was not sufficiently firm to enable the ministry to continue that policy with success, he and his colleagues would cease to charge themselves with it." The amendment was rejected; but the majority was very small, on the show of hands; and some of the deputies declared it was carried. The chamber adjourned amidst a scene of great confusion; and the next day (January 27th), the discussion on the paragraph was resumed. There were only three speakers—MM. Billaut and Odillon Barrot against, and M. Dumon, minister of public works, for, the government. Twenty members then demanded a secret ballot, which resulted in the paragraph being adopted; but only by a majority of 8: 213 for, to 205 against. As this slender majority was considered equivalent to a vote of "no confidence," the opposition assumed that the ministers would, after the declaration of M. Guizot on the previous day, not continue to hold office; and M. Thiers, as soon as the vociferous cheering that took place after the numbers were declared, had subsided, exclaimed—"There being no ministry, I advise my friends to decline all further discussion on the address." That deputy, and a great many others, immediately left the chamber. The ministry remained, and pressed forward the remaining paragraphs, which were adopted without amendment. When the entire address was put to the vote, the numbers were—ayes, 216; noes, 33. Ministers tendered their resignations to his majesty the same evening; but, at his entreaty, they consented to remain in office, and endeavour to carry on the government.

During the next three months, the legislature was chiefly occupied with routine matters, of no general interest. On the 2nd of May, M. Thiers introduced a subject which always causes excitement when alluded to in an assembly wholly or chiefly composed of Roman catholics. He complained of the non-execution of the laws against religious congregations, and of the influence which the Jesuits were still permitted to exercise in schools and colleges, and in the general training of youth. This, he contended, ought not to be permitted. He "did not mean to demand the execution of the edicts of the old monarchy; but the constituent assembly, the convention, the consulate, and the empire, had severally made laws against religious congregations, which were still in full force." And he "called upon the cabinet to execute those laws, and dissolve a religious congregation which was the sole cause of the divisions that had lately manifested themselves in the Roman catholic community." It was the object of the speaker, on this occasion, to call attention to the inroads of the Jesuits, rather than to declare "no confidence" in the administration. And, after the minister of justice had shown how the government had acted, and M. Dupin and M. Lamartine had spoken against the Jesuits, and M. Berryer in their favour, M. Thiers moved the following resolution:—"The chamber, being confident that the government will attend to the execution of the laws, passes to the order of the day." About forty members opposed this resolution, which was supported by the rest of the chamber, and adopted.—There was another animated debate on the project for providing arms for the fortifications of Paris. The ministry wanted 17,000,000f. (£680,000) for that purpose. The commission reduced that sum to 14,430,000f. (£577,200); and the project, with that reduction, was carried by 227 votes to 144. The chambers were adjourned on the 21st of July.

The commissioners, to whom M. Guizot had alluded in the debate on the address, as about to meet, for the purpose of placing the means for preventing the slave-trade upon another basis—the duke de Broglie on the part of France, and Dr. Lushington on that of England—met in February, at London. The negotiations were not brought to a close till the following May. On the 24th of that month, a treaty was signed, by the first articles of which it was stipulated, that each of the contracting parties should keep a fleet of twenty-six armed sailing vessels or steamers, to cruise on the west coast of Africa, between the Cape de Verde islands, 14° 45' N. lat., and the parallel of 16° 30' S.; and that the commanders of those vessels should act in concord, and exercise all the powers which France and England were in possession of, for the suppression of the traffic in slaves. The right of search was disposed of in the following

ambiguous clause :—"Considering that, though the flag borne by a ship is, *primâ facie*, proof of its nationality, yet as that presumption cannot be considered sufficient, in every case, to bar a visit for its verification; seeing that, were it to do so, the flags of all nations might be abused, by being converted into a cover for piracy, the slave-trade, or any other illicit traffic;—in order to prevent all difficulties in the execution of this convention, it is agreed, that instructions, founded on the laws of nations and the constant practice of maritime powers, shall be addressed to the commanders of the French and English squadrons and stations on the African coast." The treaty was to be in force ten years from the date of its ratification, May 29th; and although there was no renunciation of the right of search, as there was no *express* recognition of that right, the French liberals offered no opposition to it. The ratifications were, therefore, interchanged upon the day named; and the contracting powers immediately commenced carrying it out, by sending two squadrons to the African coast, as stipulated.

About a fortnight before the chambers were prorogued, a fire at Toulon led to some important disclosures. On the 5th of July, the Mourillon, at that port, a dépôt for military and naval stores, was discovered to be in flames. They burst forth at five o'clock in the morning, in the principal sheds, under which the timber for the dockyard was piled. The scene was brilliant; but unhappily the destruction of property was immense, and 115 persons were injured; fifteen of them very dangerously. The origin of the fire was unknown. Some attributed it to the convicts; others to English gold; and a third report was, that the arsenal was wilfully set on fire, to conceal extensive defalcations and embezzlements. The truth, we believe, was never ascertained; if it were, it was very carefully concealed. The general belief, however, that the event was not the result of accident, but that it was the work of some official defaulters, caused inquiry to be set on foot, which led to the discovery of gross delinquencies in other quarters, and kept the public mind in a constant state of agitation, from the repeated disclosures made, till the events of 1847 directed attention into another channel. The press had, for a long time, declared that great abuses existed, and that frauds and peculations were repeatedly committed in the public departments, particularly those connected with the navy. The searching inquiries now set on foot, proved that the editors were right. The frauds were of various kinds. At Rochefort, the corn and flour were found to have been mixed, to the extent of thirty-eight per cent., with beans and dried vegetables, cheaper, and much less nutritious. Wine, bread, salted provisions, firing, candles—in fact, almost everything supplied to the

depôts—were either adulterated or short in weight. From these practices great profits were made, which were divided between the *employés* and the contractors; and they were not carried on at Rochefort alone, but at Toulon, Brest, and other ports. At those places, it was no uncommon thing to find clerks and other officers, with salaries of 2,000f. and 3,000f. per annum (£80 and £120), amassing fortunes of 200,000f. and 300,000f. (£8,000 and £12,000). The comptroller of the commissariat at Rochefort committed suicide, in consequence of these discoveries; and more than fifty other officials, of various ranks, were arrested at different places, and sent to trial at a later period.—The corruption thus brought to light was extremely detrimental to the ministers; who, if they did not absolutely share in the pecuniary profits, were confidently charged with availing themselves of these nefarious means to purchase support.

For a brief period, attention was drawn from these discoveries by the destruction occasioned at Rouen by a whirlwind, which swept over that town on the 19th of August. It did not last more than a minute and a-half; but, in that short space of time, it overthrew numerous buildings, broke down trees and hedges, and destroyed crops. Some buildings were only unroofed; others were literally crushed to pieces. A writer in a local paper, says—"We have seen some, in which the ruins, the furniture, and the corn, hay, &c., were so confounded with the uprooted trees of the fields or gardens which surrounded them, that it is impossible to say where the buildings stood, or where the garden was. The scourge, moving with the speed of lightning, carried to a distance some parts of the ruins, then uprooted the largest and highest trees, and at last struck three of the principal factories of the valley. Lightning is, in fact, less rapid than was the destruction of these establishments. That destruction was so complete, that the imagination cannot conceive it; nor can any description give any idea of it." At one factory, 120 persons were at work, and none escaped before the roof fell in, and the walls were driven to pieces. At another, only comparatively a few out of 180 got out unhurt. Upwards of 200 persons were killed or mutilated; and the destruction of property was immense.

On the 8th of September, the queen and prince Albert again visited Eu on their return from Germany. Their stay was short; but time was found to discuss the state of Europe before the royal personages separated. There had been, during the year, no events of any material importance affecting the mutual relations of the two powers; a spirit of discontent and disturbance was, however, manifesting itself in various parts of the continent, that called for the earnest consideration of all those governments that

desired to preserve peace. Early in the year, in April, the appointment of Jesuits to be schoolmasters caused an outbreak in Switzerland, which led to a short civil war in that republic. A body of insurgents attacked Lucerne; and, although they were repulsed, and upwards of 2,000 of them slain, the aspect of affairs looked so threatening, that all the foreign ambassadors addressed notes to the Swiss diet, to the effect, that the then state of things could not be regarded without serious apprehensions. The French government thought it necessary to send a large force to the Swiss frontier, but it was not called upon to act; and the federal government, after some months of agitation, re-established order for a time.—In Spain, the government essayed to conciliate the clergy, by publishing, on the 3rd of April, an *ordonnance*, restoring the remains of the ecclesiastical property seized several years previously, but the sale of which had been suspended in the previous July. In the following month, Don Carlos renounced his alleged right to the throne of Spain, in favour of his son, the prince of Asturias: this made no change in the disposition of the Carlist party, who conducted their secret conspiracies, in opposition to the queen's government, as perseveringly as ever. The French force on the frontier, and the known views of the English government, were strong supports to the youthful sovereign, whose rule appeared to be put in greater jeopardy by those friends by whom she was surrounded, than by her open or concealed enemies.

In Poland, Greece, and Italy, agitation was abroad; but, although disturbing elements were at work in those countries, there were no overt acts committed which called for the interference of France and England. At a distance, in two different parts of the world, their conjoined forces were, however, employed in seeking for redress of grievances offered to their subjects, or insults offered to their flag. One of the spots on which the English and French appeared together was the island of Madagascar. In that island, king Radama, who ruled in the first quarter of the century, dying in 1828, had favoured the Europeans, and an extensive intercourse was carried on by English and French traders; the latter having a fort on the island—Fort Dauphin; and establishments on the islets of St. Mary and Nos-Beh, on the south and north-west coasts. When Radama died, he left a young widow, Ranavalona Manjaka, who commenced a persecution of the Europeans, which she carried on most perseveringly up to 1844. In that year, she insisted that all who were on the island should become naturalised Malagasy, or leave the country; and, in that case, all their property was to be forfeited. In consequence of representations made to the two governments, they deemed it necessary to obtain redress for their subjects; and instructions were sent to the au-

thorities at the isle of Bourbon, and the Mauritius, to take the necessary measures. Early in June, the English frigate *Conway*, and the French ships *Zelée* and *Berceau*, met in Tamatave roads, and awaited there the issue of negotiations commenced with Ranavalona by the representatives of the two nations. These were unsuccessful; and, on the 15th of June, 100 French soldiers, and a body of 250 men, collected from the crews of the three ships, under the command of the French captain Feiseck, and the English lieutenant Heseltine, were landed in the bay. They marched across the plain to a fort and battery at some distance, from which the Malagasy kept up a brisk fire of grape and musketry. The garrison was soon driven from the battery and outworks, the guns in which were spiked; but the real fort, a strong circular building, mounting thirty guns in a casemated gallery, resisted all the efforts of the allies, as they had no means of breaching the wall. They accordingly retired, carrying with them the Madagascar flag, which bore the queen's name, and was divided between the English and French sailors. The English had four privates killed; one officer and eleven privates wounded. The French loss was greater: three officers and fourteen privates were killed, and one officer and forty-two privates wounded. The queen, exulting over her success, followed it up by expelling all the Europeans, and confiscating their property. Some time elapsed before redress was obtained for these outrages; but intercourse was at length re-established, proper regulations were enforced, and a profitable trade with the island has since been carried on.

The other quarter where the English and French acted together, was in South America. There Rosas, the dictator of the Argentine republic, had committed such offences against the laws of nations, and the rights of individuals, as operated most injuriously upon the merchants and traders, who in vain sought redress. A small English and French squadron was sent to bring him to terms; but as he refused to accede to what was demanded, his batteries on the Parana were attacked, and, after an obstinate resistance, destroyed on the 19th of November. Some months after, the dictator acceded to the terms demanded of him, and peace was restored.

In the Pacific, the sovereignty of the French was very reluctantly acknowledged by the people of Otaheite. In the beginning of 1845, an active insurrection broke out, and the insurgents, who continued to increase in number, intrenched themselves strongly in the mountains. In June, an expedition was sent against them from Papiti. It was formed of a company of artillery, with a mounted howitzer, a company sent on shore from the *Uranie*, and four companies of the marines; making an effective force of 405 men. It left Papiti at 4 A.M. on the 29th of June; and the

troops marched for Hapape, or Pointe de Venus, where they were joined by a few Indian auxiliaries; and after some rather severe fighting, drove the insurgents still further into the recesses of the woods and mountains in the interior of the island. There they maintained themselves for a long time; but they were unable to prevent the exercise of French authority in the island; and it was gradually extended over the entire group of the Society Isles.

As the time for the meeting of the chambers approached, it was found necessary, in consequence of the failing health of marshal Soult, to make a slight modification of the ministry. Retaining the presidency of the council, the marshal resigned his office of minister of war, in which he was succeeded by lieutenant-general Moline de St. Yon. The same month, Louis-Philippe's family was still further increased by the birth of a grandson and grand-daughter. The wife of the duke d'Aumale, a Sicilian princess, was delivered of a son; and the wife of the prince de Joinville of a daughter. The latter was christened by the following names, which afforded food for some sallies of humour in the press, from their number—Françoise-Caroline-Jeanne-Charlotte-Leopoldine-Romaine-Xaviere-de Paula-Michelle-Gabrielle-Raphaelle-Gonzaga!

The session opened on the 27th of December. The king again congratulated the chambers on the general state of the country; saying, "he felt confident that the good understanding existing between the powers of the state, and the maintenance of a policy of order and conservation, would secure, more and more, the regular development of the institutions of the country, and the increase of national prosperity." The king alluded to the progress of the great works, for which the chambers had voted sums of money; and affirmed, that he continued "to receive from all foreign powers pacific and amicable assurances;" that "the friendship which united him with the queen of Great Britain, and the mutual confidence existing between the two governments, had happily secured the good and intimate relations between the two states. A convention had been concluded between them, to put an end to the infamous traffic in slaves, which was being carried into execution; and thus, by the cordial co-operation of the maritime powers of the two states, the slave-trade would be efficaciously suppressed; and, at the same time, French commerce would be placed under the exclusive protection of its own flag." The affairs of La Plata, where his majesty had "reason to expect the combined action of France and England would produce the re-establishment of commercial relations;" and those of Algeria, where "circumstances had occurred which his majesty deplored, but which had added to the reputation of the troops"—formed the next topics of the royal speech; which concluded with the usual congratulations on the

personal relations between his majesty and the chambers, and with an acknowledgment of the "great and precious consolations" which Providence had granted him, in the increase of his family.

M. Sauzet was again chosen president of the deputies; and the vice-presidents were also ministerialists. The debate on the address, in the chamber of peers, commenced on the 10th of January, 1846, and continued for several days; but it was very uninteresting; and the address was carried, on the 16th, by the votes of 220 peers to 23. In the chamber of deputies, the discussion was opened on the 19th; and a number of amendments were moved, all of which were rejected by a large majority. The address was adopted by 232 votes to 141, and presented to the king on the 7th of February. His majesty said he "received it with real satisfaction. He was so happy to find in it a manifestation, so signal, of the support which the deputies lent to his government, and of that loyal and constant co-operation, which was the foundation of the national strength, and the guarantee of all their liberties."

The question of the Jesuits was again brought before the chamber, shortly after that of the address was disposed of. During the previous year, the government had endeavoured to adjust this question; and, for that purpose, M. Rossi, a member of the royal council of public instruction, was sent to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining from the pope, if possible, a formal order for the fathers to close their establishments—to disperse, and no longer live in common; and to connect themselves with the ordinary clergy; submitting to the episcopal authority, and that of the parish priests. About the same time, on the 10th of August, commissioners were appointed, to revise, and consolidate in one distinct code, all the various statutes and *ordonnances* relating to the university. When M. Rossi presented himself at Rome, and made known the object of his mission, the pope's council advised his holiness, that it was not proper or politic for the holy see to interfere with the laws of France, or to take any part in enforcing measures which concerned the constitutional rights of French citizens. M. Rossi—who, although a naturalised Frenchman, was a Bolognese by birth, and a subject of the pope—then addressed himself personally to his holiness, and forcibly urged upon him the dangers that would, in all probability, result from a struggle in which the whole of the clergy might ultimately be involved. Gregory consented to communicate with father Roothan on the subject; and the result was, the issue of a mandate from the Vatican, enjoining the Jesuits implicitly to obey the laws. They professed obedience, and closed their establishments; but almost immediately reopened them, assuming the name of the "Fathers of the Faith." Their position was,

before the year closed, improved by an *ordonnance*, which appeared on the 7th of December, embodying the recommendations of the commissioners, and declaring that the royal council of the university rested on the basis of the organic decree issued by Napoleon on the 17th of March, 1800, by which that body was first established; and revoking all subsequent decrees and *ordonnances*. Thus, all the decrees and regulations against the Jesuits since that period were abrogated.—Early in February, M. Cousin brought this *ordonnance* under the consideration of the chamber; strongly objecting to it, and calling for the re-establishment of the former educational arrangements. He was supported by many members of the “left,” who were favourable to secular education, and who contended, that the object of the government was, through the medium of the priests, to get the control of education into their own hands. This view was taken, and ably supported, by M. Royer-Collard, who, addressing the ministers, said—“Demand arbitrary powers, if you will; but do not disguise your demand under the form of legality.”—M. Odillon Barrot, also, ably opposed the revocation of those regulations which restricted the dangerous and encroaching power of the Jesuits. The ministers feebly defended the *ordonnance*; but the chamber supported them in their proposition to postpone the consideration of the subject *sine die*—passing a vote to that effect, on the 21st of February, by a considerable majority.—There appears to be a strange inconsistency in the conduct of the French ministers in this affair. They sent M. Rossi to Rome, in order to have the Jesuits restrained and placed under control; and yet revoked all those *ordonnances* which prohibited their interference with education. It is difficult to reconcile acts of such opposite tendencies; unless we suppose that M. Rossi only represented the members of the cabinet who were opposed to the exercise of clerical influence, and who were ultimately obliged to succumb to those who wished to secure the support of the *parti prêtre*.

M. Remusat, in the month of March, again brought forward the question of reform. He submitted to the deputies a proposition for limiting the number of placemen who had seats in the chamber. M. Thiers, on the 16th, in supporting the motion, defended his ministry from a reproach which had been brought against it—that it had opposed a similar measure. This he denied; and said that, for his own part, he had always been a partisan of a reform of that description. Admitting that it was necessary that there should be certain functionaries in the chamber, to give information on special questions, he contended, that the number of the deputies who were public *employés* (184) was much too great. Here he was corrected, and told the number was only 152. Yes, he continued, “if the deputies com-

posing part of the king's household, or who were councillors of state in extraordinary service, were excluded.” But the number of deputies generally voting was 400, of whom 225 sided with the ministry, and 175 with the opposition; and of that 225, was not even 152 *employés* much too large a proportion? In the course of his speech, he made some severe remarks upon the king's personal interference in matters of government, which rendered his majesty so unpopular. He contrasted the state of France, in that respect, with that of England. “There was never such a thing heard of in England,” he observed, “as enmity to the queen. No one there said, ‘The queen will have this done, or that done;’ but simply, ‘Sir Robert Peel is doing so and so;’ or, ‘Lord John Russell is carrying out such and such a measure.’ Did that mean that England, which had expelled the Stuarts, was willing to be subject to the son of a cotton-spinner? Certainly not. It merely meant that Sir Robert Peel was the will of the country, embodied in one single man. The government yielded to that will, not as to a riotous body, but as enlightened reason obeys a truth which it has discovered and admitted.” He contended, that a similarly true representative government was possible in France; if it were not, the revolution of 1830 should never have taken place.—The minister of the interior replied to M. Thiers; maintaining, that “the representative system was then fully and honestly practised in France.” He denied that there were 184 deputies holding government situations; as generals on half-pay, members invested with only honorary functions, and others similarly placed, ought not to be included in the category. Ultimately, M. de Remusat's proposition was rejected by a majority of 48.

The question of Poland was raised in the chamber of peers on the 18th of March, in the discussion upon the secret-service money, by the count de Montalembert, who came forward, he said, in support of “the holiest legitimacy—the only one he recognised—the right of every nation to be governed according to the laws of justice.” Whilst he praised the administration of Prussia, he censured the system which Austria had introduced; and maintained that the separate existence of Poland was indispensable to the balance of European power.—M. Guizot said, “it was impossible that government could take part in Polish insurrections; all it could do was, to afford a hospitable refuge to Polish exiles, and give them all the assistance due to their misfortunes. The partition of Poland was an accomplished fact, on the justice of which the present government had not been called upon to pronounce, and which it had merely accepted with the rest of Europe.”—M. de Montalembert made no motion on the subject; and the vote for 1,000,000*f.* was carried.

On the 21st of March, it was announced, that

the fortifications of Paris were completed; that they formed an *enceinte* of fifteen leagues and a quarter; and that the total cost exceeded 125,000,000*f.* (£5,000,000). This announcement revived much of the angry feeling that was formerly displayed on this subject; but another attempt on the king's life soon directed public attention, for the time, into another channel. His majesty had been free from these attacks for several years; and his confidence in the loyalty of his people was gaining strength, when it was again shaken by this fresh outrage. The prince and princess of Salerno were on a visit to the French court. On the 16th of April, their highnesses had accompanied the king, queen, the princess Adelaide, and the duchess of Nemours, to Paris, and were returning to Fontainebleau in a *char-à-banc*. The carriage, after emerging from the park of Avon, entered a private park, called the Pheasants' Preserves, and approached a spot where a man was posted, standing upon a heap of faggots, and resting a double-barrelled gun on a wall in front of him. He had placed himself there to wait for his majesty's return; and had put his gun in such a position, that he expected it would be on a level with the king's head: when the royal equipage approached, however, he found the muzzle covered the count Montalivet, whom he perfectly well knew. He was then obliged to make a rapid but incomplete movement, and to change the direction of his weapon. The trigger was drawn; the shot was fired at about twelve yards' distance; and the charge, composed of balls of musket size, cut the fringe of the *char-à-banc* above the head of his majesty. The wadding of the gun fell on the queen's knees. A second shot was fired in the same direction. The king exclaimed, "It is nothing; it is the conclusion of the shooting party!" saying to the postilions, "Well, go on to the château." The carriages then continued their course. While this was passing, Millet, one of the grooms, rushed to the wall, jumped over it at the place where he had seen the gun discharged, and saw the assassin running away. Millet pursued, and came up with him. A struggle took place between them, which might have been of doubtful issue but for the arrival of some hussars. The assassin was then secured, and proved to be a person who had held a commission as sous-officer in the royal guard, and was, subsequently, one of the superintendents of the forest of Fontainebleau. He is described as being of a morose and brutal temper; and as having forfeited his place by some gross misconduct; but he resigned before he was officially dismissed. Notwithstanding his misdeeds, a pension was allowed him; still he thought himself ill-used—wrote several letters to the conservator of the crown forests, demanding to be replaced; and also addressed the king on the same subject. These letters not being at-

tended to, he formed the design of attempting the king's life; and, as he was one of the best marksmen in France, Louis-Philippe's friends were justified in saying, that a special providence watched over him.—Lecomte was imprisoned in Paris, tried before the chamber of peers, found guilty, and executed on the 8th of June.

As the session progressed, the ministers found that they wanted support in several directions; and some slight modifications were made in the *personnel* of the government, with a view to render the administration more effective: the leading offices continued, however, to be filled by the same men for a few months longer. But attention was drawn from the ministry, and also from the preparations which were making for the trial of Lecomte, by the announcement that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had escaped from the fortress of Ham. This event was quite unexpected; and although no one anticipated the ultimate consequences of liberty to "Napoleon's heir," yet it naturally created a temporary sensation in Paris, as well as in the departments of the kingdom. After the first few months of his confinement, though narrowly watched, the prince had not been placed under any unnecessary restraint. M. Villemain, and M. de Salvandy, his successor, had supplied him with books; he had the attendance of his valet, Charles Thélín; and the society of his friends, Dr. Conneau, general and madame Montholon, colonel Voisin, and commandant Parquin. Several of those who were condemned and sentenced with him, were included in the amnesty granted by the king previous to his visit to England: Dr. Conneau had been of the number; but he applied to M. Duchâtel for leave to remain at the fortress, as the medical attendant of Louis Napoleon. The leave was accorded; and as he and Thélín had free egress and regress to and from the castle, they had the means of contributing to the comfort of their friend and master. The prince employed much of his time in reading and writing:* still the hours frequently dragged heavily along; the confinement was naturally irksome; and on the 26th of January, 1845, he wrote to a friend—"The years glide away in hopeless uniformity; and it is only in the promptings of my conscience and my heart, that I find strength to struggle with this leaden air which surrounds and stifles me. Nevertheless, the hope of a bright future does not abandon me; and I trust that I shall one day be able to see you again, and renew my thanks for your unchanging friendship, as well as the assurances of my respectful attachment."

His uncle Joseph had died at Florence, on the 28th of July, 1844. His father, the count de St. Leu, still resided at that city; and, towards the close of 1845, was seized with the illness which proved to be his last. He had a great

* See *ante*, p. 548.

wish to see his son before he died; and he sent to Paris one M. Poggioli, described as his confidential agent, with letters to count Molè, M. de Cazes, and M. de Montalivet, entreating them to apply to the ministers, for the purpose of obtaining the release of the prince. These statesmen did not manifest any inclination to take an active interest in the matter. They told M. Poggioli, that they would speak to the ministers when a fitting opportunity offered; but weeks passed away; and although the minister of the interior was apprised of the illness and the wishes of the count de St. Leu, there appeared to be no likelihood of those wishes being gratified. The illness of his father, and his desire to see him, were communicated to Louis Napoleon at Ham. He was also apprised of the application made to the government; and that the ministers required some guarantee as to his future conduct before it could be entertained. On receiving this intelligence, he wrote to M. Duchâtel, pledging his honour, that, if permitted to fulfil the sacred duty to his father, he would return to his captivity whenever the government expressed a wish for him to do so. The application of the count de St. Leu was now, for the first time, submitted to the council of ministers, together with Louis Napoleon's letter. A few days after, M. Duchâtel communicated the decision of the council to the commandant of the fortress, as follows:—"Be good enough to inform the prince, from me, that I submitted his demand to the council of ministers, and that they found themselves unable to grant it. This provisional liberty would be only a pardon in disguise; and, whatever may be the rank of those condemned, pardon can only be obtained through the clemency of the king."

On receipt of this intimation, Louis Napoleon resolved to write to Louis-Philippe, which he did on the 14th of January, 1846. "The council of ministers," he said, "not feeling itself competent to grant the request I made, to be allowed to go to Florence—engaging to return to captivity whenever the government might request me to do so—I now, sire, approach your majesty with confidence, to make an appeal to your feelings of humanity, and repeat my request—submitting it to your high and generous notice. Your majesty will, I am convinced, appreciate, as it merits, a proceeding which engages my gratitude beforehand, and, affected by the isolated position of a man who, when on a throne, merited and gained the esteem of Europe, will accede to the wishes of my father and myself."

This correspondence with the ministers and the king, became known to the peers and deputies generally; and several members of both chambers—including MM. Arago, Odillon Barrot, Dupont, Lamartine, and even Thiers—supported the request of the prince. It is

thought, that, if the king had acted upon his own first impressions, he would have granted it: for he told the prince of Moscow, who placed Louis Napoleon's letter in his hand, that "the guarantee was sufficient." But some of the ministers were not satisfied: they brought the subject again before the council; and after the members had deliberated, M. Duchâtel, on the 25th of January, replied, that the application could not be granted in the form in which it was made; "in order that the king's clemency should be exercised, it was necessary for pardon to be merited, and frankly solicited."—Still M. Odillon Barrot did not give up hopes of obtaining leave for the prince to go to Florence. He saw M. Duchâtel, and they drew up, in concert, a letter for him to sign, which contained an application for pardon, and a pledge to take no future steps against the interests of the house of Orleans. When this letter was sent to Ham, the prisoner at once refused to affix his signature. Writing to Odillon Barrot, he said, were he to sign it, "he should, in fact, be suing for pardon;" and "he considered such a course unworthy of him." He described the answer which the ministers had caused to be sent to his application, as "an insult to misfortune;" and concluded his epistle in the following words:—"My position is clear: I am a captive; but it is a consolation to me to breathe the air of my country. A sacred duty summons me to my father's side. I say to the government, 'Circumstances compel me to entreat from you, as a favour, permission to leave Ham. If you grant my request, you may depend on my gratitude; and it will be of the more value, as your decision will bear the stamp of generosity: the gratitude of those who would consent to humiliate themselves in order to gain an advantage, would be valueless.'"

When M. Odillon Barrot received this reply, he wrote to Louis Napoleon, to say, that "he could not find in his heart to blame the feelings which dictated it:" and he resolved to make another effort to change the determination of the king and his ministers. Twenty-nine members of the chamber of deputies joined him in soliciting an audience of the king, which they obtained; when his majesty adhered to the determination which his ministers had come to—that before the prince could be permitted to leave prison, he must ask for pardon. The negotiations were continued, but without avail. At last, about the close of February, Odillon Barrot wrote to Ham, to state, that the "renewed negotiations had proved a failure. The government," he said, "speak of present difficulties—the state of Italy and Switzerland. Those circumstances would, nevertheless, have been overlooked, had a more comprehensive guarantee been given in your letter, because then they could have dispensed with the council

of ministers; but politics not having been put out of the question, it was found necessary to yield to the considerations relating to public order which prevailed in the council; and for the present, considering the circumstances, no liberation is to be looked for." From that time, the prince turned his attention to devise the means of escape.—The friends of Napoleon blame the French government of that day for not granting his request to go to Florence, unaccompanied by humiliating conditions. But, after the last letter from M. Odillon Barrot, it may well be questioned, whether they required any more than was necessary from one whose conduct had sufficiently proved his determination to leave no means untried for attaining what he considered his right. No act of Louis Napoleon, since he has become the head of the French empire, induces us to suppose that he would have acted *more* leniently to an opponent or enemy of his pretensions, than Louis-Philippe and his ministers were prepared to do, on that occasion, to him.

In his desire to escape, Louis Napoleon derived many advantages from the liberty which was allowed Dr. Conneau and his valet of leaving the castle and returning as they pleased. They were thus enabled to bring him information of what occurred beyond the walls of the fortress; and when the time came which appeared favourable for an attempt to leave it, they had the opportunity of procuring him a disguise, as it appears they left the castle, and returned, without being searched on either occasion. The attempt, however, presented great difficulties. The fort was guarded by 400 soldiers, of whom sixty acted daily as sentries outside the walls. The principal gate was also guarded by officers of the prison, two of whom were constantly on duty. In the interior, two sentinels were stationed during the day, and four at night, at the bottom of the stairs leading to Louis Napoleon's apartments, the windows of which were strongly barred: thus escape seemed almost impossible; for, after evading the sentinels at the stairs, and the gaolers at the principal gate, the inside court had to be traversed, before the windows of the commandant's residence; and the outer gate, guarded by soldiers, passed. Circumstances, however, favoured the attempt. In May, workmen were employed to make some repairs in the stairs and corridors adjoining and leading to the apartments occupied by Louis Napoleon, Dr. Conneau, and Thélín. It was determined that the prince should endeavour to leave the fortress, disguised as an *ouvrier*, while the men were about the castle; and whilst Thélín procured and conveyed to his apartments a blouse and a pair of sabots, Dr. Conneau obtained the means of disguising him about the face and head. The habits of the workmen were also observed, in order that the

prince might be enabled to assume them in passing out of the fortress. Everything being prepared, it was resolved that the attempt should be made on Sunday, the 24th of May.*

On that morning, his moustaches were shaved off; his hair covered with a black wig and an old cap; and he put on the blouse over his ordinary clothes, and the sabots over his boots. The workmen were seen to enter at half-past eight o'clock—the hour fixed for him to leave the castle. To draw them away for a short time, his valet took them into the *salle à manger*, to give them refreshment; Thélín and Dr. Conneau also endeavoured to attract the attention of the turnkeys. Whilst they were thus engaged, the prince took one of the long shelves out of his book-case; and putting it across his shoulders, as he had seen the workmen carry their planks, he sallied slowly forth, smoking a short clay pipe. Notwithstanding all the precautions that had been taken, he had scarcely got out of his room before he was accosted by a workman, who took him for one of his comrades; and, at the bottom of the stairs, he found himself in front of the keeper. By placing the plank before his face he escaped detection at that moment, and also when he passed a sentinel or any other person, on his way to the outer gate. As he walked by the first sentinel, he let the pipe fall, and stopped to pick up the pieces. There the officer on duty passed; but he was reading a letter, and paid no attention to the supposed workman. The soldiers at the guard-house seemed surprised at his dress, and a chasseur turned round several times to look at him: some workmen also regarded him very attentively; and they appeared to be so curious, that he thought he should never escape: one of them, however, exclaimed, "It is Bertrand!" and he passed without further notice. Having succeeded in reaching the outer gate, and getting through it unchallenged, he walked rapidly along the road leading to St. Quentin, which had been traced out for him by Dr. Conneau, as he himself knew nothing of the vicinity. Thélín, who had left the castle at the same time, but by a different way, also hastened to St. Quentin, to procure a carriage, which he had hired the previous day. He had got some distance from the fortress, when Thélín joined him. Then, throwing away his plank, his sabots, and his blouse, the prince took the reins, and drove to Cambrai. From thence they went to Valenciennes, where he took the rail to Brussels—Thélín having previously procured passports. From Brussels he went to Ostend, and from thence to England.

Thanks to Dr. Conneau, the prince had

* Different dates are given of the day on which the prince left the fortress—the 25th and 26th of May. He himself, in a letter to a friend, narrating his escape, expressly says, he left the fortress "on Sunday," which was the 24th.

reached Brussels before his escape was discovered. The doctor said he was unwell, and kept his room. He placed a dressed-up figure in his bed; and it was not till about eight o'clock in the evening, that the commandant, alarmed at Thélín's continued absence, and suspecting that something was wrong, insisted upon seeing him. When he discovered the figure, and learned that the prisoner had left the castle twelve hours previously, the poor commandant was in great alarm. Men were immediately dispatched on the roads to Amiens and Paris in pursuit; and Dr. Conneau, and all who were supposed to be in any way connected with the prince's evasion, were imprisoned, and strictly watched. The commandant himself, as soon as the escape was known at Paris, was superseded, and put under arrest. An immediate inquiry into the circumstances took place at Peronne, which ended in the discharge of all implicated, except Dr. Conneau, who was sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Thélín was condemned, *par contumace*, to be confined for six months.

Louis Napoleon, on landing in England, immediately made his arrival known to Sir Robert Peel, the premier, and to the earl of Aberdeen, the foreign secretary. The first acknowledged the receipt of his letter; the latter politely informed him, that his residence in the British dominions would not be objected to by the queen or her ministers. The prince also wrote to count de St. Aulaire, the French ambassador, stating, that "he did not scruple to declare to the man who was his mother's friend, that, in quitting his prison, he was not instigated by any idea of renewing against the French government a struggle which had proved so disastrous to him, but solely by the wish to return to his aged father." He begged the count "to acquaint the government with his pacific intentions; trusting that this voluntary assurance on his part would help to shorten the captivity of such of his friends as still remained in prison." He next endeavoured to obtain a passport, to enable him to visit Florence; for which he had to apply to the Austrian embassy in London, which was at that time charged with the affairs of Tuscany, as well as those of the empire. It was refused; the ambassador could not, he said, "neglect the regard he owed to the interests of the French government." The count de St. Leu, on learning this result, applied personally to the grand-duke Leopold; but was informed, that permission could not be granted to Louis Napoleon to enter Tuscany, even for four-and-twenty hours. The grand-duke professed to regret the decision he was obliged to come to by the influence of France; and it certainly reflects no honour upon the king and government of that country, if they did interfere to prevent the prince from attending the death-bed of his father.

The refusal given to his request by the grand-duke, is said greatly to have affected the count de St. Leu, and to have hastened his death, which took place on the 25th of July. He expressed a wish to be buried at St. Leu; and that wish was gratified, though not till more than twelve months after his death. It was not till the month of September, 1847, that his corpse, and that of his son, Napoleon Louis, were removed from Italy to France. On the 29th, they were interred in the cemetery of the village of St. Leu; the funeral being attended by all the old soldiers of Napoleon who were in the neighbourhood. They were commanded on the occasion by captain Lecomte, to whom Louis Napoleon wrote a letter of thankful acknowledgment; saying, that "it was not a man whom the chances of victory had, for a few days, made king, that he had thus honoured by his regret; but the old soldier of the armies of Italy and Egypt—the man who paid, by forty years of exile, for a few brief years of glory; and who died alone in a foreign land."*

The surprise and excitement occasioned by the escape of Louis Napoleon were at their height, when another event happened, in which not only France, but the whole Roman catholic world, took a deep interest: this was the death, on the 1st of June, of the pope, Gregory XVI. He had been elected to the pontificate on the 3rd of February, 1831; and he had worn the tiara in troubled times. Revolution was triumphant during the early part of his career; and he had subsequently kept up a continued struggle with the liberals, whom, with the aid of France and Austria—that of the latter being the most efficacious—he repressed, and kept in a state of subjection; only to appear again, with renewed vigour, under his successor. Great anxiety was displayed by the public of Rome, to know who that successor would be. The college of cardinals assembled on the 14th of June, and sat in conclave till the 16th. On the latter day, their choice fell on cardinal Mastai Ferretti, the youngest ever elected, being only fifty-four years of age. He was a member of the family of the counts Mastai Ferretti; was born at Sinigaglia, May 13th, 1792; became bishop of Imola, and cardinal *in petto*, on the 23rd of December, 1839; and was proclaimed on the 14th of December in the following year. On ascending the papal throne, and assuming the tiara, he took the name of Pius IX.; and his first public act was to call to his side M. Rossi, the French ambassador, and cordially to thank him, whilst he affectionately pressed his hand; giving him, at the same time, warm assurances of gratitude and confidence: thus unmistakably pointing out the influence which had secured his election.

* These particulars are taken from the letters of the emperor, and the statements of the principal actors in the events. More ample details will be found in two volumes, entitled *Napoleon III.*, by a British officer: and *The Early Life of Louis Napoleon*.

From his previous character, he was highly acceptable to the liberals; and his first acts were of a popular character. He disbanded the Swiss guard, which his predecessor had embodied, and which was very unpopular in Rome; proclaimed a general and unconditional amnesty, which extended to at least 2,000 persons; removed many taxes that pressed upon the people; and reformed many abuses that had crept into the civil administration of the Vatican. These measures gave great satisfaction, and were considered as indications of a reign completely opposed in its tendencies to that of his predecessor.

During these events, the French chambers continued sitting. No questions of great public importance came before them, except those already noticed, and the budget. The expenditure was stated to be a little in excess of the previous year; but although the revenue had increased—that derived from indirect taxation from 333,000,000*f.* (£13,320,000) to 390,000,000*f.* (£15,600,000)—such were the indirect demands, and the unauthorised expenditure, that the deficiency which existed in 1845 was increased to 421,000,000*f.* (£16,840,000). The discussions to which this state of the finances gave rise, and those upon almost every other question, were made the medium of attacks upon the government policy, some of them not of the mildest description. But the speakers merely took up the old arguments of former orators; nor was there anything novel in the ministerial replies: we therefore pass over the remainder of the session, which was closed on the 3rd of July. By an *ordonnance* of the 6th, the chamber of deputies was dissolved; the meeting of the electoral colleges fixed for Sunday, the 2nd of August; and that of the new chamber for the 17th.

The preparations for the elections had commenced before the *ordonnance* of dissolution appeared; and it was soon apparent that two of the political sections—the *centre gauche*, and the *gauche constitutionnel*, as the *Doctrinaires* had recently been called—had coalesced. A joint manifesto was published by these parties before the electoral colleges met; in which the electors were told, that it was the duty of every one amongst them, “not to choose the candidate he might himself prefer; but, by voting for an independent man, to whatever shade of opposition he might belong, prevent the success of the ministerialists.” M. Thiers addressed a long, and certainly an able, letter to his constituents, in which he passed in review the acts of the government and the opposition for the last ten years. MM. de Montalembert, Vatiménil, and Reancy addressed a letter to the Roman catholic electors, enjoining them to require from every candidate a written pledge, to insist upon absolute liberty for the members of their faith in matters of education. This was to be their *sine qua non*; and they were called upon not to vote

for any man who refused to give the pledge. The extreme *gauche* demanded republican institutions. All these parties exerted themselves to the utmost; so did the ministerialists; and whilst the struggle was going on, and the decisive moment was approaching, an alarm was given, that a fresh attempt had been made on the king's life.

On the 29th of July, the king and his family were standing on a balcony of the Tuileries, in view of the populace, who were celebrating the “three days” of 1830. Whilst they were eagerly looking on, and enjoying the fun and hilarity characteristic of a Parisian crowd assembled for the purposes of enjoyment, two pistols were discharged apparently at the king, one after the other. The man who fired them was instantly seized by those who were near him, and secured. He was a person who had been in a good way of business, but had failed, and was, at the time, in a state of poverty—of the name of Joseph Henri. When examined, he assigned his desperate circumstances as the only reason for his attempt, and denied that he felt any personal animosity against the king. It is doubtful whether the pistols were charged with any other *matériel* than powder; as no bullets, nor marks of them, were found. Many thought him disordered in intellect; and, on his being found guilty by the peers, general satisfaction was expressed that he was not condemned to death, but sent to the galleys for life. On receiving his sentence, he exclaimed—“This was not what I expected! I wished for a capital conviction: and I implore to be put to death as a favour, and an act of grace!” Of course no attention was paid to his entreaties; but he was taken back to prison, and then conveyed to the hulks.

A few days after this event, Mr. Cobden—who, on the 3rd of July, had taken farewell of his constituents at Stockport, a year's residence on the continent being recommended for the re-establishment of his health—arrived in France. His fame as a free-trader, and as the great opponent of the English corn-laws, which were considered as excluding French produce from the English markets, had preceded him, and caused him to be warmly welcomed by the French agriculturists, and by the liberals generally. On his way to the capital, the king received him at the Château d'Eu, where he dined with his majesty and the royal family. He arrived in Paris on the 7th of August; and, in the following week, the leading free-traders of France entertained him at a public banquet. The free-traders of Bordeaux subsequently paid him a similar compliment when he passed through their town. The speeches at these banquets assumed much of the tone of those delivered at the meetings of the Anti-Corn-Law League in England; and they were not very

well received by the protectionists of France; who, at that time, formed the great majority of all classes of people in the kingdom.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the opposition, the ministerialists had a good majority in the new chamber. The session was formally opened by the king, who expressed his lively satisfaction at seeing the peers and deputies assemble around him with so much eagerness. He should communicate with them, he said, "on the internal and external affairs of the state, at the usual period of their meeting. They were summoned at that time, in compliance with the charter, to take the oaths; and he was anxious that they should receive, at the same time, the assurance of his active and unchangeable devotion to the country, and of his confidence in their sentiments of loyalty to him and his family."—M. Sauzet was again elected president, by 218 votes to 98; and the deputies, having taken the oaths, which occupied several days, the chambers were adjourned on the 4th of September, to the 11th of January.

We are now approaching that event which completely interrupted the cordial feeling between the two courts of London and Paris; and threatened, at one time, entirely to sever the alliance between the two nations—the Spanish marriages. We have, in a previous page,* shown how the questions connected with those marriages were arranged at the close of 1844. That arrangement was adhered to when the king of the French, and the queen of Great Britain, met at the Château d'Eu, in September, 1845; but subsequently another was proposed by M. Bresson, the French ambassador at the court of queen Isabella. The queen-dowager, Christina, had recovered her influence at Madrid after Espartero's downfall; whose successor, Narvaez, had, in his turn, been obliged to succumb before general Serrano, and, in March, quitted Spain for France. Christina was anxious to secure the alliance of either England or France; and M. Bresson, early in 1846, proposed that the young queen should marry her cousin, the duke de Cadiz, son of the Infante Francisco de Paula; and that the marriage of the duke de Montpensier, and the sister of the queen, should be celebrated *simultaneously*, instead of waiting till offspring were born to her majesty. The proposal met with the approbation of the queen-mother and of the Spanish ministry; and M. Bresson announced to M. Guizot the step he had taken; adding, that the approval and sanction of France were now all that was required. It is evident, from the tone of the letter to M. Guizot, that M. Bresson felt he was acting in accordance with that minister's wishes; but when the subject was mentioned to the king, he professed a determination to abide by the engagement made with England. Writing to M.

Guizot on the 20th of July, he said, "his astonishment was great at Bresson's compromising himself on the subject of the simultaneous marriages, which were directly contrary to his wishes;" and he expressed his "formal disavowal" of what had been done.

A short time previously there had been a change in the British ministry, and lord John Russell and lord Palmerston had succeeded Sir Robert Peel and the earl of Aberdeen. As soon as he entered upon the duties of his office as foreign minister, lord Palmerston, on the 19th of July, wrote to Sir Henry Bulwer, conveying the intimation of the recent change, and instructions for his conduct. That letter contained the following passage:—"The candidates for the hand of the queen of Spain are now reduced to three; prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and the two sons of the Infante Don Francisco de Paula. The government of her majesty have only to express their sincere desire, that choice may be made of the one who may unite the qualities most likely to secure the happiness of the queen, and the prosperity of the Spanish nation."—His lordship read a copy of this letter to the count de Jarnac, who had succeeded the count de St. Aulaire as ambassador from the court of France; and his excellency expressed his surprise at prince Leopold being mentioned, after what had passed, as one of the suitors for the hand of the queen. Lord Palmerston repeated the assurances previously given, that the British government had no intention whatever of supporting the proposal for that alliance; the mention of the prince was only made narratively—as representing what was the actual state of things—not as expressing the wishes of the queen. On the 25th of July, lord Cowley had a long audience of Louis-Philippe, when he gave the same exposition of the views of the British government; on which M. Guizot remarks—"I am ready to admit this; but, in politics, intentions are of little consequence; effects are the thing."—In August, lord Cowley was recalled, and was succeeded by lord Normanby; who, on the 23rd of the month, officially informed M. Guizot, that his government were desirous of obtaining the hand of queen Isabella for Don Henrique, one of the descendants of Philip V., who came within the conditions recognised by the government of France; and he was instructed to ascertain, whether the French monarch and his ministers had any objections to offer. M. Guizot replied, that if the queen made choice of Don Henrique, it would be "perfectly satisfactory" to France. At this time, however, the course proposed by M. Bresson was resolved upon, and M. Guizot must have been aware that the queen's choice *would not* fall upon the prince selected by the British government. Lord Palmerston's letter of the 19th of July, caused, it is said, both the king

* See *ante*, p. 587.

and his ministers to break the engagements entered into, nearly two years previously, with England. They profess to have believed, that the wishes of England were really not for the Henrique, but for the Coburg alliance; and that the latter had become probable and imminent. "I thought so," wrote M. Guizot; "and I remain convinced that I judged correctly. I did not hesitate. I gave the king the advice, and to count Bresson, his ambassador at Madrid, to press the immediate conclusion of the double marriage of the queen of Spain with the duke of Cadiz, and of the infanta with the duke de Montpensier. The French policy, national as well as royal, required that the throne of Spain should not go out of the house of Bourbon. I had openly laid down that principle; and I caused it to triumph at the very moment it was on the point of failing."

In consequence of this determination, now avowed, of the king and his minister, the duke de Montpensier set out for Spain; and M. Bresson was instructed to bring what M. Guizot, in a letter to Louis-Philippe, terms "*our present idea*, 'Cadiz and Montpensier,'" to a speedy issue. It is believed, that queen Isabella was not very favourable to the proposed disposition of her hand: but her reluctance was overruled. On the 26th of August—three days after the conversation between lord Normanby and M. Guizot—her majesty made known to her ministers, that her choice had fallen upon the duke de Cadiz; on the following evening the ceremony of betrothal between the cousins took place at the palace of Madrid; and at the same time, M. de Bresson officially demanded the hand of the infanta for the duke de Montpensier, which was at once acceded to by the queen. The Cortes were in session; and, on the 14th of September, the two approaching marriages were announced to that body, in a message from the queen. Don Henrique, who was then at Ghent, had protested, on the 9th, against the union of the duke de Montpensier and the infanta, the latter not being more than fourteen years of age; on the 21st, Sir H. Bulwer also delivered a formal protest against that marriage, to M. Isturitz, the Spanish minister for foreign affairs; and, on the 24th, a similar protest was presented to M. Guizot, by the marquis of Normanby. But the marriages took place; they were solemnised at ten o'clock at night, on the 10th of October, at the palace of Madrid, by the patriarch of the Indies; and were followed, on the 18th, by the publication of an amnesty to political offenders, not of a higher rank than colonels in the army, if military men; or, if civilians, who had not held a higher rank than that of political chief.

These marriages completely broke the *entente cordiale* between England and France; and they have left a stain upon Louis-Philippe's charac-

ter, which it will be difficult to eradicate. It is alleged, that, although prepared to *delay* the marriage of the duke de Montpensier with the infanta, he never intended to make that union *dependent* upon the birth of children to the queen. On the contrary, the marriage of Isabella and the duke de Cadiz was determined upon, and was always the prevailing idea of the king, from a belief that there were physical reasons which would prevent the duke from ever becoming a father; and that the duke de Montpensier might, therefore, hope to succeed to the throne of Spain in right of his wife; or that, at all events, his children would do so; the infanta being—by the abolition of the Salic law—the next heir, failing issue to Isabella. For this reason, these two marriages were resolved upon by the French king, in concert with queen Christina; and there never was any intention of carrying out any other arrangement. Circumstances render these allegations highly probable; they obtained general credence, in the course of the following year, from events which transpired at Madrid; and they have never been shown to be unfounded. The friends of Louis-Philippe defend his conduct solely on the passage we have quoted from lord Palmerston's letter of the 19th of July; but, as the British government formally disavowed all wish for the Coburg alliance, and supported that of Don Henrique—an alliance which M. Guizot declared to be "perfectly satisfactory"—that letter (if lord Palmerston was wrong, as we think he was, in mentioning prince Leopold at all) is no justification for the breach of faith of which the king and his minister were guilty. His majesty had good reason to wish, ere long, that he had acted a more honourable part. He gained nothing whatever by the alliance; but he lost much in being deprived of that cordial friendship which had grown up with England; and which the historian of Louis-Philippe's policy,* represents as culminating in the royal visits to Eu and Windsor; at the latter of which, "France was honoured not less than her king, by shining marks of regard, which could be accepted with pride from a nation which she was then in the happy course of emulating only in peace, prosperity, and grandeur."—At home, the liberal papers eagerly availed themselves of the charges made against the king by the English press; and continually dwelt upon the serious accusations of a breach of faith and duplicity which were brought against him, by those who had once been his warm advocates. Abroad, the influence of France was weakened; and she found herself deprived of the support of England, without gaining that of any other power. Altogether, a more unfortunate move than that of the Spanish marriages, was never made on the political chess-board.

* D'Haussonville.

A domestic calamity followed close upon the marriage of the duke de Montpensier, and interrupted the rejoicings which the friends of Louis-Philippe were making in honour of that event. In the month of October, terrific floods destroyed property to a large amount. They were caused by incessant rains; and were most extensive in the south of France. There the rivers Rhône, Huveaure, and Durance overflowed their banks, and laid the surrounding country under water. The Loire rose also to a greater height than had been known at any former period, and swept away the bridge thrown over it at Orleans, as well as the viaduct of the Orleans and Vierzon railway. Upwards of 200 houses at Roanne were destroyed; immense districts were converted into a vast lake; communication was, for some time, cut off between Lyons, Avignon, Marseilles, and other towns in the south; and the misery that prevailed was intense. A royal *ordonnance* was issued, ordering an extraordinary credit of 200,000*f.* (£8,000) for the purpose of reorganising the service of the mails, which had been interrupted; and for indemnifying the postmasters for the losses they had sustained. The districts where the calamity had occurred, were also surveyed; it was estimated that, to rebuild bridges, repair roads and canals, and construct the necessary works to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe, 65,000,000*f.* (£2,600,000) would be required; and that the total damage done amounted to at least 100,000,000*f.* (£4,000,000). A subscription was opened to relieve the sufferers, to which the king and royal family contributed 120,000*f.* (£5,000); and the general public liberally responded to the call that was made upon them. Some lives were lost; but the number is not recorded; it was not, however, in any proportion to the pecuniary damage done by this visitation, the effects of which were experienced for many subsequent months.

At the commencement of the following month, it was announced, that a contract of marriage had been entered into between the count de Chambord (duke de Bordeaux) and the princess Maria Theresa Beatrice, sister to the reigning duke of Modena. The near relationship of the lady to the imperial family of Hapsburg, and her ample fortune, rendered this a peculiarly eligible alliance for the prince; as it not only gave him the command of funds, but brought him into immediate connection with one of the most powerful reigning houses in Europe. Still, it was "a singular proof of the mutations of fortune, that the direct descendant of Louis XIV. deemed it cause for congratulation that he was admitted into the family of a third-rate Italian potentate;"* who was, however, the only reigning prince in Europe who had refused to recognise Louis-Philippe. The marriage was cele-

* Alison.

brated, with little pomp, on the 16th of the month, at Bruck, in Styria.

As the year 1846 drew to a close, the state of France presented—from various circumstances—accumulated difficulties for the government to grapple with. One of the most serious had its origin in the bad harvest of 1845, which produced scarcity and high prices, and brought on a monetary crisis in 1846. Government endeavoured to relieve the pressure upon the home markets, by sending abroad to purchase wheat for the army and navy, and ordering that the same course should be pursued in 1847. Still prices rose so high, especially in Paris, that, to prevent riot and confusion, a *maximum* rate was fixed for the markets; and the difference between that and the real one, was paid either out of the state or the municipal funds. So seriously did this affect the finances of the metropolis, that the municipality had to borrow 25,000,000*f.* (£1,000,000). In 1846, the potato-crop failed, and added to the general distress; and though there was a very large quantity of corn imported during the year, prices continued to rule so high, that, in the hope of effecting some improvement, on the 9th of December a royal *ordonnance* appeared, authorising the importation of foreign corn and flour for home consumption, in foreign vessels, under the same regulations as previously applied only to native ships. The sums of money paid for these imports were so large, and created such a drain upon the Bank of France, that—notwithstanding it raised the rate of interest in the first weeks of 1847—great alarm was felt, till the emperor of Russia, who had gold to the amount of 50,000,000*f.* (£2,000,000) stored at St. Petersburg (the produce of the Ural mountains), offered to exchange it for government stock. The offer was accepted; and this seasonable aid, for a time, relieved a pressure which threatened entirely to arrest the monetary supply.—The high prices, and the difficulty which the bulk of the people found in procuring the necessaries of life, caused great outrages in the provinces. In various districts the depôts of corn and flour were plundered. At Tours, Laval, Rennes, Mons, Mayence, and Nevers, serious riots took place; nearly in all parts of the interior, bodies of workmen perambulated the streets and roads, demanding bread and labour; one or two landowners were assassinated; and when the murderers were arrested and executed, the sympathies of the multitude were evidently with them. Indeed, for a time, the bonds of society appeared to be dissolved in many parts of France, and the authorities were compelled to send a large military force into the interior, to preserve the peace.

During the year, there had been important occurrences in several continental states, in most of which France felt a deep interest. In Poland, an insurrection in Galicia led to one of

the first violations of the treaties of 1815, which have since been so frequently made the sport of circumstances. The discontent of the peasantry led to the movement; and that discontent had its origin in the improvements which had been made in the condition of the peasants in Russian and Prussian Poland. In the former, the serfs had been emancipated from the control of the proprietors; a fixed rent for the land they held, had been substituted for the *corvée*, or personal labour; and the code Napoleon had been introduced.—In Prussian Poland, where the peasants had to give a part of their time to the landlords by whom they were maintained, baron Stein inaugurated a most important alteration, by which the obligation to labour on the one part, and to find food on the other, was abolished; instead of the claim to maintenance, the peasant received one-third of the land he tilled in fee-simple, with liberty to purchase the remainder; twenty-five years being allowed for the payment of the purchase-money.—In Austrian Poland, while the proprietors were bound to find land for the peasant, sufficient to maintain him and his family, the right of *corvée*, and other feudal institutions, remained. The landlords there, were desirous, themselves, of a money-rent, instead of labour. Early in 1845, the states of Galicia presented a demand to the government at Vienna, for the abolition of the *corvée*; and had that government complied, probably the subsequent evils might have been avoided. But they alleged, that a regular survey of the entire province must first be made; and, in the meantime, the peasants—among whom socialist principles had been propagated, to a considerable extent, by French agents, followers of St. Simon—proclaimed, that they “had no masters but God and the emperor;” and demanded the entire and absolute possession of the lands they held to cultivate, without a return of either money or labour to the proprietors. This movement was encouraged by Polish committees, sitting at Paris and Versailles; by whom an insurrection throughout all Poland and Lithuania was organised, to break out in the following February. The peasants, being joined by several thousand disbanded soldiers, so alarmed the nobles, that they formed a league in their own defence. About a hundred of them met near Zarnow, which the peasants had made their chief rendezvous, in the night of the 19th of February, 1846. They were surrounded by a number of the armed insurgents, who were joined by some of the troops of the government of Cracow. Greatly outnumbered, the nobles laid down their arms, and were immediately bound, and conveyed prisoners to Zarnow. Another body, which was advancing to that town, dispersed; and the peasantry, in all directions, attacked the châteaux, committing the most fearful massacres, and the most extensive devastation.

The Austrian government received information of the intended general insurrection, which induced them to send general Collin, with a body of men, to Cracow, where he arrived on the 20th of February. The insurrection broke out there on the 22nd: the Austrian general was defeated, and obliged to leave the town; and a provisional government was established; by whom a proclamation was issued, to the effect, that the order of nobility was abolished, and that all property was to be divided amongst the peasantry by whom it was occupied.

The intelligence of this movement spread with great rapidity; and Cracow immediately became the rendezvous of all the idle and depraved, who gladly rallied round authorities avowing such principles. Their triumph, however, was very short. As soon as the events at Cracow were known, Austrian, Russian, and Prussian troops—which had been collected in consequence of the discovery of the plan for the extended insurrection—marched upon that city. General Collin, reinforced by some of these new arrivals, retraced his steps, gaining several advantages on the way; and on the 2nd of March, Cracow was evacuated by the insurgents, 2,500 in number, who soon after fell into the hands of the Prussians. The city was, shortly after, occupied by the Russians, and declared in a state of siege. Negotiations then commenced between the three powers, and extended over the greater part of the year before they were brought to a conclusion. At length, on the 16th of November, a decree appeared, signed by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; in which it was declared, that the articles of the treaty of 1815, constituting Cracow a free republic, were revoked; and that city and its territory were reunited to Austria, as they were previous to 1809. The reasons assigned for this change were, the frequent insurrections that had been organised in Cracow, and the recent attempt to revolutionise Poland; of which, it was alleged, that city was the head-quarters. Count Castiglione immediately took possession of Cracow, in the name of the emperor of Austria; and the Aulic councillor, count Maurice de Deyme, was appointed the civil governor. The territory, with its 156,000 inhabitants, was incorporated with Galicia; and, to counterbalance this increase of the Austrian dominions, Russia received certain territories in the north of the latter province; and Prussia the town of Hatzen Plotz, and its domain.

England, France, Sweden, and Turkey protested against this proceeding; and the notes from all those powers, except France, were strongly worded, as they were unaware of the planned insurrection, the evidence of which, the Austrian government subsequently alleged, it had in its possession. The French ambassador, at London, had been instructed to

propose, that a joint note to the northern powers should be sent from the two governments; but lord Palmerston replied, that his was already prepared, and would be communicated to the English ambassador at Paris. Accordingly, separate notes were forwarded;—that from London, on the 23rd of November; that from Paris, on the 3rd of December. When the latter appeared, it was deemed so weak and inconclusive, that it gave rise to an expression of general disapprobation among the French people.

The affairs of Greece, soon after lord Palmerston assumed the direction of the foreign-office, at London, became the frequent source of difference between the two governments, especially after the Spanish marriages. From the date of that event, the division between the cabinets upon this question became decided and serious.—On the affairs of Switzerland, that division was even more marked. The quarrel between the protestants and Roman catholics lost none of its intensity in 1846. Whilst Lucerne, and the other six Roman catholic cantons of Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Friburg, Zug, and the Valais, formed a league to defend their religion, and especially to protect the Jesuits in their office of instructors and teachers to the young; the protestants of Geneva—as the grand council, though they condemned the league, would take no steps to repress it—rose in insurrection, and established a provisional government in that city. France joined with Austria to uphold the cause of the Sonderbund, as the new confederation was called; whilst England sided with the protestants. If the two powers had been united, it is probable they might have allayed the strife, instead of still further irritating the contending parties.

In Italy, the way was preparing for those important events which took place in the following years. Subsequent to the election of Pius IX., and the adoption of those measures which we have already noticed,* Rome became the resort of the liberals from every quarter of Europe: and there, also, the minister of France, and the influence of England—exerted through the non-official agent who resided in the city—were ranged on opposite sides. A band of enthusiastic revolutionists was collected in Rome, who were no doubt honest, but who were very unwise. Their aim was, to make Italy a republic, “one and indivisible;” an idle dream, which it is averred lord Palmerston encouraged; whilst M. Rossi strove to counteract the movements of its partisans, and to restrain their influence. Their schemes were not ripe for action in 1846; but the conduct of the pope was not without its effect on other sovereigns; and several of the minor princes appeared to embark resolutely in the cause of reform, with a view to avert revolution. One of them was Leopold, grand-duke of Tuscany. He removed the restrictions on the press; and by two decrees issued on the 3rd of December, 1846, greatly extended the means of acquiring both primary and a more enlarged education. Charles Albert, the king of Sardinia, also with a view to conciliate his own subjects—and, probably, even then expecting to become the leader of Italy against Austria—introduced changes, all of a liberal tendency; and promised others of a more extended character;—thus commencing that career which ended so disastrously for himself; but was the prelude to that increase of power and dominion, which, ten years subsequently, fell to his successor.

CHAPTER XXIV.

STATE OF PARTIES; THE KING; THE SESSION OF 1847; DEBATES ON THE ADDRESS; MOTION FOR REFORM; CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY; AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL; PUBLIC DELINQUENCIES; PROCEEDINGS AGAINST M. DROUILLARD, M. TESTE, AND OTHERS; THE FINANCES; MURDER OF THE DUCHESS DE PRASLIN; RESIGNATION OF MARSHAL SOULT; AFFAIRS OF GREECE, ITALY, SWITZERLAND, AND THE PENINSULA; AGITATION FOR REFORMS IN FRANCE; OPENING OF THE CHAMBERS IN DECEMBER, 1847; EVENTS OF JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1848; FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY; ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

THE year 1847 was one memorable in the annals of France, for the development of those principles and passions which caused the revolution of the following year. It was a period of excitement, anxiety, and expectation; Louis-Philippe and his ministers alone seeming unaware that all the materials of another political convulsion were gathering around them. The

king had surrounded himself by an oligarchy, whose conceptions were as contracted as their principles were selfish; and they were either blindly devoted to him, or so corrupt, that there was no difficulty in purchasing their support when required. His courtiers were narrow-minded and short-sighted; and although his

* See ante, p. 599.

cabinet comprised many able men, they were satisfied with their majorities in the chambers, and do not appear to have troubled themselves with the progress or tendency of public opinion out of doors, till it was too late to grapple with, or to divert its hostility to the existing system. There were three parties struggling round the throne, and in the country, for pre-eminence and supremacy—the republicans, the legitimists, and the dynastic opposition, as the coalition of the *centre gauche* and the *gauche constitutionnel* was called. While the two first were enemies to the person of the king, the third “recognised in Louis-Philippe,” according to Lamartine, who was one of the number, “the living union between royalty and a republic—the last embodiment of an hereditary dynasty—the last hope of monarchy.” There were also the imperialists, or Bonapartists; but they kept more in the background, and made no ostensible display of their predilections. The king deemed himself to be master of all parties within his dominions; though, as events proved, very erroneously. He was “inoffensive or obsequious to foreign states, to whom he sacrificed much to obtain their tolerance of his new dynasty. Happy in his family; surrounded by sons, who would have been eminent citizens, if they had not been princes; seeing his race perpetuated to the third generation, in grandsons, whom he complacently nursed for the throne; and including in his circle, princesses, equally pious, lovely, and accomplished, respected, and admired—the future appeared to him to be secured to that family by his happy star; and history seemed devoted to his name by his success. He could,” as he fondly and confidently imagined, “bequeath to France a monarchy, restored and reinvigorated; to the world, peace; and to his race, three European thrones. His green old age, whose powers he had economised by the purity of his ripening years, formed the anticipated triumph of prudence over the trials of life and the fickleness of fortune.”* He was surrounded, however, as the reader must have seen, by a discontented people, amongst whom eager revolutionists were disseminating opinions, and inculcating principles, which were certain to produce a conflict with authority; and, when the struggle came, he wanted resolution to meet it.

The chambers met on the day to which they were prorogued, the 11th of January, 1847. They were, as usual, opened by the king, who commenced his speech by telling the peers and deputies, it was “his first wish that they should afford his government all their co-operation, in order to relieve the sufferings which distressed a part of the population. He had hastened to order the measures best calculated to attain those objects; and he trusted, that, by the firm

maintenance of order; by the liberty and security of commercial transactions; by an ample and judicious application of the public resources, efficiently aiding the zeal of private charity, they would be enabled to mitigate those trials with which Providence sometimes visited the most prosperous states.” His majesty informed the chambers, that his relations with foreign powers “afforded him the firmest confidence that the peace of the world continued secure.” The affairs of La Plata, it was expected, would soon be adjusted conformably to the views of his government, and that of Great Britain; a treaty of navigation had been concluded with Russia; and the mention of foreign transactions would have been entirely favourable, but for the incorporation of the independent and neutral republic of Cracow with Austria, which was described as “an infraction of treaties, which his majesty had protested against.” At home, the king thought, that “the constant progress of the public revenue, despite of causes which might have checked it, demonstrated, that the resources and activity of the country continued to increase.” The progress of public works was favourably noticed; and the chambers were told, that, amongst other things, “they would have to direct their attention to measures calculated to second, in their African possessions, the progress of colonization, and of internal prosperity.” The Spanish marriages were thus alluded to. “The marriage of my beloved son, the duke de Montpensier, with my beloved niece, the infanta of Spain, Louisa Fernanda, has completed the satisfaction and consolation which Providence has vouchsafed to me and my family. This union will be a fresh pledge of those good and intimate relations which have so long subsisted between France and Spain, and the maintenance of which is as desirable for the prosperity, as for the reciprocal security, of the two states.” The speech concluded with the expression of his majesty’s conviction, that all—the chambers, himself, and his family—“were animated by a common feeling; that of devotion to the happiness and grandeur of the country.” They were “already enlightened, by long experience, as to the policy best suited to its interests, both moral and material, and which must secure its present prosperity, and the future pacific and regular development of its destinies.” And he “expected, with confidence, from their patriotism and wisdom, the co-operation necessary to the accomplishment of that great task.”

The general discussion upon the address commenced in the chamber of peers on the 18th of January. It was soon brought to a close; and was remarkable for a speech of M. C. Dupin; in which he supported the policy of the cabinet in the affair of the Spanish marriages, and approved of M. Guizot’s protest against the annexation of Cracow. The conduct of England, with

* *History of the French Revolution of 1848*; by Lamartine.

respect to the marriages, was censured by the speaker, who described the despatches which issued from the London cabinet on the subject, as "a tissue of imperturbable frivolity; whilst those of the French government were dignified, and full of sound reasoning from beginning to end." When the separate paragraphs were considered, M. Dubouchage blamed the government for its improvidence in not providing, with more efficiency, for the prevention of the disturbances occasioned by the scarcity of provisions; and said, ministers were much to be censured for their want of foresight. If the national guard had been established all over the country, as the law required, the free transport of grain would not be interrupted, as it was, in eighteen departments.—The marquis de Boissy next accused the government of parsimony, in only allotting 1,000,000*f.* to the relief of the sufferers by the late inundations; 20,000,000*f.*, at least, should have been given to the victims.—M. Duchâtel, and M. Barthe, defended the government; the latter stating, that 1,000,000*f.* had been distributed amongst the inhabitants of the inundated districts; and 11,000,000*f.* would be applied to the repair of the disasters.—The most important discussion was on the paragraph relating to the Spanish marriages, which met with very little opposition; the duke de Noailles only regretting that the queen of Spain had not been wedded to her cousin, the eldest son of Don Carlos. The duke de Broglie, and M. Guizot, entered into a long, and certainly an able, defence of their policy; to which, as French ministers, little objection could have been taken, if the motives avowed had been the only actuating ones; if the alleged physical incapacity of the duke de Cadiz had not been the *real* inducement for hurrying on the two contracts; and if the prince of Coburg had been really a candidate for the hand of the queen, supported by England. The duke de Broglie disclaimed "all wish to exercise any undue influence over Spain—such as that possessed by England in Portugal;" but contended, that "it was sound policy to prevent a foreign influence from establishing itself so near the French frontier." "France could not, consistently with her security, consent to the accession of a prince closely allied to the queen of Great Britain," to the throne of Spain; "for then London, Madrid, and Lisbon, would have been brought into such close connection, that the entire influence over the Peninsula would have been monopolised by Great Britain." The marriage of a prince of the house of Orleans with a princess of Spain, the duke contended, was no violation of the treaty of Utrecht, which was "intended to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain on the same head. If any descendant of that marriage should become the heir to the two crowns—as that treaty was still in force, he would have to make his

choice of one or the other; he could not succeed to both." The duke denied that the French cabinet had acted with duplicity towards England, or with violence to the queen, "whose liberty had been fully respected; and the arrangement concluded had been positively agreed to by the ministers of France and of England."—M. Guizot went over much the same ground; adding, that he had taken no power by surprise. He had told them all, that France would not suffer any but a descendant of Philip V. to marry the queen of Spain. "All the national interests, the dignity of the crown, and the security of France, made that resolution imperious." There would have been no difficulty, he thought, had lord Aberdeen remained in office; but lord Palmerston "was not animated by the same friendly feeling towards France;" and in his despatch of the 16th of July, he had placed the prince of Coburg first on the list of candidates for the queen's hand. He attributed to lord Palmerston the declaration, that the choice of the prince "would be agreeable in London;" and this breach of the common concert led to the result that was complained of; but the two marriages would not have been celebrated simultaneously, if the Spanish ministry had not insisted upon that course being pursued.—The subject of Poland was next brought before the chamber. The count de Montalembert severely condemned the annexation of Cracow; which, he said, was a "measure more favourable to the progress of democratic and anarchical ideas, than were the ordinances of July, 1830;" besides being "a flagrant violation of the treaties of Vienna." There appeared to be no difference of opinion on this point; and one member, M. d'Harcourt, said he regarded the French protest as insufficient.—The other paragraphs of the address excited little remark; and all being adopted *seriatim*, the address was voted by a large majority.

In the deputies, the address was read, and the discussion upon it commenced, on the 1st of February. It turned, principally, upon the same points as were brought before the peers. On the question of Poland there was little difference of opinion; but on the Spanish marriages, several speakers, M. Thiers included, condemned the policy of the government, in forcing on the marriage of the duke de Montpensier and the infanta. Some of the speakers (MM. de Lesseps and Crémieux) censured the ministers for making the queen's marriage with a Bourbon a *sine qua non*; but the deputies seemed generally to agree that such an alliance was rightly insisted upon; and that Don Francisco de Assis, the duke of Cadiz, who was the head of the Moderado party, was a preferable husband for the youthful Isabella, to Don Henrique, who was the head of the Progresistas. It was the second marriage that was objected to. M. Garnier

Pages contended, that dynastic alliances had always been fatal to France; citing the words of Napoleon at St. Helena, who ascribed all his misfortunes to his union with the imperial family of Austria.—M. Thiers, in a long speech, in which he quoted largely from the published documents, said, that the marriage was attended, in several respects, with grave inconveniences; that it was premature; and that it would complicate the situation. After having cited much that had been said and written by the French and English ministers on the subject, he exclaimed—"In 1840, when I sustained a policy that, for my part, I found too bold, but which I believed good for the honour of the country, a victim was required to expiate the backward step that was made in the path in which I was engaged with others. Then it was said—not, it is true, in this tribune, but in another—that I had deceived England. Ah! gentlemen, I have no desire to recriminate, and I will not do so; but I can say, that assuredly I did nothing like what has been done in this affair of the Spanish marriages."—M. Guizot defended his policy and his conduct, much to the same effect as he had done in the chamber of peers; reading, in addition, long extracts from the despatches of both the English and French ministers, to remove the impression produced by the speech of M. Thiers; and giving reports of his conversations with lord Normanby, the English ambassador, with a view to show that his lordship had not acted with perfect frankness and straightforwardness in the affair.—M. Berryer, the legitimist, on this occasion, supported the policy of the cabinet; declaring, that "he cared not who triumphed in Spain, Don Carlos or Christina, provided France was instrumental in that triumph."—M. Billaut and M. Dufaure proposed an amendment to the paragraph, to the effect, that if those marriages had occasioned any differences with a neighbouring nation, "France had a right to expect that friendly relations would be re-established without any cost to its interest or its dignity." This amendment was rejected by 242 votes to 28. The paragraph was adopted, as were all the others; and the address was carried on the 12th of February, by a majority of 164—248 ayes to 84 noes. It was presented, the same evening, to the king, who said he received it with the liveliest satisfaction.

The attempt of M. Guizot, in this debate, to cast imputations on lord Normanby, caused an interchange of despatches to take place between the foreign ministers of England and France; lord Palmerston requiring explanations from M. Guizot; whilst, at the same time, he wrote to lord Normanby, informing him, that the English government placed the utmost reliance upon the truth of his despatches. The English cabinet, as a body, took up the cause of their minister, whose

despatches were supported by many collateral circumstances; and lord John Russell informed the count de St. Aulaire, that reparation must be made to his lordship, or the cabinet of London might be induced to take steps which would not be pleasant to that of Paris. This led to an interview between M. Guizot and lord Normanby, in the presence of M. Appony, the Austrian ambassador, when the French foreign minister disclaimed any intention of impeaching his lordship's veracity or personal honour.

For several days there was no business of importance before the chambers; but, on the 22nd of March, some interest was excited by the defeat of ministers in the election of a vice-president of the chamber of deputies. The death of M. Martin (du Nord) occasioned the ministry of justice and public worship to become vacant; and M. Hébert, one of the vice-presidents of the chamber, was appointed to fill it. When the question, who was to be his successor? came before the chamber, three candidates were proposed; M. Duprat, by the ministers; M. Leon de Maleville, by the *gauche*, of which section of the chamber he was a leading member; and M. de Belleyne by the dynastic opposition. There were several ballots before the requisite majority could be obtained; at length M. de Belleyne was withdrawn, and then the votes stood—M. de Maleville, 179; M. Duprat, 178; M. de Belleyne, and those who supported him, on this division, gave their votes to the *gauche* candidate. Immediately after, M. Duvergier d'Hauranne brought forward the question of electoral reform. His project included four distinct changes.—1st. A diminution in the amount of direct taxes required to be paid by an elector, from 300f. to 100f. per annum.—2nd. An augmentation of the number of electors in colleges with less than 400 voters.—3rd. The admission of physicians, advocates, and other professional men to the franchise, whether they paid the necessary amount of direct taxes or not.—4th. A more equitable division of the electoral districts, by which seventy-nine new members would be added to the chamber.—The debate on these propositions extended over several days. It was closed by M. Guizot, in a spirited speech against the motion; in which he said, that he and his colleagues did not contend that the electoral law was perfect; but that, under the actual circumstances, the proposal was bad and inopportune. After M. Guizot's speech, a division took place: for the motion of M. d'Hauranne, 154; against it, 252; ministerial majority, 98.

Nearly the entire month of April was occupied with ministerial dissensions. The minister of war, lieutenant-general Moline de St. Yon, who succeeded marshal Soult, had proved to be quite incompetent to the discharge of the duties which

devolved upon him. Admiral de Mackau was equally, perhaps more, inefficient as minister of marine; whilst the minister of finance disagreed with his colleagues. After a series of councils had been held, in which anything but harmony prevailed, the ministers of war and marine resigned on the 8th of May. M. Lacave Laplagne refused to resign, as he conceived that his taking that step would induce the public to believe, that the state of the finances—which, notwithstanding the increase of the revenue, was anything but satisfactory—was owing to his mismanagement; whereas, he contended, it must be attributed to the demands made upon him for the army, and for public works: he was, therefore, dismissed. On the 9th of May, the successors to these ministers were appointed; and the *Moniteur* of the following day, informed the public, that M. Dumon, secretary of state for the department of public works, was minister of finance, *vice* M. Lacave Laplagne; and was succeeded by M. Jayr, peer of France, and prefect of the department of the Rhône. M. Trezel, peer of France, lieutenant-general commanding the 12th military division, was nominated minister of war, in the place of lieutenant-general Moline de St. Yon; and the duke de Montebello, peer of France, ambassador at the court of the king of the Two Sicilies, minister of marine and the colonies, *vice* admiral de Mackau. M. Guizot was charged, *ad interim*, with the latter office, till the arrival of the new minister from Naples.—In the deputies, on the 15th of May, M. Odillon Barrot asked for explanations respecting these changes, demanding the information as a right due to the representatives of the country. M. Guizot, admitting the right of the chamber to make the demand, though it was one of the prerogatives of the crown to select its ministers, said, he had no objection to state, that the reason why the late ministers were called upon to resign, was, that neither in that chamber, by their speeches, nor out of it by their acts, did they give that support to the policy of the cabinet which was expected from them.—M. Lacave Laplagne, for himself, said, that he had refused to resign, and had been forced to do so; he disclaimed, however, all asperity of feeling, and entered into no explanation of the differences between himself and his late colleagues.

On the 14th of June, M. Crémieux called attention to the occurrences in Portugal, where an insurrection, which broke out in May of the previous year, on account of the imposition of a new health-tax, including what were considered oppressive burial-fees, had diverged into a Miguelite opposition to the queen—so powerful, and so successful, as to call for the interposition of the powers who were parties to the quadruple treaty of 1834. By a protocol of the 21st of

May, the powers agreed to render their assistance, to put an end to the civil war; France and England undertaking to send squadrons of their fleet, to act with the naval forces of the queen; whilst a body of Spanish troops was to enter Portugal, and co-operate with the Portuguese army. M. Crémieux condemned this interposition on the part of France; and said, “the ministers made France the humble servant of the English in Lisbon, and the precursors of Austria, in Switzerland.” M. Guizot replied, that the ministers, in this, as in all other cases, had acted for the interests of France. They pursued a similar line of conduct in Spain and Greece, and should do it everywhere. But, he said, “on all occasions, when they met with the opportunity to effect anything in accord with the English government, to act with it, to be agreeable to it, they would seize on such an opportunity with earnestness. They had met with such an opportunity in Portugal; they had made no sacrifice, either of principle or interest; and all parties in Portugal would reap the benefit of the intervention.”—M. Odillon Barrot spoke against the intervention; but the discussion produced no result; and no motion was made upon the question at issue.

No subject that came before either the public or the legislature, in this year, attracted so much attention, or excited so much indignation, as the discovery of the frauds and peculations, and the gross corruption, prevalent in most of the departments, which was the result of the inquiries set on foot after the fire at Toulon.* As those inquiries proceeded, it had been ascertained, that M. Lagrange, a functionary, had misappropriated corn intended for the hospital of the Gros Caillou; and that M. Benier, a contractor for the commissariat, had defrauded the public to the amount of 400,000f. (£16,000); the corn which he had in store being also so bad in quality, that it was unfit for use. Death saved Benier from punishment; but Lagrange was ultimately tried, and sent for five years to the galleys.—Many similar cases were brought to light; and it was also discovered, that, in the election of deputies, government candidates and others secured their elections by any but honourable means. On the 17th of February, M. Drouillard was tried before the assize court of Maine and Loire, for having bribed the electors at Quimperlé to return him as their deputy. He was a money agent and bill-discounter at Paris: the electors at Quimperlé were mostly small farmers, and he bought almost all their votes, expending 145,000f. (£5,800) amongst a small constituency. He was adjudged to pay a fine of 7,400f. (£296), and to be incapable of holding any public office for ten years. It was not the individual offence of M. Drouillard that excited so much public disgust and indignation

* See *ante*, p. 591.

in France (and, unfortunately, he has so many imitators in England, that Englishmen must be silent on his particular case); but it was a link in the chain of discoveries, which proved that corruption ran through every branch of the public service, in which offices were bought and sold; and it was no uncommon thing, when a friend of the ministers wanted a particular office, to give the holder a sum to retire; a practice which, when brought to light, and denounced in the deputies, M. Guizot said, had long existed, though he disapproved of it. The services of public men were also purchaseable. About the same time that the proceedings against M. Drouillard were in progress, a suit was carrying on between the shareholders in the salt-mines of Gouhenans, and the chief director of those mines, M. Parmentier; in which letters that had passed between the latter and general Despans Cubières, one of the shareholders, who had been minister of war in 1839 and 1840, were brought to light. It was during the time the general held office, that the necessary "concession" from the government, to enable the mines to be worked by a company, was obtained. The correspondence related to it; the general having undertaken to negotiate between the directors and the administration. In one of his letters, he said—"We must not hesitate about the means of procuring for ourselves an interested support, even in the council. I have the means of obtaining this support: do not forget that the government is in needy and corrupt hands." Another contained the following passage:—"The government is in sordid and corrupt hands; and M. ——— insists upon having fifty shares before the 'concession' is made."—The name was left blank; but it was understood to apply to M. Teste, who, in 1840, was minister of public works, and, in 1847, president of the court of cassation. The discovery of these letters, notwithstanding previous revelations, created as much astonishment as indignation; as it was not generally supposed, that men in the highest positions would barter their influence for money, however corruption might run through the lower departments of government, and affect those who held inferior offices. M. Guizot was strongly urged by his friends to show that he and his ministry had no connection with such offences, by exposing and bringing to punishment all the parties connected with this nefarious transaction. The minister brought the subject before his colleagues; but whilst they were considering what course it would be best to pursue, the correspondence was, on the 3rd of May, read in the chamber of deputies; and it was followed up by a charge made by M. Emile de Girardin, in his journal *La Presse*, that the directors of the third lyrical theatre, opened not long previously in Paris, could not obtain the requisite government licence till they paid

100,000f. into the bank, to the credit of a ministerial paper, called *L'Epoque*. Here no concealment was made of names; "it was M. Duchâtel," said the writer, "who himself dictated the terms of this shameful bargain;" and the minister of the interior only gave an equivocal denial to the charge. But there was "more corruption," according to M. de Girardin: the postmasters required some regulations favourable to them; they made application to the government for their concession; and M. Granier de Cassagnac, the editor of *L'Epoque*, undertook, upon payment of the *small sum* of 1,200,000f. (£48,000), to procure the passing of a law favourable to their interests. M. Duchâtel merely said that this story was not probable; but though it was published in all the papers, no one was prosecuted. Then M. de Girardin went further. He asserted, that a peerage had been sold for 80,000f. (£3,200); and as the peers considered that this assertion was an attack on their body, and an intention to bring it into disrepute, they asked leave of the chamber of deputies (of which M. de Girardin was a member) to prosecute the author. On the 17th of June that leave was given, though opposed by several members. M. de Girardin, himself, did not object to appear before the upper chamber, in whose justice, he said, he had every confidence; but he declared he had no intention to insult that chamber, which he had always defended in *La Presse*; and that, where no intention to offend existed, there could be no offence. He also offered to give every information before a secret committee, which the ministers, supported by the chamber, refused to grant. The trial took place on the 22nd of June—the duke de Broglie presiding over the court of peers. When M. Emile de Girardin was called in, after the usual questions, he repeated what he had said in the chamber of deputies relative to his respect for the chamber of peers; and expressed his regret for having made a statement which he felt himself bound in honour to leave unexplained. He did not, he declared, mean to offer the slightest insult to the upper chamber, or to lower it in the eyes of the people; he had merely stated a fact, of which he had a precise knowledge. When he had closed his brief address, five members demanded that the chamber should form itself into a secret committee; and the result of the trial was, the acquittal of M. de Girardin, by a majority of 134 to 60.

But the affair did not end there. On the 25th of June, M. de Girardin charged the minister of the interior with circulating, at the public expense, a curtailed report of the "speech of a deputy," with a view to defame him. The minister contradicted M. de Girardin in no very courteous terms; and a scene of great confusion ensued. After some little order was restored,

M. Duchâtel complained of the attempt to bury the accusation against the ministry (connected with the sale of a peerage) in a secret committee, instead of bringing it before the chamber. M. de Girardin explained, that he had asked for that committee, because a letter bore "an august signature," and could only be produced before such a tribunal. M. Benoit Fould, who had been a shareholder in *L'Epoque*, in which capacity he lost 60,000f. (£2,400), and had been charged with offering a larger sum for a seat in the upper house—declared that he "had never solicited a peerage; that no promise of one had been made to him; and that he had never offered to purchase one with money, nor on any other condition." M. de Girardin was called upon to explain, after this declaration; but he said he had nothing to add to, or retract from, his previous statement. Then the charge of the theatrical patent being sold for 100,000f., and the money applied to the purposes of *L'Epoque*, was alluded to. M. Odillon Barrot maintained that this charge was correct; but no proof, beyond assertion, appears to have been given. After some time spent in mutual recrimination, and M. Emile de Girardin refusing either to retract his charge, or produce proofs to the chamber to substantiate it, M. de Morny moved the following resolution:—"The chamber, satisfied with the explanations given by the government, will pass to the order of the day." For this proposition there were 225 affirmative, and 102 negative votes; thus giving the ministers a majority of 123 votes. The charges, however, were generally believed by the public.

The next day, June 26th, the peers ordered the impeachment of general Despans Cubières and M. Teste, for corruption. This step was the result of the report of a commission, appointed to inquire into the charges made against the latter; and M. Parmentier, and another shareholder, named Pellapra—who, it appeared, had been the medium for conveying money from Parmentier to the general, which ultimately, it was alleged, went to Teste—were ordered to be included in the act of accusation. The trial was fixed for the 8th of July, before the court of peers. On the previous evening, M. Teste—who strongly persisted in his innocence—resigned his dignity as a peer of France, and his office of president of the court of cassation. He sent his resignation to the king, in a letter so carefully written, in terms so well chosen, and conveying such an apparently sincere protestation of his innocence, and such a dignified rebuke of his accusers, that, when it appeared in the journals, the public opinion began to waver as to his guilt. As the trial proceeded, however, that guilt was made manifest, though general Despans Cubières endeavoured to conceal his agency, and, in his examinations, refused to specify who the parties were whom he had alluded to, but

not named, in his letters. Accidentally the name of Teste escaped him, and then reserve became useless. Letters were also produced which had passed between Pellapra (who did not appear at the trial, having left Paris) and the general, proving a continued series of negotiations; and a bundle of accounts and letters found in the possession of madame Pellapra, established, beyond doubt, the facts, that 100,000f. (£4,000) had been paid to M. Teste, and a similar sum to his son Charles, who was a member of the chamber of deputies. These letters and accounts were produced on the 12th of July, and M. Teste abandoned all further attempt at defence. When the court rose, he was taken back to prison, where his sons and his counsel dined with him. After they left, at nine o'clock P.M., he attempted to shoot himself; but he only inflicted a severe wound, which exhausted his strength for the time, but did not terminate life. The next day he wrote a letter to the president of the chamber of peers, announcing his intention to make no further defence, but to submit to any sentence the court might inflict. The court sat four days, with closed doors, deliberating on the sentences—all the accused being found guilty. On the 17th, it was announced, that M. Teste, for having, when a minister, accepted bribes for acts done by him in an official capacity, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, to a fine equal in amount to the bribes received, and to civil degradation. —The same term of imprisonment, civil degradation, and a fine of 10,000f., were awarded against general Despans Cubières, M. Parmentier, and M. Pellapra, for having given bribes to a minister, for the purpose of obtaining the concession of mines to a company in which they were interested. M. Pellapra, who was condemned *par contumace*, surrendered on the 23rd, confessed his guilt, and underwent his sentence.

These events were discussed in the chambers with much acrimony, but no result; nor were any of the acts of the legislature, during the session, of public importance. The most popular measure brought forward—a proposition to diminish the duty on salt, which was loudly called for by the people—was passed by the deputies, but rejected by the peers. The discussion on the finances commenced on the 3rd of August. The new finance minister, M. Dumon, stated, that the ordinary expenditure was 1,361,681,670f. (£54,467,266); the extraordinary, 84,528,500f. (£3,381,140); making a total of 1,446,210,170f. The ways and means were estimated at 1,391,276,510f. (£55,651,060), showing a deficiency of 54,933,660f. (£2,197,346). But there were various deficiencies besides, which had to be provided for; and, on the 7th of August, M. Dumon applied for leave to contract a loan of 350,000,000f. (£14,000,000).

He explained the necessity of this measure to arise from the obligation to provide for great public works: and the burthen thrown upon the state funds by the grave political events of 1840, and by the distress of 1846, rendered it impossible that the network of railways could be executed out of the ordinary resources. The chamber granted the leave required; and on the 9th of August the two chambers were prorogued.

Soon after the chambers adjourned, a fearful crime agitated the capital, and all France. The duke de Praslin—a peer of France, and the representative of the house of Choiseul-Praslin, one of the most illustrious in the kingdom—had married the only daughter of marshal Sebastiani. There were nine children, the issue of the marriage, which appears to have been an ill-assorted union. The tempers and dispositions of the duke and duchess differed greatly; and quarrels between them were frequent, especially about the management of their children. In 1845, these children were placed under the care of mademoiselle de Luzy—a lady described as possessing “considerable talents, great address, and no small turn for management and intrigue.” Her influence over the children soon extended to the father; and this produced a further estrangement between the duke and the duchess, and would probably have resulted in a separation, but for the interference of marshal Sebastiani, which led to the retirement of mademoiselle de Luzy from her position in the household. A correspondence by letter, was, however, commenced and carried on between her and the duke; in which a future marriage was discussed in the event of the death of the duchess. In August the duke and duchess went to Praslin. They returned in the evening of the 17th. On arriving at the barrier, they separated, the duchess going to the family hôtel, and the duke, with three of his daughters, to visit mademoiselle de Luzy. They, also, arrived at the hôtel before bed-time, and the family retired to rest. About half-past four o’clock in the morning of the 18th, the servants were alarmed by loud outcries in the apartment of the duchess. The bells rang violently, and there was heard the noise of falling furniture, and groans, as of persons in pain, as the servants approached the room. They found the doors fastened; and being unable to force them, at length made their way into the room by the windows, which opened from the garden. On entering the room, the lifeless body of the duchess was seen on the floor; and there were no fewer than thirty wounds, made with some sharp instrument, upon her forehead, face, neck, arms, and hands. The servants gave the alarm, which brought the duke to the door of the saloon, who inquired what was the cause of their cries? On being told, and shown the dead body of his wife, he exclaimed, “Poor woman! who is the monster

who has murdered her!” Suspicion at once pointed to the duke; and the police being summoned, they found a track of blood leading from his apartments to those of the duchess; bloody linen, and various sharp instruments covered with blood, were found in the former; and on an examination of the duke’s person, there were evident marks of his having recently been engaged in some desperate encounter.

These circumstances rendered it almost certain that he was himself the murderer. As his privilege as a peer of France protected him from arrest, he was placed under surveillance till the peers could be summoned. They met on the 21st of August; and, on the evidence laid before them, a warrant was issued for his apprehension. Before he left the palace, he requested permission to retire for a few minutes, when he either took poison, or concealed some about his person. He appeared before the peers at the chamber of the Luxembourg, on the 22nd. The chancellor pointed out to him the fearful crime of which he was accused, under circumstances that afforded such strong presumption of his guilt; and called upon him for such explanations as he might be prepared to give. He replied, he could not enter into details. “Avoid them, and say simply, ‘yes’ or ‘no,’” was the reply of the chancellor. “Ah! it requires great strength to say yes or no—which I do not possess,” was his reply. He was placed in confinement, preparatory to taking his trial; but he died, evidently from the effects of poison, on the 24th of August.

This crime—as foul as it was unnatural—had nothing political either in its motive or its tendency; but it had a great effect upon the masses. It came in connection with the offences of Teste and his associates; and was used as an additional argument by those who preached “equality,” to show the utter worthlessness and corruption of the higher orders, whether as regarded the peers or the middle classes. Both were represented as being alike susceptible of corruption, and capable of the greatest crimes. The death of the duke de Praslin was also made a charge against the authorities. It was said that he was permitted to commit suicide, in order to prevent the disgrace of a peer perishing on the scaffold; and that, if he had been one of the lower classes, greater care would have been taken that he did not by such means escape the hands of justice. Thus every circumstance was made use of by those who were labouring to bring about a change, and converted into an additional argument to support and enforce their views.

This year the war in Algeria was brought to a close; and, early in September, marshal Bugeaud, who had been the governor of the dependency, and very instrumental in effecting its subjugation, resigned his charge, and

returned to Paris. The duke d'Aumale was appointed to succeed him as governor-general. In the same month, marshal Soult resigned his office as president of the council, as he wished, he said, in a letter to the king, "to devote what strength remained to him to repose and reflection, now that he was arrived at the end of his laborious career." M. Guizot took the office thus vacated, retaining that of minister of foreign affairs; and the king, to mark his sense of M. Soult's illustrious services, created him marshal-general of France; thus reviving an honour which had only been conferred twice before; in 1660, upon marshal Turenne; and in 1732, upon marshal de Villars.

This year produced a still further division between the governments of England and France with respect to the affairs of Greece. The Colletti ministry, appointed under the influence of France, was found very desirous of cultivating the friendship of that country; and, for this reason, probably, lord Palmerston put forward claims, which he perhaps would not have urged so peremptorily, if the wishes of England had not been decidedly disregarded in the ministerial arrangements. Great Britain, under the guarantee of the other powers, parties to the establishment of the Greek kingdom, had advanced a loan to the government, when it was first established at Athens. The interest on this loan had not been regularly paid; and in 1847, the arrears amounted to a large sum. In August, a demand was made for the immediate payment of those arrears; and the Russian and Austrian ambassadors strongly advised the government of king Otho to comply with it. At the same time, as M. Piscatory stated in a despatch to M. Guizot, all the members of the diplomatic body at Athens believed, that it "was not the payment of the money for which the English minister was anxious, but the removal of Colletti." The Greek ministers could not, however, pay; they had no funds, and lord Palmerston sent a squadron into the Levant, to enforce payment. Before any steps for that purpose could be taken, Colletti died; and the appointment of his successor led to a civil war. Lord Palmerston desired that M. Mavrocordato should be the new minister, and that the chambers should be dissolved. King Otho refused to comply with these demands; and Mavrocordato's friends, encouraged by the support which England gave to the claims of that statesman, took up arms, and nearly the whole of the hill district fell into their power. The interference of the ambassadors of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Bavaria, led to the re-establishment of order; but M. Metaxis became the leading minister; and the influence of France was again triumphant.

In Italy, the policy of France was opposed to that of Austria, as well as to that of the English

government. Louis-Philippe, through his ambassador at Rome, M. Rossi, wished to keep the pope in that path of temperate but judicious reform upon which he had entered when he assumed the tiara; whilst Austria, whose councils were under the influence of prince Metternich, was desirous of preventing any further change, though it did not disapprove of those which had taken place, and which it had, in 1831, recommended. But the Austrian cabinet was very desirous of preventing the pope from throwing himself into the arms of the "catholic democracy;" as "strength derived from such source would be weakness," and "would expose Europe to the most serious dangers."* Pius IX. had, on the 8th of July, authorised the formation of a national guard in the Roman states. A few days after, a revolutionary plot was alleged to have been discovered in Rome, which the Austrians made the pretext for taking possession of Ferrara. This was considered to be a gross infringement of the pope's authority; and assured, through M. Rossi, of the support of France, Pius IX. made an energetic protest against the occupation of that city by Austrian troops. This step, and the nomination of cardinal Ferretti as his minister, revived the popularity of the pope amongst the liberals, which had somewhat declined. The cry for "reform" was again raised; mingled with it, was that of "Italian independence:" and the latter soon became the popular watchword throughout the Italian peninsula. It caused great enthusiasm in Piedmont, where Charles Albert condemned the occupation of Ferrara, and hinted, that the time was approaching when he would draw his sword for Italy. M. Guizot had no wish to encourage this cry, the object of which he did not think could be realised; whilst any attempt to carry it out would undoubtedly give rise to a European war. His wish was, to second the pope in his designs "to stop, by legitimate satisfactions, the fermentation amongst his subjects, and to regain for the church and religion the place which belonged to them in modern society." Deeming "the revolutionary spirit to be the enemy of all governments, the moderate as well as the absolute—of those who admit some progress, as well as of those which resist all"—he considered it "the first duty of a sane government to resist that spirit." The "policy of the *juste milieu*," therefore, which he considered the result of "good sense and experience," and which was practised in France, he counselled to the pope, as the most just, and at the same time the most prudent, that could be pursued.†

In the summer of 1847, the earl of Minto was dispatched on a mission to Italy by the British government, with a view "to examine the state of

* Letter from prince Metternich to M. Appony, the Austrian minister at Rome.

† Letter from M. Guizot to M. Rossi, Sept. 27th, 1847

the peninsula, and to give such counsel to its various governments, as might best tend to bring them in safety through the dangers by which they were surrounded." Two points were particularly insisted upon in his lordship's instructions: first, that each state was to be considered independent within its respective limits; and secondly, that, within those limits, each sovereign had a right to institute any reform he pleased, without interference from a foreign power. When lord Normanby read a copy of the instructions to M. Guizot, the French minister said, that, upon those points, he perfectly agreed with the English government, and had already written a despatch to M. Rossi, in an analogous sense.* But, well-intentioned as this mission was, there is no doubt that it strengthened that desire for revolution which was prevalent in most quarters of Italy; and lord Minto's visits to the principal cities in the Italian peninsula, were, we believe, invariably followed by popular demonstrations, which, in some instances, produced lamentable results. The advocates for the "Italian republic—one and indivisible," whilst they classed France with Austria as the opponent of all change, claimed England as being on their side; and they assumed a bolder front, and a more determined attitude, in consequence of the presence of the English envoy. One of the first scenes for the display of the advanced liberal feeling was Lucca, where the duke was compelled to grant a series of reforms, including the establishment of a national guard, the liberty of the press, and the liberation of political offenders. This took place in August; but, in October, the duke ceded his dominions to the grand-duke of Tuscany, on condition of being paid £48,000 per annum, till he came into possession of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, on the death of Maria Louisa, which took place on the 17th of December following. The king of Sardinia also made further liberal concessions to his subjects; establishing municipalities and provincial councils throughout his dominions. As such changes were resisted in Lombardy, there were disturbances at Milan, which were only put down by the sword. Insurrection also raged in the kingdom of Naples; but the pope, on the 2nd of October, issued a decree constituting a municipal council at Rome, which was formally installed on the 28th of November. At that city, lord Minto had a most enthusiastic reception; and when his lordship visited the theatre, several leading liberals being seen in his box, the French republican papers assumed it as a fact, that England had put herself at the head of those who were striving to obtain Italian independence.—A melancholy event happened at Naples during the reform mania. Count Bresson had been transferred to that court from Madrid, as French

ambassador. He presented his credentials to the king on the 31st of October; and on the 2nd of November he cut his own throat! Why he committed the rash act, was never explained. A letter has been published, and attributed to the prince de Joinville. It purports to be dated "Spezzia, November 7th, 1847;" and to be addressed to the duke de Nemours: the suicide of the ambassador is alluded to in it; and the prince says—"The death of Bresson appears to me a fatality; he was not ill; he executed his plan with the determination of a reasonable man. He was incensed against our father."

* * "Alas! these unhappy Spanish marriages. We have not yet exhausted the fount of bitterness they contain."—Doubts have been thrown upon the authenticity of this letter; but it has never been disavowed.

The differences between the protestant cantons of Switzerland and the Sonderbund, continued during the year—the latter having the support of France and Austria, the former of Great Britain. The right of the seven small cantons to form an independent league was denied; the diet, on the 20th of July, by the vote of twelve cantons, and two half cantons, against seven, declared the league illegal; an armed force was ordered to suppress it: by a further vote of the 3rd of September, the introduction of the Jesuits into the confederacy was declared to be contrary to the laws and the principles of the constitution; and the cantons where the Jesuits resided, were invited to expel them. Before the fighting commenced, M. Guizot, by a note of the 4th of November, proposed that the five powers should interpose their good offices between the contending parties, with a view to prevent civil war. The governments of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, assented; but the offer of interposition came too late. Before it reached Berne, Friburg had capitulated, on the 14th of November, after a severe action on the 13th; the Sonderbund forces had been again defeated on the 23rd, near Roth; on the 24th, Lucerne was entered without resistance; and, before the month closed, the seven cantons sent in their submission to the diet.

In Portugal, where the same opposition between France and England prevailed as existed in Switzerland and Italy—the former supporting the queen and her ministry, the latter the provincial juntas—a compromise was effected by the mediation of the other powers: on the 20th of August, a change of ministers took place; an amnesty was accorded, and the Cortes convoked. By this change, the influence of England, and that of the party she favoured, was restored; and as France was put completely in the background, it strengthened the feeling against England which Louis-Philippe and his minister began to entertain, when they found her opposing French policy in so many quarters.—In

* Lord Normanby to lord Palmerston, Sept. 17th, 1847.

Spain, that policy appeared to have produced evil effects. Early in the year, queen Christina, and the duke of Rianzares, whom she had married, left Madrid for Paris, in consequence of some dissensions with the queen, between whom and her husband mutual symptoms of dislike were exhibited. These symptoms increased; and it was openly reported that a divorce would be sought for, on the ground of that alleged physical incapacity, on the part of the king-consort, to which we have alluded. After living for several months separate and estranged from each other, on the 19th of July the queen forbade her husband to occupy apartments in the royal palace. On the 13th of October, his majesty again returned to the palace, a reconciliation with the queen having been brought about by the interference of M. Branelli, the pope's nuncio; and about the same period, the queen-dowager, Christina, returned to Madrid, and exerted herself to remove the differences between the royal pair.

The supposed countenance given by England to the revolutionists in Italy, and the dread which the northern powers entertained of the designs of that party—from which they predicted nothing but evil—led to negotiations on the part of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, with the view of forming a league against Great Britain. The terms were arranged at Vienna, between count Colloredo, on the part of Austria; and general Radowitz, who acted for Prussia and Russia. The diplomatists then went to Paris, and laid their propositions before M. Guizot. The French cabinet accepted their overtures, and the 15th of March, 1848, was fixed as the day by which the arrangements were to be finally concluded.* The events of the first two months in that year, however, created other occupation for the continental powers.

In France those events were preceded by an agitation for reform, which prevailed throughout the country during the latter part of 1847. It commenced before the chambers were adjourned, and was afterwards kept up by meetings and banquets in most of the large towns. The central committee, established in Paris, to conduct the elections on the part of the liberals, still existed. Odillon Barrot, several weeks before the session broke up, called a meeting at his house, which was numerously attended by members of all shades of the opposition. At that meeting the services of the committee were tendered, and accepted, to promote the agitation for reform; and a petition, drawn up by M. Pagnerre, was agreed to, which was subsequently presented to the chamber of deputies. This petition set forth the reasons why reform was demanded, but did not state the precise alterations in the law of the 19th of April, 1831,

* D'Haussonville.

which the petitioners desired to obtain. In fact, there was a difficulty in determining what changes should be asked for, from the commencement of the agitation—as those who joined in it had different views. The members of the dynastic opposition, led by M. Thiers, would have been very indifferent about reform at all, if they could only have unseated the ministry, and got the government into their own hands. There was a more liberal section led by Odillon Barrot, who wished to preserve the monarchy, but to extend the franchise, and the number of deputies; whilst the republicans, led by MM. Flocon, Ledru-Rollin, and Louis Blanc, were willing to accept any measures as instalments, but determined not to be satisfied till the monarchy was overthrown, and a republic established. “Some members of the parliamentary opposition, of various shades of opinion, such as Thiers, Dufaure, and Lamartine, abstained from appearing at the banquets,” which were organised at the meeting at Odillon Barrot's. “Such turbulent demonstrations appeared to them either not to reach, or else to exceed, the limits of their opposition. They feared, by their presence and sanction, to associate the one party in a struggle for revolution, or the other in an ambitious and purely ministerial opposition. They, therefore, with many other members of the chamber, maintained their conscience and their individuality, and held aloof.”†

The first banquet was held on the 10th of July, at the Château Rouge, Clignancourt, in the neighbourhood of Paris. It was attended by about 1,000 persons, a considerable number being deputies, and a majority of the others electors. MM. Odillon Barrot and Duvergier d'Hauranne were among the speakers; and the language, though violent, was not so much so as that used at subsequent meetings. There were at least fifty of those meetings held in various parts of France before the year closed; and although the collective number of persons who attended them is said not to have been more than 17,000, yet they had a considerable effect upon public opinion. The character of these demonstrations was varied. In some, the constitutionalists predominated; in others, the republicans; and the language held corresponded with the opinions of the majority.‡ At Périgueux, M. Taillefer, the deputy for Sarlat, attacked the middle classes, who, he said, were becoming quite as exclusive as the ancient *noblesse*; and would fall like the old aristocracy, if they did not consent to the extension of political rights to all. At Dijon, the red flag floated over the head of the chairman at the banquet. At Lille, where Ledru-Rollin made a violent speech, and spoke of the speedy overflowing of the political Nile, “which, in its impetuous course, would sweep away all impurities, and leave in

† Lamartine.

‡ *Paris and its Revolutions.*

their stead the seeds of fertility and new life;" and where one of the toasts was, "the advanced guard of the Mountain"—M. Odillon Barrot, who was present, felt it necessary to protest against the violent and unconstitutional language of some of the speakers. At Orleans, a republic was advocated by M. Marie; and at Limoges, communism was preached. "At the close of the autumn," says M. Lamartine, "the original promoters of these anti-ministerial movements tried in vain to moderate them. They had commenced with the idea of recruiting forces for Messrs. Thiers and Barrot, and for the opposition. They had, in fact, recruited for a revolution." Lamartine was present at a banquet at Mâcon, given in honour of himself; and at one or two others subsequently, where he in vain endeavoured to inculcate moderation.—As the time for the reassembling of the chambers approached, the language of the speakers became still more decided; and, as a distinguishing characteristic, the king's health was omitted from the toasts at all the banquets held in the autumn of 1847.

The effect of these meetings was felt before the legislature met. In the contest for a seat vacated at Dieppe, by a ministerialist, an opposition candidate was chosen.—At Rochefort, M. Dumas, who was aide-de-camp to the king, being promoted to the rank of *maréchal-de-camp*, and thus vacating his seat, offered himself for re-election; but he was defeated by a liberal advocate of Paris, M. Baroche.—Vacancies at Toulouse and Florac were also filled by members of the opposition replacing supporters of the government.—At Paris, liberals were elected to the municipality; and, on the 12th of November, the council-general of the metropolitan city, adopted, by a majority of twenty-five to ten, a resolution to the effect, that sixteen years' experience had disclosed serious imperfections in the electoral law of April 10th, 1831; and, "that it was requisite government and the chambers should attend, with solicitude, to the revision of the law in the next legislative session." These events in the capital caused a fall in the funds; and, according to the public journals of the day, mutual recriminations between two of the leading ministers—M. Duchâtel reproaching M. Guizot with his bad management of foreign affairs; first truckling to England, and then hopelessly offending her; and the foreign minister retorting with allegations of unpopular measures in the interior. Thus—the principal members at variance with each other—the cabinet prepared to meet the chambers. The working classes were, at the time, somewhat recovered from the depression of the previous year, but still so badly employed, that they had both leisure and inclination to follow any one who tried to lead them, whether it were in the path of reform, or in that tending to revolution. The

bourgeoisie were either apathetic or in alliance with opponents of the government: few cared for Louis-Philippe, who had been their best friend. As to the opulent classes, they appeared perfectly insensible of any present or approaching ill. Never was there a gayer winter in Paris—more amusements—more display on the boulevards, and in the theatres, or at the *salons*; more lively *badinage* flying about on every side; or less appearance of danger of the downfall of the established *régime*. All seemed wrapped in the security of the present, and recklessly blind to the dangers of the future.

The royal family appear to have been aware, to a certain extent, of what was passing around them; though Louis-Philippe himself was, till almost the last day he sat upon the throne, wrapped in a sense of false security. It is evident that his sons did not possess the confidence which inspired the king; and we find the duchess d'Orleans, towards the close of 1847, thus writing to a friend:—"There are some distressing subjects now commonly discussed, which make me blush to open the newspapers. I am saddened to the very soul at the perturbed state of the public mind—at the discredit into which the higher classes are fallen; the general disaffection of all below them, and the sort of vague disgust which seems to have taken possession of everybody. The moral disease manifests itself, not in sudden attacks or violent convulsions, but in the growing weakness of the rulers, and indifference of the people." Her royal highness saw that some great change was at hand, and mourned afresh the loss of him who "would have known how to infuse fresh vigour into the country, and to give a new direction to its efforts."

The legislature reassembled, for the *last* time under the monarchy of Louis-Philippe, on the 28th of December. The king addressed the members of the two chambers in a long speech. He expressed his happiness that "he had not again to deplore the calamities which the high price of provisions had inflicted on the country. France had endured those calamities with a courage which he could not behold without deep emotion. Never, in such circumstances, had public order and the freedom of transactions been so generally maintained. They were reaching the conclusion of those trials. Heaven had blessed the labours of the people, and abundant crops were reviving, everywhere, comfort and security." He reckoned on the co-operation of the chambers "to bring to a conclusion the great public works, which, by extending to the entire kingdom facility and regularity of communication, must open out fresh sources of prosperity." Several projects of law were mentioned which would be presented to the deputies; and his majesty reiterated the statement, that his "relations with all the foreign powers, gave him confidence that the peace of the world was secured."

The happiness of Switzerland had been disturbed by civil war; and his government, in connection with those of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had offered that neighbouring and friendly people an amicable mediation. The retirement of M. de Bugeaud, and the appointment of the duke d'Aumale as governor of Algeria, were announced; and the speech had the usual peroration, expressive of the devotion of himself and his family to the service and the interests of France, and his confidence in the support of the chambers. "In the midst of the agitation," said his majesty, "*which hostile and blind passions have fostered*, one conviction has animated and supported me. • It is, that we possess in the constitutional monarchy, in the union of the three powers of the state, the most effectual means of surmounting all our difficulties, and of providing for all the moral and material interests of our dear country. Let us firmly maintain, in the spirit of the charter, social order, and all its conditions. Let us faithfully guarantee, according to the charter, the public liberties and their development. Then shall we transmit, uninjured, to generations yet to come, the sacred deposit which has been entrusted to us; and they will bless us for having founded and defended the edifice, under the shelter of which they will live prosperous and happy."

Three days after the king had gone through this ceremony, he lost his sister, the princess Adelaide of Orleans, who died on the 31st of December, in the seventy-first year of her age. Brother and sister were tenderly attached to each other; and this event cast a deep gloom over the royal circle, preventing the usual festivities of the *Jour de l'An*, for 1848, taking place. The king himself, also, was not in his usual health; and those who believed that the peace and tranquillity of France were bound up with his life, felt great anxiety for the future. The gloom and despondency were somewhat removed by the intelligence which ushered in the year—of the submission, on the 23rd of December, of the Arab chief, Abd-el-Kader. He had surrendered himself a prisoner to General Lamoricière; and the event was announced in a despatch from the new governor of Algeria, the duke d'Aumale.

On the 3rd of January, M. Dumon brought forward his budget, which exhibited a fearful state of the finances. With an expenditure of 1,518,000,000f. (£60,720,000), there was an income of only 1,192,000,000f. (£47,680,000), leaving the enormous deficiency of 326,000,000f. (£13,040,000); a deficiency which it was only proposed to lessen by reductions in the estimates, amounting to the insignificant sum of 38,000,000f. (£1,520,000). Other matters, however, for the time, drew off the attention, both of the chambers and the public, from the finances, which were deemed quite a secondary object to reform. The "banquets" were recommenced

early in the year, by one, numerous attended at Cambrai, on the 9th of January, at which the first toast was, "to electoral and parliamentary reform," the king's health being omitted. Popular lectures were also delivering at the college of France, by two of the professors, which the minister of public instruction prohibited, on account of their injurious tendency. Early in January, M. Michelet, professor of history at the college, received notice that his lectures must be discontinued—no reason being assigned. His pupils protested against the decree; and said the suspension took place, because "the animated, ardent, and truthful language of the lecturer, roused the generous sentiments of the pupils, and inspired them with a love of country, of liberty, and of humanity." At this time disclosures of a traffic in government appointments were made, that seriously affected the ministry. The case that first came to light was that of M. Petit, ex-director of posts, who, in 1844, applied for the receivership of Corbeil. He was informed by M. Génie, private secretary to M. Guizot, that the then holder of the receivership would be promoted; and that M. Petit might have his place, provided he would pay a life annuity of 6,000f. (£240) to an officer in the *Cour des Comptes*, whose place the government wanted to have in its hands; with a reversion to the widow, should the officer die before his wife. Places in that court were also sold, it appeared; and the government kept the proceeds in their hands, to purchase and reward secret services. These scandals came before the public just when the suspension of M. Michelet's lectures took place, and considerably increased the public discontent, whilst they afforded fresh topics of invective for the agitators.

The discussion on the address opened in the chamber of peers on the 10th of January. The document referred to all the topics of the royal speech, in terms of assent and approval; and alluded to the reform banquets as "noisy manifestations, in which were blindly mingled vague ideas of reform and of progress; passions hostile to the monarchical constitution; opinions subversive of social order, and detestable reminiscences." These displays were said to "have rather disquieted than disturbed men's minds; and, though the government was bound to direct its attention to them," the peers "were persuaded, that such agitation, tolerated by a free government, was powerless against public order." The discussion on the *ensemble*, and the various paragraphs of the address, extended to the 16th. M. Boissy, in the course of it, brought forward the affair of M. Petit, which M. Guizot evaded, rather than defended; but a statement he made, that the practice of which that affair was an example, was one of long existence, and of which he disapproved, called

up, in succession, MM. Molé, Passy, and d'Argout—all of whom had been ministers; and they positively denied that they had ever authorised the shameful traffic in places, now complained of.—M. Montalembert attacked the government for not having “better served the cause of the Jesuits in Switzerland;” and long speeches were made upon the affairs of that country and Italy; the peers, though they condemned the reform agitation in France, adopting an amendment to the address, in which the pope, the king of Sardinia, and the grand-duke of Tuscany, were congratulated on the conciliatory spirit they had evinced in making judicious changes in their institutions. With this amendment, the address was adopted by a large majority.

The discussion in the chamber of deputies was much more animated, and of a greater length, than that in the peers. Nearly every speaker attacked the government; the Petit scandal, the finances, and foreign affairs being the chief topics of censure and invective; whilst reform was warmly advocated.—MM. Dupin, Odillon Barrot, Thiers, de Tocqueville, Duvergier d'Hauranne, Billaut, and M. Mauguin, were the principal speakers. M. Dupin and M. Odillon Barrot reprobated the conduct of the ministry in the Petit affair; and M. Guizot seemed to feel the severity of their censures very acutely. Greatly agitated, he implored the majority of the chamber not to continue a debate, and invoke censure, raised upon trifles, by an aggressive opposition. This called up M. Odillon Barrot. “What!” said he, “do you, the president of the council, the chief political minister of the crown, and the representative of a great and noble country, call sordid and shameless negotiations, disgraceful undertakings, and base traffickings for places, trifles? Well may it be said that there is no longer a clear understanding amongst us on subjects of public morality.”—M. Thiers devoted himself more especially to an exposure of the financial system, which he described as thoroughly rotten and unsound. Besides the funded debt, there was a floating debt, he said, of 750,000,000*f.*; and Garnier Pagès reminding him that 200,000,000*f.* had been borrowed from the savings-banks—he said, that was true; the sum *was* 950,000,000*f.* (£38,000,000); and bankruptcy was inevitable, if the holders of any considerable part of that sum should present their obligations for immediate payment.—M. Lamartine was the principal speaker on foreign affairs. He went through the diplomatic correspondence which had been published, between the government and those of Rome, Florence, Turin, and the Two Sicilies; contending, that, in its transactions and intercourse with those countries, the ministers had sacrificed the interests of France and of Italy to those of Austria. He traced the lapses and omissions

which, he said, rendered the foreign policy of M. Guizot, both with respect to Switzerland and Italy, contemptible; and ascribed the origin of all to the Spanish marriages, which he severely condemned. To bring those marriages about, the king had broken his alliance with England; and had, said the orator, “abandoned the interests, even the honour, of France, and its permanent benefits, for a mere family advantage.”—M. Duchâtel and M. Guizot replied to the arguments, the assertions, and the taunts of the opposition; but, unfortunately for them, the main reasoning of the speakers was founded on facts, which they could not refute.

Though the opposition spoke forcibly, they moved no amendment on the address till the last paragraph was before them, which alluded to the recent popular display. That was opposed by M. Odillon Barrot, who was amazed, he said, at finding ministers leading the king to address outrages and insults to a great many deputies, behind whom were many thousand citizens. His speech was an able *exposé* of the inconsistencies of the existing system, and its injustice to the millions it excluded from all share in political privileges, which were extended only to a few thousands; and as able a defence of the legality of the banquets, which were justified by precedents, and by something more;—principles long consecrated, and successfully combated for, when the elder branch of the Bourbons was driven from the throne. “I have devoted my life,” said the speaker, “to those principles—the principles of 1830; and I throw on the ministry the fearful responsibility of events.”—Such was the impression produced by this speech, that several members of the majority pressed on the ministers the necessity and the propriety of a compromise. Two separate amendments, pledging the government to some measures of “a wise and moderate reform character,” were moved by M. Givré and M. Sallandrouze, both ministerialists. The first was rejected by 228 votes to 185; the second by 222 to 189. The opposition deputies then left the chamber; and the address was adopted, on the 13th of February, by 241 ayes to 3 noes.

In the month of January, after the discussion on the address had commenced, the electors of the 12th arrondissement of Paris announced a banquet, to be held at a private house, with a view to express their wishes in favour of reform. Their intention was communicated to the commissary of police, who—the meeting being of a political character, and likely to disturb the public peace—refused his consent, as he was justified in doing, by a police *ordonnance* of May, 1831. The electors, notwithstanding, held meetings for the purpose of completing the arrangements for the banquet, as if it had not been prohibited—choosing M. Boisset, the deputy for the arrondissement, chairman; and

the lieutenant-colonel of the 12th legion of the national guard, the vice-chairman. M. Duchâtel, being questioned on the subject in the chamber, said the meeting had been prohibited by his direction; but the preparations were not discontinued.

On the 14th of February, there was a numerous assembly of opposition deputies at the *café* Durand, in the Place de la Madeleine, presided over by M. Odillon Barrot. The deputies present, ninety-four in number, discussed the propriety of adopting a resolution, proposed by Armand Marrast, and strongly recommended by M. Emile de Girardin—that all the various sections of the liberals should send in their resignations; thus rendering necessary upwards of a hundred elections, which would enable the candidates to discuss the question of reform in the presence of the electors. The resolution was advocated by MM. Marie and Chambolle; and opposed by MM. Garnier Pagès, Martin de Strasbourg, Duvergier d'Hauranne, Lamartine, and de Remusat. They were of opinion that the deputies should keep their seats, hold the banquet, and defy M. Duchâtel. This course was resolved upon—M. de Girardin only giving up his seat: an address was prepared, and published in all the opposition papers of that evening; and the 22nd was announced as the day on which the banquet should take place.—In the address, the last paragraph of the reply to the royal speech, voted by the majority of the deputies, was declared to be “a flagrant and audacious violation of the rights of the minority; of the most sacred principles of the constitution; and of the most essential rights of the citizens.” Under these circumstances, “it became the grave and imperative duty of the opposition, in the face of the events which agitated Europe, not to abandon, for a single instant, the defence of the national interests:” and convinced that the right of assembling was “inherent in their free constitution, and formally established by their laws, they had resolved to maintain it by every legal and constitutional means. In consequence, a committee had been named, to superintend and regulate, in concert with the electors of Paris, a banquet which was preparing, with a view to protest against such arbitrary pretensions. This decision had been come to,” it was added, “without prejudice to the appeals which, under other forms, the deputies of the opposition reserved to themselves the right of making to the electors, and to public opinion.”

This demonstration on the part of the deputies was the signal for the appearance of able articles in all the opposition journals, in which the general policy of the government was analysed and condemned; and many specific ministerial acts were selected for censure. The ministers appeared alarmed at the threatening aspect which affairs had assumed; their journals

were instructed to intimate, that a conciliatory course would be pursued, and popular reforms introduced in the course of the session; but the king was indignant when he heard of this concession to popular manifestation, which he considered to be contrary to the rights and prerogatives of the crown, and the requirements of the charter. He declared, that, “though everybody appeared to be for reform, he would never be a party to such weakness. Reform was only another word for the advent of the opposition to power; that event would be only another word for war—the beginning of the end. When the opposition succeeded to power, he would take his departure.”

The committee of the deputies and the citizens were at a loss, at first, to select a suitable place for the banquet. They ultimately fixed upon a large open space in the road to Versailles, running through the Champs Elysées; which was enclosed by four walls, and over which it was proposed to stretch a canvas covering, as the season was not favourable for feasting in the open air. In this area, it was calculated that 6,000 persons could be accommodated; and M. Boisset was announced as the president of the day. When these arrangements were known, MM. de Morny and Vitet—at the instance of the ministers; the task being confided to them as not committed to either party—had an interview with M. Odillon Barrot; at which they stated, that if the opposition felt it a point of honour or duty to persevere in the course they had taken, the ministers could not be diverted from what was right: they wished, however, to avoid a resort to force. They were willing to allow the public to go to the banquet; but, after the guests had assembled, they would be summoned to disperse, and M. Boisset, M. Odillon Barrot, and some other of the more prominent promoters of the meeting, would be cited before the correctional court, in order that the legality of the proceedings might be tested, and the decision of the judges taken, by which the government was willing to abide. This proposition was assented to on the part of the opposition; and it was expected that the question between that party and the ministers would thus be submitted to the only proper arbitrament—a court of law.

On the evening of Sunday, the 20th, and on Monday morning, the 21st of February, the committee published a programme of the intended proceedings on the 22nd. The Place de la Madeleine was named as the rendezvous of the guests, who were to proceed, in procession, to the Rue Chemin de Versailles. The national guard were invited to attend, that they might “accomplish the double duty of defending liberty, by joining the demonstration, and of preserving order, and preventing all collision.” They were directed to line the streets between the Place de

la Madeleine and that where the banquet was to be held; to form in columns, according to the order of their legions; and not to appear armed. The students of the Polytechnic and other schools and colleges were also invited to attend. It was stated, however, that the proceedings were to be confined to the procession and speeches; and no banquet would take place. On the appearance of this programme, the ministers thought that there was more to be apprehended from the procession than the banquet; and as the appeal to the national guards and the students was decidedly illegal, they authorised the prefect of police to issue a proclamation, calling on the people to obey the law, and not to attend any such assemblages as that convened for the 22nd. Another proclamation appeared from the minister of the interior, prohibiting the intended gathering in the Place de la Madeleine. General Jacqueminot, commandant of the national guard of the department of the Seine, also issued an order of the day, in which he reminded the members of that force of their duties; and that "they were forbidden to assemble, as national guards, without an order from their respective officers, given at the request of the civil authorities." The ministers had already taken steps—which they felt confident would be effectual—to protect Paris from riot and outrage. The troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were numerous; and large bodies were ordered to march into Paris on the morning of the 22nd. Posts, selected after careful survey and observation, were assigned to them in various parts of the city; they were furnished with axes, and other implements, to enable them to destroy any barricades which might be thrown up; and also provided with an ample supply of ammunition and provisions.

The deputies met in the afternoon of the 21st, as usual. Soon after they assembled, M. Barrot presented himself, and requested to know the meaning of the recent proceedings. At one time, he said, the government had consented to allow the meeting, and take the question before the judicial authorities for their decision. To this he had no objection, as he was convinced that such meetings were perfectly legal, provided that notice of them was given to the head of the police, that no arms were carried, and that there was no tumult or riot.—M. Duchâtel replied, that the government had determined to let the question as to the right of meeting come before the courts of law for their decision: but the manifesto of an anonymous committee, which had that morning appeared, had altered the aspect the intended gathering had previously assumed. That manifesto did not merely invite persons to repair to the banquet, but it called on the public to join in a great popular demonstration, which would endanger the peace of the capital. It also invited the national

guard to attend in uniform; and not only the national guard, but the students of the colleges and schools, who were minors, and who ought to devote their time solely to their education, were urged to join the procession. This manifesto violated the laws, and also the regulations of the police; it was, in fact, the proclamation of a new government in opposition to the old; and was a proceeding it was impossible for the authorities to tolerate: they had, therefore, forbidden the meeting.

That evening there was a great commotion in Paris, where the populace assembled, and tore from the walls the proclamations forbidding the meeting of the next day, which they rent in pieces, and trampled under their feet; and, in the councils of the opposition, a few of the deputies of that party met at M. Odillon Barrot's, who proposed that they should yield to the demonstration made against them by the government, as they could not expect to resist it with success; and those present at once agreed to the proposal. They then attended a more numerous meeting, held at a *restaurateur's* in the Place de la Madeleine, where the proposition to abandon the banquet was violently resisted by MM. Lamartine (who lived to discover and to acknowledge, that, in this instance, he committed a fault, which might be excused, but not absolved), Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Arago, de Malleville, Marie, L'Herbete, and others. It was, however, carried; but it was also resolved to move the impeachment of the ministers; and with the announcement, published the following morning, that the procession, as well as the banquet, was postponed, appeared a copy of the articles of accusation which were to be preferred against the administration. The following is a copy of these articles, taken from *La Réforme*, of the 22nd of February:—"We propose to impeach the ministry as having been guilty of the following offences against the nation:—First. Of having betrayed, abroad, the honour and the interests of France.—Secondly. Of having falsified the principles of the constitution, violated the guarantees of liberty, and attempted to destroy the rights of the citizens.—Thirdly. Of having, by a systematic corruption, sought to substitute for the expression of public opinion, the calculations of private interest, and thus to pervert the principles of representative government.—Fourthly. Of having trafficked, to promote the ministerial interest, in public functions, and in all the attributes and privileges of power.—Fifthly. Of having, at the same time, ruined the finances of the state, and compromised the national grandeur and strength.—Sixthly. Of having violently despoiled the citizens of a right inherent in every free constitution; and the exercise of which had been guaranteed by the charter, by the laws, and by precedents.—Seventhly. Of having, finally, by a policy

avowedly counter-revolutionary, placed in jeopardy all the fruits of two revolutions, and thrown the country into a profound agitation."

The government were informed, in the evening of the 21st, that the meeting on the following day would not take place. They therefore, during the night, sent off orders countermanding the march of troops to Paris. The order of the committee, postponing the meeting, was published on the morning of the 22nd. It was not heeded. From early dawn the streets were thronged with people; a large body of whom proceeded to the house where the committee met in the Place de la Madeleine, and gave vent to expressions of dissatisfaction when they found that neither Odillon Barrot nor any of his colleagues were there. Another body went to the chamber of deputies, but was dispersed by a troop of dragoons; and a third made for the hôtel of M. Guizot, where they broke the windows, and would have forced an entrance, had they not been prevented by the municipal guard. All these groups, as they proceeded through the streets, sang, in chorus, the "*Marseillaise*," and "*Mourir pour la Patrie!*"—the Girondist song; frequently varying the expression of their feelings by shouts of "*Vive la Réforme!*" and "*À bas les Ministres!*" During the day, "committees of insurrection sat constantly in the secret societies, and in the offices of the republican journals;"* by whom these and the subsequent movements were, no doubt, directed. As evening approached, the drums beat for the assembling the national guards, upon whose fidelity general Jacqueminot placed the greatest reliance; the few troops in Paris were bivouacked in the streets and open spaces; and large crowds of the populace, from the various parts of the city, collected in the Champs Elysées, and in the cloisters of St. Méri—having, on their way, broken all the lamps, and forced the posts of the *octroi* and the municipal guard. In the Champs Elysées, the "*gamins*," or Parisian boys, collected the chairs, stools, and benches, placed there for the accommodation of the public, and made a bonfire of them, the flames of which spread around, illuminating the scene; there were also crowds in the Rue de Rivoli, the Rue St. Honoré, and the Boulevards, where the soldiers were pelted with stones; and a shot or two were fired, but no injury was done. As night came on, many of the populace made for their homes. Before ten o'clock the greater part of Paris appeared to be quiet; but round the cloisters of St. Méri, at the Batignolles (where a body of insurgents had disarmed the national guard), and in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the insurgents were quietly erecting barricades—no attempt being made to prevent them.

The proceedings of the day, which, at first, were thought by the authorities to denote rather a

* Lamartine.

popular riot than a political demonstration, were sufficiently alarming to cause the ministers to regret, before its close, that they had countermanded the march of the troops; and messengers were dispatched to the different posts, to order reinforcements to advance without delay. The deputies assembled, as usual, at one o'clock; soon after, the ministers entered the chamber; they were followed by M. Odillon Barrot, and several deputies who had been acting with him. There was a very unimportant measure before the chamber—the project for a Bordeaux bank—when M. d'Hauranne presented the articles of impeachment, which were signed by fifty-three deputies. They were read; and the president of the chamber stated that they should be taken into consideration on Thursday, the 24th. The members of the cabinet, soon after, met the king in council; and reports of the occurrences of the day being brought to them, it was resolved, that, the next morning, Paris should be occupied by joint detachments of the regular troops and the national guards; and orders were given to that effect. This had been the constant course adopted since 1830, when any public disturbances took place; and it was a judicious one whilst both forces were attached to the cause of loyalty. At this time its adoption was a great mistake, for the disaffection of the national guards was notorious; and, in the opinion of many, cost Louis-Philippe his crown.

The principal officers of the guards met at nine o'clock at night, on the 22nd, at the office of the *Siècle*, for the purpose of determining what line of conduct they should pursue. They had then received no orders from the government; but they resolved to appear in arms the following morning, for the purpose of preserving order, if possible, and upholding the monarchy; whilst they left the ministry, to whom they were generally opposed, to its fate. It appears, that these men supposed that they had sufficient influence with the troops and the people to induce both to keep the peace; and that then they would have the power of forcing their own views on the government. But they came to their conclusions without ascertaining the opinions of the men, who, when put to the test, were found to side with the multitude, and to care little for their officers or any other authorities. In the night of the 22nd, the different legions received orders to assemble early the next day; at 7 A.M. the *générale* was beat, and they were seen in uniform, and with their arms in their hands, hastening to their posts; and at the same time, "the roads which led to the several gates of Paris, were covered with columns of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, summoned by the orders of government. These troops presented an imposing spectacle. They were obedient and in perfect discipline, but silent and dejected. They carried in their countenances

their grief at being called to act in a civil war,"* which seemed to be raging around them; for, as they were entering the city, firing commenced. During the night, cannon had been planted in the Places du Carrousel and La Concorde; and it was found that barricades had been erected at various points. The populace had, that morning, assembled in the Rue St. Denis, the Rue Poissonnière, the Rue St. Honoré, and some others, where they attacked and overpowered the detached military posts. Troops of the line were sent to attack the barricades, and clear the streets; and the national guards were ordered to join them. Instead of obeying promptly and cheerfully, the privates of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 10th legions, surrounded their officers, and demanded the dismissal of the ministers, and electoral reform. The officers were obliged to yield to the will of their men, who, almost invariably, refused to act against the people; but, instead of keeping themselves neutral, as was the plan resolved upon over-night by the officers, in most instances they joined the insurgents; and the lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd legion obtained an interview with the duke de Nemours, for the purpose of impressing upon him the absolute necessity of concessions being made, and to request his royal highness to make similar representations to the king. If, said that officer, something were not done in the way of conciliation, he certainly could not answer for his men.

Before this message reached the king, fighting had commenced between the people and the troops just arrived, who, at first, evinced considerable resolution, and great promptness in obeying their officers. They attacked several of the barricades, which were vigorously defended; and although they were generally successful, after two or three repulses, in capturing those works—obstructive to them, defensive to their opponents—it was not without considerable loss. At one barricade in the Rue de Quincampoix, twenty-two soldiers were killed. But as the day advanced—as they found the national guard inactive and passive, or disposed to take part with the insurgents—similar feelings seemed to influence the troops; and the fighting was left, almost entirely, to the people and the municipal guard, between whom a great mutual antipathy, from some cause or other, existed. From first to last, that guard gallantly stood by Louis-Philippe and the throne.

The deputies met early on the 23rd; and the minister of the interior was called upon to give the chamber some information as to what was really passing in the capital; and also to state his reasons for not calling out the national guard at an earlier period. Whilst a discussion was going on upon these points, the king was sitting in his chamber in the Tuileries, or anx-

iously pacing the floor; receiving the messages which were constantly arriving; and eagerly asking, if it were possible that the national guard were making common cause with the revolutionists? Whilst his majesty was in the height of his perplexity as to what measure he ought to adopt—all around him being equally at a loss what to advise—M. Guizot arrived, to tender the resignation of himself and colleagues. The queen had seen that this step was necessary, but the king was reluctant to sanction it; and if he could, he declared, he would have preferred resigning himself. The queen was present when the interview between Louis-Philippe and his minister took place; and when M. Guizot left, her majesty said—"You will always remain the friend of the king, and will support him." "Ah! how happy you are," said Louis-Philippe; "you depart with honour; I remain with shame."

As soon as M. Guizot left the king, he returned to the chamber, announced the resignation of himself and his colleagues, and said his majesty had sent for count Molé, to reconstruct the cabinet. The cheers of the opposition members reached the street; they were taken up by the mob, by whom the Place de Bourbon was surrounded; and it was soon known that there was to be a new government; and, it was also reported, a complete change of system. Satisfied with the result, the national guards retired to their homes; and, in most places, the troops of the line were withdrawn: the municipal guard alone remained in the streets; the regular troops being confined to the Tuileries, the Invalides, and a few more posts.

Had the national guards done their duty in the morning, they might, with the aid of the troops, have effectually put down the movement. As it was, after the resignation of M. Guizot was announced, it is very probable that the movement would have died away of itself, but for the exertions of the members of the secret societies, pledged to republicanism. Meetings were held at the offices of the *Réforme* and the *National*; at which MM. Armand Marrast and Flocon were the only persons who advised that the revolution should be pushed to an extremity; even Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc hesitated at sanctioning such a course. It is evident, however, that a body, called "the democratic electoral committee," continued *en permanence*, and organised the subsequent insurrectionary movements. Its agents collected the dispersed populace; and two large bodies of men, with whom women and children were mingled—one succeeding the other—collected round the office of the *National*, even before the meeting that was holding there had dispersed. The second was addressed by Marrast: his speech is not reported; but it appeared, from the various displays of feeling made by the audience, to fall in

* Lamartine.

with the ideas of his hearers, who, when he ceased, united themselves to the first body, which seemed to direct the movements of both. They were soon joined by two other bodies—one formed in the Boulevard de la Bastille, the other in the office of the *Réforme* journal. These bodies concentrated in the neighbourhood of the *café* Tortoni, and made their way to the Boulevards. "A crowd of inoffensive people followed, mechanically, in the train of the silent column. A small detachment, consisting of workmen, armed with sabres and pikes, separated from the principal body at the top of the Rue de Choiseul, and silently took possession of that street. The object of this detachment appeared to be, to flank the hôtel of foreign affairs, which was occupied by troops, while the head of the column presented itself in front of the building. An unknown system of co-operation evidently combined and controlled these movements. The unanimous whisper of a revolution animated the mass. None but conspirators could, with such precision, govern its chances and guide its evolutions."* The movements were evidently directed by a man bearing a red flag, and a number of torch-bearers mixed themselves with the crowd, just as the national guard, and many other citizens, were illuminating their houses, under the impression that, with the change of ministry, order would be restored, and reform peaceably obtained.

In front of the hôtel, a battalion of troops was drawn up. They had their bayonets fixed, and their guns loaded; for the unpopularity of M. Guizot rendered an attack upon his residence imminent. After the combined columns had taken up the positions we have described, at about the hour of 10 P.M. there was an awful silence, which was of short duration. Suddenly a shot was fired from the ranks of the masses—no one knows by whom; but it is generally believed to have been discharged by a man named Lagrange, who was one of the Lyons conspirators of 1832. Fined and imprisoned at that period, he subsequently became a member of the national assembly, where he joined the republican party. This man, it is said—apprehensive that affairs were taking a turn favourable to the monarchy—in order to produce a crisis, fired a random shot amongst the troops. Others say that a musket went off by accident. But, whether by accident or design, the shot came from the populace. The officer commanding the troops, thinking they were attacked, ordered his men to fire. The effect of this rash order was lamentable in itself, for fifty or sixty persons were stretched bleeding on the earth; and its result was fatal to the monarchy. There was no attempt at resistance on the part of the crowd, who set up loud shrieks and lamentations. The military officers, regretting what had taken

* Lamartine.

place, endeavoured to address the people; and one succeeded in collecting round him a number of listeners. A man, armed with a musket, pushed them on one side; and the officer, with difficulty, saved his life by rushing back to the ranks. In the few minutes thus occupied, large waggons were brought up, on which the dead bodies, fifteen in number, were laid; the body of a female being placed where it could be at once seen by the people from the houses and in the streets. These waggons "were found perfectly ready, even at that advanced hour of the night, as if they had been previously prepared to exhibit through Paris those lifeless bodies."† They were first taken to the office of the *National*, then to that of the *Réforme*: and from thence through various streets; vengeance on the murderers being continually invoked.—The red republican flag was displayed; the tocsin was sounded from the steeple of St. Sulpice and other churches; detachments rushed through the city, demanding arms; and when they were given to them, the words, "They have given us arms," were chalked on the doors. When the arms were refused, they were, in many instances, forcibly taken, and several armourers' shops were robbed. All the streets through which the waggons passed were immediately after closed by barricades. Before morning, the entire adult population of the faubourgs appeared to be roused into action; and when the 24th of February dawned upon Paris, it is said that there were upwards of 150,000 men arrayed under the red flag—armed with muskets, sabres, pistols, and pikes; and that more than 2,000 very strong and formidable barricades were thrown up, over which floated the tricoloured flag.

The king was ignorant of these events for some time. He had been, in the afternoon of the 23rd, engaged with count Molè, who could not form an administration. At midnight, his majesty had summoned M. Thiers to his presence, and offered to entrust him with the same commission which count Molè had failed to execute. Thiers refused to accept it unless Odillon Barrot was united with him. The king, though he had a great personal objection to that statesman, consented; and his was the hand which directed the movements for the next few hours—his name occupying the first place in the arrangements, as they were announced by proclamation on the 24th, and in the *Moniteur* of the 25th. Dissatisfied with the military arrangements of generals Jacqueminot and Tiburce Sebastiani, the king had, previously to sending for M. Thiers, appointed marshal Bugeaud commander-in-chief of Paris. That general immediately devoted himself to making the necessary arrangements for the suppression of the insurrection. He soon introduced order where all was confusion; inspired confidence,

† Lamartine.

where before was doubt and distrust; and although it was nearly two o'clock in the morning of the 24th of February before he began to act, his orders were so rapidly dispatched, and so promptly executed, that, by daybreak, he had four columns formed, and marching to take up positions at the Hôtel-de-Ville, at the Place de la Bastille, and at the Panthéon: the 4th column was to march through the centre of the city, between the 1st and 2nd, and to give its assistance to either, or both, as might be required. The *Moniteur* of the 24th contained the *ordonnance*, announcing general Bugeaud's appointment. From some unexplained cause, no mention was made of the resignation of M. Guizot and his colleagues; and the people, believing that the firing by the troops at the hôtel of foreign affairs was in consequence of an order from the ex-minister, were roused to a violent pitch of indignation by the appointment of Bugeaud, who was very unpopular with all classes. It was soon found, that, under the new commander, much more energetic measures were likely to be taken than those of the preceding day. At an early hour the troops began to attack the barricades; and there was severe fighting in the Faubourg Montmartre and the Rue St. Denis. Several barricades were carried; and for a time success seemed to hover over the banners of the king. This aspect of affairs was soon changed.

MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot met early in the morning. They were seen together in the Boulevards as early as eight o'clock, and were greeted with cheers and shouts of "*Vive la Réforme!*" by the crowds who lined the barricades, and who were not aware that the men they were cheering were now ministers. Thiers told them they should have reform; and made his way, with his companion, over the barricades to the Tuileries. There the two ministers made it a condition with the king that the firing should cease, and the troops be recalled. The king consented; and at about ten o'clock, M. Odillon Barrot left the Tuileries, and proceeded to the Boulevards; announcing as he went, that Lamoricière was appointed commander of the national guards—ordering the troops to cease firing, to give up the posts they occupied to the guards, and retire to their barracks. The effect of these orders, which marshal Bugeaud at first refused to obey, was depressing to the troops, exciting to the people. The former, we are told, "lost all confidence in the government; and reversing their muskets, marched sullenly to their quarters, some fraternising with the people, and some even gave up their muskets to them."

Soon after Odillon Barrot had personally announced the change of policy, the following proclamation was posted on the walls and public places in the city:—"Citizens of Paris! Orders

have been given to suspend the firing. We have been commissioned by the king to form a ministry. General Lamoricière is named commander-in-chief of the national guard of Paris. MM. Odillon Barrot, Thiers, Lamoricière, and Duvergier d'Hauranne, are ministers. The word is, Order—Union—Reform!" This document was signed by Odillon Barrot and Thiers. Whatever effect it might have had at an earlier period, it had none at all when it appeared. A manifesto of the republicans was circulated immediately after; in which the citizens were told, that, although it was well that the Guizot ministry was overthrown, the late events rendered further measures indispensable: and the "members of the democratic electoral committee" called on the people to sign a petition, denouncing the employment of a military force to suppress civil disturbances; and demanding—
 "1st. That the people be incorporated in the national guard. 2nd. That the municipal guard be disbanded. 3rd. That a law should be passed, enacting, that, in future, the army should not be employed to repress civil disorder." This petition, of course, soon obtained signatures; the proclamation of Barrot and Thiers was torn down; several gentlemen, who rode along the Boulevards and other places, endeavouring to restore order by announcing the change of ministry, and promising, also, a complete change of system, were everywhere followed by persons—agents of the secret societies—who told the people not to trust in the promises of the king, nor listen to those who wanted to deceive them: and though some of the insurgents were disposed to listen to those who were exhorting them to return to peace and order, the immense majority appeared to be animated by the sentiment of a workman on the Boulevards; who, in reply to one of the messengers of peace, exclaimed—"We raised up Louis-Philippe; why should we not pull him down?"—Thus, during the entire morning, the spirit of revolution spread; and the people seemed roused almost to madness. Their armed bands traversed every street; they occupied the Boulevards, and also the Rue de la Madeleine, up to the entrance of the Place de la Concorde; burned the guard-houses which were near the Champs Elysées, firing on the sentries, and massacring the municipal guards; broke into the Palais Royal, and completely despoiled it; pushed barricades nearly to the Tuileries, on the sides of the Rues Richelieu and Rivoli; and fiercely attacked the military post of the Château d'Eau, opposite the Palais Royal. The garrison consisted of 138 soldiers of the 14th regiment of the line, and a few municipal guards, who refused to surrender, and made a most heroic defence, keeping up a constant fire, and killing many of the assailants. At last, the insurgents dragged the king's carriages from the royal stables, placed them round

the walls of the château, and covered them with straw and faggots, to which they set fire. The little garrison was again summoned to surrender, but refused; and all perished in the flames!—The defence made by this gallant little band, for the time, diverted the attention of the insurgents from the Tuileries; and very probably preserved the lives of the king and his family. By twelve o'clock, with the exception of the palace and the Place du Carrousel, where about 3,000 soldiers and national guards were stationed, all Paris was in the hands of the insurgents; whose watchword was no longer "Reform!" but "Down with Louis-Philippe!" and "Hurrah for the Republic!"

The night of the 23rd of February had been one of terror and anguish to all the royal family. "We had not even strength to pray," writes the duchess d'Orleans. At that time, what had seemed to be merely a ministerial crisis, had assumed the aspect of a revolution; and the king and his family could only indulge in the most mournful anticipations. The next morning, the king gave audience to MM. Odillon Barrot and Thiers; and consented to substitute marshal Gérard for Bugeaud, as commander-in-chief of the troops. He then breakfasted, with his family and the officers who were still with him, in the gallery of Diana; retiring, after the meal, into the royal cabinet, where he was followed by the queen, his sons, the duchesses d'Orleans and de Montpensier, marshals Soult and Gérard, M. Thiers, and M. Cousin. Soon after MM. Duvergier d'Hauranne and de Remusat arrived, to announce, that, in the Place de la Concorde, they had seen the soldiers deliver up their arms to the insurgents. The king exclaimed, "It is impossible!" "Sire, I have seen it myself," said M. de l'Aubospère, an officer who had accompanied the two deputies. His majesty was greatly shocked at this intelligence; but with the faint hope that his presence might recall the fleeting loyalty of the troops, he resolved to present himself before those in the Place du Carrousel. He was encouraged to take that step by the queen, who at this crisis displayed a firm and a noble spirit.

Accompanied by his sons and aides-de-camp, he mounted his horse, and rode along the line of troops which were drawn up in the inner courtyard of the palace, and on the Place. He was eagerly watched by the queen, the princesses, and the duchess d'Orleans, who had stationed themselves at the windows. The count de Paris and the count de Chartres were also there. The troops shouted "*Vive le Roi!*"—but the people met them by cries of "*Vive la Réforme!*" whilst the national guards evinced the utmost coolness and indifference, except that occasional shouts of "*Vive la Réforme!*" "*A bas les Ministres!*" were heard from their ranks. His majesty soon returned, disheartened and

dismayed; and retired to his own room, where he sat down, holding his head with his hands, trying to collect his thoughts. He had not been in this position long, when he was joined by MM. Thiers and de Remusat, and M. Merriau, the principal editor of the *Constitutionnel*. They narrated the events of the morning, as far as they were themselves acquainted with them; and were followed, before twelve o'clock, by M. Emile de Girardin, who had been employed to print at the office of the *Presse*, as M. Merriau had at that of the *Constitutionnel*, the proclamation announcing the change of ministry. He had seen that proclamation torn down and trampled upon; had noticed the excitement, heard the cries, and ascertained the demands of the people; and convinced that there was no possibility of preserving the crown for Louis-Philippe, and that not a moment was to be lost if it were to be obtained for the count de Chartres, he ran to his office, drew up a brief form of abdication, and then went to the headquarters of the Carrousel, to entreat marshal Bugeaud, not yet aware of his dismissal, to accompany him to the king. Together they made their way to the Tuileries, and found his majesty, with the two deputies above-named, and M. Merriau.

As soon as the new arrivals entered the chamber, the king exclaimed, "What is the matter, M. de Girardin?"—seeing that it was something very imperative, from his precipitate entrance. "Sire!" replied de Girardin, "there is not a moment to lose; and, if the most decisive measures are not now taken, in an hour royalty will have ceased in France." He appealed to M. Merriau, who confirmed his declaration. "What is to be done?" asked Louis-Philippe. "Abdicate, sire!" was the response. "Abdicate!" repeated the unfortunate king. "Yes, sire!" replied de Girardin, "and that without a moment's hesitation, and confer the regency on the duchess d'Orleans, for the duke de Nemours will not be accepted." The king appealed to marshal Bugeaud, who, though he accompanied M. de Girardin on his mission, did not agree with him. He told his majesty not to abdicate in the midst of a fight. The battle had commenced; let them restore order, and then deliberate! "Then," said the king, taking the hand of the marshal, "you counsel me not to abdicate!" "Yes, sire," replied Bugeaud; "I advise you not to yield; at least at this moment, do not adopt a course which can save nothing, and may lose all!" The king was disposed to follow this advice; and he earnestly begged the marshal's pardon for having appointed Gérard to supersede him. "Sire," said Bugeaud, "if it saves your majesty, I am far from envying him your confidence."

The king hesitated. It required no slight exercise of will to give up a throne, if there

were the slightest prospect of preserving it. But he was supported only by the marshal. The duke de Montpensier, who had joined his father, recommended abdication; and some fresh messengers, M. Dupin being one of them, who arrived from the scene of conflict at the Château d'Eau, also agreed that all was lost. The king hesitated a few minutes longer, and then exclaimed, "Let no more blood flow for my sake; I have always been a pacific king. I will abdicate." The queen and princesses were in an adjoining room; his majesty opened the door communicating with it, and repeated to them the words, firmly expressed—"I abdicate!"

In the midst of the entreaties of the queen, the duchess, and the princesses, that he should recall his words, the king retired to his closet, followed by the weeping females; where he wrote his act of abdication in the following words:—"I abdicate the crown, which I assumed in compliance with the will of the nation, in favour of my grandson, the count de Paris. May he succeed in the great task which this day devolves upon him!—LOUIS-PHILIPPE."—When he read these words, the queen exclaimed, "May the count resemble his grandfather!" The duchess d'Orleans renewed her entreaties to him to recall his act, and "not to impose upon his grandson a burden which he thought himself unable to sustain." The entreaties were vain; and, her last hope fled, the duchess cast herself, weeping, into the queen's arms. They clasped each other's hands for a few minutes in silence. But those moments were short. Fresh tumults were heard without, and the king was urged to leave the palace, as his life was in danger. His majesty then took off his uniform, and the queen assisted him to put on a plain black coat and round hat. Thus attired, his majesty left the room, followed by the queen, the duke de Montpensier, and all the princesses; the duchess d'Orleans alone remaining, with whom a few parting words were hastily exchanged. As the king was leaving, M. Crémieux—a member of the dynastic opposition, who had just arrived at the Tuileries with intelligence, and to tender his advice to the king—asked his majesty, "if it were not understood that the regency belonged to the duchess d'Orleans?" The king replied in the negative; adding, that the law, which he had no power to alter, gave the regency to his son; and the nation must do as it wished.

The duke de Nemours had previously gone to endeavour to procure carriages for the royal party, who left the palace by the door opening on the gardens. It was a melancholy sight to see that group! The princesses were in front, each carrying her child in her arms. Then came the king, drooping and dejected, supported by the queen, and followed by two ladies of honour, and some other persons; one of whom was M. de Neuilly, the only officer faithful to

the last. Their route lay by the spot where Louis XVI. perished; there their progress was arrested by a numerous crowd; and they were compelled to halt. The king withdrew his arm from that of the queen, took off his hat, and addressed a few words to the people, which were not heard. An officer of the 2nd cuirassiers, seeing the danger, exclaimed—"Gentlemen! it is the king! spare him." To this one of the crowd answered—"Do you imagine we are assassins? Let him go!" Several other voices joined in the cry of "Let him go!" And two coaches having arrived, by the exertions of the duke de Nemours, the royal fugitives entered them, and were driven off in the direction of St. Cloud. The duke de Nemours did not accompany his relatives. He returned to seek the duchess d'Orleans.

The carriages were escorted by about 200 cuirassiers, who nobly rallied round fallen royalty. They crossed the Champs Elysées, and there some guns were discharged at the escort, two of whose horses were wounded; they pursued their route, however, without receiving any other injury. St. Cloud was reached in safety; but Louis-Philippe did not consider it wise to remain there long; and two public carriages being procured, the royal party was driven to Trianon. There it was discovered that the king had left a large sum of money he had in his possession (350,000*f.*, or £14,000), in his cabinet; and general Dumas was obliged to borrow 1,200*f.*, to enable his majesty and family to pursue their journey. From Trianon they proceeded to the Château de Dreux, which the queen wished to visit, that she might, before she left France, see the tomb of her son, who was interred in the chapel; and there the king and queen; the duchess de Nemours, the princess Marguerite, her daughter, and her two sons; the duchess d'Aumale, and her child; the princess Clementine, and her husband, the prince of Saxe-Coburg; the duke de Montpensier, and some attendants, spent the night of the 24th of February.

The departure of the king from the Tuileries was only just in time. It took place about a quarter of an hour after the fall of the Château d'Eau. Excited by their victory, the leaders of the insurgents shouted—"To the Tuileries! March to the Tuileries!" The men who had been foremost in the movements of the morning, led the way, and the crowd followed. By that time, the 3,000 troops who lined the Place du Carrousel an hour or two previously, were nearly all dispersed. The duke de Nemours was seen before the Pavillon de l'Horloge, surrounded by several generals, who had joined him on his way to the Tuileries. A lieutenant of the 5th legion of the national guards, Albert Roche, went to his royal highness, and informed him, that six legions, with a large body of citizens, were

marching on the palace; that resistance would be useless; and that it would be better to stop the effusion of blood. The duke had no wish that more Frenchmen should be immolated, either for the monarchy or the revolution; and he ordered the remaining troops to withdraw. They did so, in great disorder; and, soon after, were replaced by the insurgents, who rushed, in a state of wild excitement, to the palace. There a messenger was met with the written abdication of the king, which he was taking to one of the printing-offices, for the purpose of having it printed and circulated. It was snatched from him by Lagrange, the evil genius of the preceding evening, who crushed it up after perusing it, and kept the people, for the time, in ignorance of its contents. Though the act of abdication was thus withheld, the following proclamation was soon posted on the walls, only to be torn down, as the announcement of the Odillon Barrot ministry was at an earlier period:—"Citizens of Paris!—The king abdicates in favour of the count de Paris, with the duchess d'Orleans as regent. A general amnesty. A dissolution of the chamber. An appeal to the country." This important document bore no signature; and, therefore, those who would gladly have hailed such a settlement of the insurrection, were at a loss to know whether it was genuine.

Whilst these events—the flight of the royal family, and the advance of the insurgents on the Tuileries—were taking place, the deputies assembled in the Palace de Bourbon. Previous to the opening of the chamber, a number of them had encountered Lamartine in the vestibule. Requesting a private interview with him, they went to a remote apartment, where, having closed the doors, they avowed themselves republicans, but expressed their doubts whether France was ripe for that sort of government. As the reign of Louis-Philippe, however, was at an end, they asked, whether there might not be a temporary continuance of royalty, in the name of a child, and in the feeble hand of a woman? And whether he would be the minister and guardian alike of expiring royalty, and of nascent liberty, by assuming the guidance of the lady, the child, and the nation? Lamartine, the former royalist, declined this offer, and decided for a republic. Another group of republicans, led by M. Emanuel Arago, the son of the great *savan* of that name, took a contrary course to that of their colleagues; and were endeavouring, at the same moment, to induce M. Odillon Barrot to make common cause with them. More consistent than Lamartine, he refused; he adhered to the monarchy, though he still supported the liberal opinions he maintained under Louis-Philippe.

When the deputies assembled in their chamber, M. Sauzet, the president, took his seat; and soon after, a chair was brought, and placed,

with two others, one on each side, at the foot of the tribune. There were not many deputies present; and they appeared quite at a loss what course to pursue. They collected in groups; agitation was visible in every countenance; and every noise without excited a visible emotion. M. Thiers appeared for a minute, and taking his hat from his head, he exclaimed, "The tide is rising!" and again left the hall. At length, the noise drew nearer, and became louder; the doors were thrown open, and the duchess d'Orleans, with her two children, entered.

After the king had quitted the Tuileries—and whilst the duchess was sitting, with her two sons, in the room where she had been left, uncertain what course to pursue—she was joined by a few deputies, who urged her to assume the regency, as the last chance of salvation for the monarchy. "It is impossible," she replied; "I cannot sustain such a burden. It is beyond my strength: no one is prepared to see me regent; I, less than anybody." Whilst she was speaking the sound of musket-shot was heard; the insurgents were approaching the Tuileries; and taking her sons by the hand, she went through the long galleries that led to her own apartments, where two deputies, MM. Dupin and de Grammont, joined her, and told her they were sent by the duke de Nemours, to conduct her to his royal highness. She accompanied them, almost borne along by a group of persons around her; and, as she passed through the garden-gate, the mob took possession of the palace. Some proceeded to his majesty's apartments; others made their way to the throne-room, seized the throne, carried it to the Boulevards, and there burnt it amidst the loudest acclamations. In this room, Lagrange read to his followers the abdication of Louis-Philippe. It was received with loud cries of "No more royalty!" "No other reign!" Every other apartment in the palace was then visited; and all the king's private property—the valuable collection of paintings and busts—everything that was known or supposed to have belonged to Louis-Philippe, was broken up and destroyed, the fragments being carried off, or thrown out of the windows. But the money which the king left behind him, and which was supposed to belong to the civil-list; the crown diamonds, and other property of value, were carried to the bank of France; a circumstance much to the credit of the insurgents, many of whom were among the most destitute of the Parisian population.

The duchess d'Orleans, during this time, was on her way, she scarcely knew whither. In the Place Louis XV., her royal highness saw the duke de Nemours on horseback, but was unable to join him. There was a large crowd, from which a cry arose, "*A la Chambre!*" And the duchess, who had at first thought of

going to the Boulevards, where her royal highness expected to encounter the real people of Paris, allowed herself to be carried along to the Palace de Bourbon—the crowd shouting "*Vive la Duchesse d'Orleans! Vive le Comte de Paris!*" and forming an avenue, along which she advanced, holding the count de Paris by the hand, and followed by M. Scheffer, the artist, in the uniform of a national guard, carrying the count de Chartres, who was ill. The duchess arrived at the chamber about the same time that M. Odillon Barrot had gone to search for her at the Tuileries; and she took her place, with her children, on the seats placed near the tribune, in the midst of much disorder, and alternate cries of "*Pas de Princes! Nous voulons pas de Princes ici!*" and "*Vive la Duchesse d'Orleans! Vive le Comte de Paris!*" During a momentary silence, M. Dupin ascended the tribune, and said that Louis-Philippe had abdicated; that the act of abdication was about to be produced by M. Odillon Barrot; and he suggested, that the recognition of the count de Paris as king, and the duchess d'Orleans as regent, should be entered in the *procès verbal*. This proposition met with violent opposition; in the midst of which M. Lamartine requested that the sitting might be suspended; and the president ordered all strangers to withdraw, requesting the duchess to do so, "in compliance with the rules." Her royal highness refused, as it was a royal sitting; and when her friends, alarmed at the increasing tumult, entreated her to leave the chamber, she replied—"If I leave this assembly, my son will never enter it again!" The duke de Nemours was then seen on the upper benches, opposite the tribune; with some difficulty, the duchess and her children reached him, and took seats by his side, just as Odillon Barrot entered. That deputy, having obtained silence, said—"The crown of July rests upon the head of a child." He was interrupted by cries of "*Vive le Comte de Paris!*" and the duchess rose to speak. She could, however, only utter, "My son and I are come"—when her voice was overpowered. Then several speakers rose together: some wanting to speak themselves; others wishing that the duchess (in whose hand M. Crémieux had placed a paper he had just written, and which, he said, "contained a few words appropriate to the occasion") should be heard. At length M. Lamartine made himself heard—speaking in favour of the duchess and her son, as her friends thought; but his words had a different tendency, and were opposed to the Orleans regency. Then M. Marie and M. Crémieux, from the tribune, proposed a provisional government; the latter adding, that he had just seen the king and royal family to their carriages. Before any decision could be come to, an armed mob rushed in; and, in the midst of the greatest confusion, a deputy, M. Jules de Lasteyrie, undertook to conduct

the duchess and her children to the president's house. A company of national guards made way for her (to each of whom she subsequently sent a token of remembrance), and she was hurried into the *salon* of the presidency, when she found the princes were not with her. "My children! my children!" she exclaimed, in tones that rose over the din that prevailed; and at length, the count de Paris—who had been tossed about in such a manner that it is wonderful how he escaped with life—was handed to her by M. de Montesquiou; and she was informed that the duke de Chartres had been taken into an adjoining house. As soon as she found her children were safe, her royal highness, with the count de Paris, entered a carriage that was standing at the door of the presidency; and M. de Lasteyrie, who had not left her, jumped on the box, and taking the reins out of the hands of the coachman, drove to the Invalides. There she found marshal Molitor, the commandant, ill, and confined to his room, and with only a few old soldiers about him. The duke de Nemours soon arrived; and the duchess was willing to have encountered any difficulty, to have braved any danger, if she could have maintained the rights of her son. For the time, all she could do was to remain at the Invalides.

After the duchess left the chamber, a scene of the greatest confusion ensued. Another party of the insurgents, fresh from the plunder of the Tuileries, invaded the hall of legislature. They were headed by a captain Dunoyer and M. Lagrange, and, as they entered the chamber, they made it resound with their repeated shouts of "No more Bourbons!" "Down with the traitors!" "A provisional government!" MM. Marie, Crémieux, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin, were all at the tribune. They joined (Ledru-Rollin much more violently than the others) in rejecting the regency of the duchess d'Orleans, as the law had nominated the duke de Nemours and that law could only be changed by the same authority which had enacted it; and the two last-named deputies advocated a provisional government, which MM. Marie and Crémieux had proposed; though that was certainly as great a violation of the law as it would have been to institute a "provisional regency." What they said, however, could not be heard except by those immediately around them, for the cries and shouts of the mob continued; and there was a constant motion amongst the crowd, as if some active struggle were going on. In the midst of the tumult, M. Sauzet kept his seat for some time. At length, feeling his life to be in danger, he retired, most of the deputies of the centre following him. M. Lamartine was then alone in the tribune. At his suggestion, a party of youths made their way to Dupont de l'Eure, and bore him to the president's chair. When he had taken his seat, Lamartine suggested to

him not to lose a moment in proclaiming the names of a provisional government. As soon as the populace who crowded the hall—a part of them, at all events—understood what was going on, different individuals drew up lists of the members of this government, which were handed to Lamartine; and he tells us, that he “tore up some of them, and altered others:” and there can be no doubt, that the list which was, after some delay, proclaimed from the chair, was arranged by him. It contained the names of MM. Dupont de l’Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Ledru-Rollin, and Crémieux. Each name was received with applause and outcries; and it was difficult to tell which predominated. He who formed the list, however, tells us, that “it approved itself to the instinct of the people;” as “in it every shade of popular opinion found its representative.”

No sooner were the names of this new government announced from the chair, than Lamartine descended from the tribune, and gave the word, “To the Hôtel-de-Ville!” As the temporary president was leaving the chair, the large painting of “Louis-Philippe swearing to the Charter,” which was behind him, attracted notice; and there was a cry of “Let us tear it down!” An *ouvrier*, who had a double-barrelled gun across his shoulder, shouted, “Stop! I’m going to have a shot at Louis-Philippe;” and instantly his gun flashed, and its contents were lodged in the canvas. There was a rush to the president’s chair and to the tribune; and the Palace de Bourbon would, no doubt, have shared the fate of the Tuileries, but for the interference of a workman, Theodore Six, a carpet-maker; who, from the tribune, urged the people to respect monuments and property, and not to abuse their victory. They were induced to listen to him; and, rushing from the hall, followed the “provisional government” to the Hôtel-de-Ville.

The seven deputies found it no easy matter to reach their destination. The streets were crowded; and it was difficult to say whether good humour or passion prevailed. A hackney cabriolet, drawn by one horse, had been procured for Dupont de l’Eure and Arago, the two oldest of the men who were about to take the management of the public affairs into their hands, or it would have been impossible for them to have reached the hôtel. Lamartine marched at the head of the other five; and they were followed by a tumultuous crowd, of whom about 300 were armed: a single company or squadron could have dispersed this “confused

and disorderly procession,” as the principal actor in the events of the day terms it; but it passed along unmolested. At the barracks of the Quai d’Orsay, Lamartine called for a glass of wine, and invited the soldiers there to fraternise with him; which they did. In the middle of the Quai de la Mégisserie, barricades obstructed their progress; Dupont de l’Eure and Arago had to leave their carriage, and the former was lifted over them. At every step, dead bodies of men and horses were there encountered, with fragments of broken arms, and pools of blood.—In the Place de Grève, the members of the provisional government found themselves engulfed in a sea of men. Some were friendly, others the reverse. Their march was interrupted; there were doubts whether they could advance; but to return was as difficult. After much struggling, the men who had followed Lamartine and his colleagues, got in front; and “beneath a canopy of pikes, rusty muskets, swords, bayonets fastened upon long poles, cutlasses, daggers, brandished over their heads, with bare arms scorched with powder, stained with blood, and still trembling with three days’ fighting,”*—they reached the Hôtel-de-Ville. There a fresh difficulty awaited them.

Lamartine admits that the movements of the three days of February were influenced by the secret societies, and directed by secret committees, which sat in those societies and at the offices of the republican journals.† The editors and managers of two of those journals—the *National* and the *Réforme*—were prominent leaders of the republican party: a portion of the subscribers to each were members of secret societies; and there were two other societies—“*Des Saisons*,” and “*La Société Dissidente*,” in Paris, and one at Lyons. Each of these bodies had a number of combatants in its rank; the whole combined, not amounting, it is said, to more than 15,000 or 16,000 men in the departments, and 4,000 in Paris.‡ But they had a defined plan, effective organisation, and a determined will: these enabled them to keep discontent alive throughout the population of the capital; to obtain a considerable control over popular movements; and placed in their hands the means, at any time, of creating a popular *émeute*. They had been the first movers in the reform agitation of 1847, which had led to the downfall of the dynasty; and were not willing to lose the fruits of what they considered to be, mainly, the work of their own hands. While, therefore, the deputies, and after them the mob, were debating and clamouring in the Palace de Bourbon, M. Flocon,

* Lamartine adds—“Their costumes were hideous, their countenances pale, and excited to madness; their lips quivered with cold and excitement; their eyes were fixed as in insanity. It was the madness of freedom.”

† *History of the Revolution of February, 1848.* Our narrative of the events of the “three days” is derived

from that work, the *Memoirs of the Duchess d’Orleans*; Emile de Girardin’s *History of Thirty Hours*, February, 1848; Hodde’s *Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes*; the works of Cassagnac, Regnault, Caussidière, and other contemporaries; and the *Annuaire Histoire*.

‡ De la Hodde.

the editor of the *Réforme*, MM. Armand Marrast and Bastide, the editors of the *National*, M. Louis Blanc, and a few other leaders of the republicans, met at the Hôtel-de-Ville, where they found that M. Garnier Pagès had already installed himself, having usurped the office of *maire* of Paris; the duties of which he was exercising. Other members of the democratic press and the republican party assembled at the hôtel. There they gathered their friends round them, and chose their own "provisional government," or rather installed it; for the nominations were previously made in the offices of the *National* and *Réforme*.* The persons who comprised it were MM. Armand Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, Recurt, Albert (a workman, who had greatly distinguished himself), Caussidière, and Sobrier, and the abbé Lamennais. Before the arrival of the parties from the Palace de Bourbon, a proclamation, containing the names of the government of the Hôtel-de-Ville, had been circulated. On the arrival of the former, the two opposing bodies entered into deliberation, which ended in the amalgamation of the two lists; and the "provisional government" immediately proceeded to business. The first step was to apportion amongst themselves the various offices. They did this "while leaning on the bare wood of their narrow council-table," and surrounded by "deputies, magistrates of Paris, colonels of the national guard, citizens, well known in their vicinity, and journalists of every shade of liberal opinion"—"a thoughtful auditory," says Lamartine, "bending over the focus of a grand decision." The following arrangement was made, without deliberation or voting; everything, according to the same authority, being "done on the first proposition, in concert, and by acclamation." The presidency of the council was given to M. Dupont de l'Eure, then eighty years of age. M. Lamartine was made minister of foreign affairs; M. Crémieux, of justice; M. Ledru-Rollin, of the interior; †M. Michael Goudchaux (a banker), of finance; M. François Arago, of marine; †M. Carnot (son of the member of the convention of the same name), of public instruction; †M. Bethmont (a young deputy, a member of the dynastic opposition), of commerce; M. Marie, of public works; †M. le general Bedeau, of war; MM. Armand Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Albert, were appointed secretaries to the government—at first, with only consulting voices in the cabinet; but they were soon admitted to deliberate and vote. MM. Pagnerre and Barthelemy St. Hilaire were named as general secretaries to the council. Garnier Pagès was confirmed in his office of *maire* of Paris, which was organised under him, by MM. Buchez and Recurt. When his appoint-

ment as minister of war was announced to general Le Bedeau, he refused to accept it. General Subervie was appointed in his stead; and Bedeau was nominated general of the first military division. M. de Courtais (a deputy, and an old officer of the royal army) was appointed to command the national guard of Paris. M. Etienne Arago was placed at the head of the post-office; and the department of the police was entrusted to MM. Caussidière and Sobrier. General Cavaignac was appointed to the governor-generalship of Algiers, to replace the duke d'Aumale. The office of advocate-general, held by M. Dupin, was divided between MM. A. Portalis and Corne. It was also resolved to send M. Emanuel Arago to Lyons; M. Sarrut, to Blois; MM. Delécluse and Thouret, to Lisle; M. Trèlat, to Clermont-Ferrand; and M. Aumont, to Caen, as commissioners of the provisional government.

These appointments were announced to the public in a proclamation drawn up by Lamartine. It told the people, that "the government having fled, the provisional government had not hesitated to accept the patriotic mission which the emergency imposed." That government "was desirous of a republic, sanctioned by the ratification of the people, who would be immediately consulted. It desired a unity of the nation, formed, henceforth, of all classes of the citizens that composed it. It desired the government of the nation by itself; liberty, equality, and fraternity for its principles, and the people as its watchword. Such was the democratic administration which France owed to herself; and which the efforts of the provisional government would be able to secure to her." Another proclamation was addressed to the army. As the government to which they had pledged their oath had fallen, and as it was necessary that the harmony between the people and the army, for a moment interrupted, should be restored, the soldiers were called upon to "swear fidelity to the people, among whom were their parents, their brethren; to swear attachment to the new institutions of the country; and all would be forgotten, except their courage and their discipline." These proclamations were printed and placarded in every quarter of Paris, and distributed at all the barracks.

The rumour that a "provisional government was sitting at the Hôtel-de-Ville," soon spread, though night had closed in before the arrangements were made; and the hôtel was soon crowded, in every direction, with anxious visitors. Amongst the first arrivals were "the principal officers of the army; who, to whatever parties they might have belonged in the morning, betook themselves, stained as they were

* This fact transpired before a court of inquiry, appointed to investigate the circumstances of a later insurrection.

† The † prefixed to the names of those appointed to ministerial offices, indicates that they were neither upon the Palace de Bourbon nor the Hôtel-de-Ville list.

with powder, from the battle to the Hôtel-de-Ville. They passed with difficulty, but without insult, through the ranks of those against whom they were fighting early in the day; rallying round the provisional government, as the sole centre from which anarchy and social dissolution could be resisted.* They were received cordially, and dismissed to their posts, with orders "to rally the soldiers round their standard; to prevent all collision between the people and the troops; and to keep open a communication on the roads leading to Paris." The soldiers of the national guard, republican deputies, monarchists, and legitimists, we are told, repaired to the same spot; and "it seemed as if the throne, as it disappeared, had withdrawn all the barriers which had existed between the minds of men; and that, thenceforth, there was but one aim, the public safety; but one duty, self-sacrifice; but one party, France."† But this pleasant state of things, if it really existed, was soon interrupted. The population of the suburbs also poured forth in torrents. "Upwards of 200,000 men choked the streets and the approaches to the Hôtel-de-Ville," excited by every passion, and repeatedly addressed by orators, mounted on the parapets of columns, the sills of windows, or any other eminence that presented itself. The most absurd and exaggerated reports were spread amongst them; and they were agitated by opposite passions, like the sea by contending billows. In the Place de Grève, 3,000 or 4,000 red republicans were collected, who are described as "seeing in the explosion of that day the prospective bursting of a mine sprung beneath the very foundations of the old social system." Many were "insane ruffians, who had no political system in their understandings, and who only took part in a revolution on account of the blood it sheds, the disorder it perpetuates, the terror it inspires." These were men "resolved to recognise no republic but that of the scaffold, no government but that of the axe."

All these classes pressed upon the Hôtel-de-Ville, where the members of the government—who "could scarcely obtain sufficient space for their rapid consultation by leaning over the table which separated them, and bringing their faces close to each other beneath the circle of the heads, uplifted arms, and bayonets of the mingled and tumultuous crowd which stood around"—were frequently compelled to go out and address the multitudes that threatened to overwhelm them,—Lamartine being the most successful speaker. Under these circumstances, the provisional government took upon itself to issue orders that entirely subverted much that had been considered established in France. Each member "boldly took upon himself the responsibility of life and death—each seized a pen and a sheet of paper, and wrote upon his

* Lamartine.

† Ibid.

knee, or upon his hat, the required decree, signed it, and gave it to the person charged with its execution." The number of orders of this description, signed by Lamartine, Marie, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, circulated within the barricades in the few first hours after the arrangement of the government, Lamartine asserts was "thousands." Of course, that is a mere figure of speech; but the "decrees" were numerous and most important, undoubtedly. Emile de Girardin enumerates some of them as follows:—1. That justice be administered in the name of the sovereign people.—2. That the chamber of deputies [and the municipal guard] are dissolved; and a national assembly will be convoked.—3. That the members of the ex-chamber of peers are forbidden to assemble.—4. That there shall be fraternity with the people, the army, and the public schools.—5. That all citizens, without distinction, shall be embodied in the national guard.—6. That all deserters shall be arrested and punished.—7. That all political prisoners shall be immediately liberated.—8. That the late ministers shall be arraigned before the court of appeal.—9. That immediate possession be taken of the fortresses of Vincennes and St. Valerien.—10. That all civil, military, judicial, and administrative functionaries be absolved from their oaths.—11. That the effects pledged at the Mont-de-Piété, for any sum under ten francs, be returned to the depositors.—12. That 1,000,000f., due to the civil-list, be remitted to the wounded workmen.

Such were some of the "first decrees" of the "provisional government," issued under the circumstances which we have described upon the authority of one of its members; who says, "The first few hours of the night [of the 24th of February] witnessed a tumult rather than a council." Still the pressure continued; and there appeared but one way of satisfying the "sovereign people" of the faubourgs, by whom the hôtel was surrounded. The first intention of the "provisional government," was to have convened a national assembly, by which the form of government to be established should have been determined. The violence of the crowd without and within the hôtel, however, led them to adopt a more decisive action. A tricoloured flag was suspended from the window, and "hundreds of scraps of paper were flung to the multitude, on which were inscribed the words, 'the republic is proclaimed.' They were read and passed from hand to hand; the announcement flew through the crowds almost with the rapidity of thought. Then the new authorities believed that uncertainty and conflict had ceased;" that "the confidence of the metropolis was restored;" and "they appeared for a moment to breathe freely, as if a new and vitalising air had blown from heaven over that human furnace."‡ With the

‡ Lamartine.

exception of Lamartine and Marie, "the greater part of the members of the government, who were at the same time ministers, repaired to their respective departments;" whilst Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Albert, went to the Place de Grève, where, after many of the people who had thronged the streets had retired to their homes, there still "remained bivouacs, which formed the rear-guard of the revolution; insurgents and combatants, exhausted and tottering with cold and wine, who kept watch with lighted matches around four pieces of artillery, loaded with grapeshot." The provisional functionaries exerted their influence with these men to induce them to disperse. There was also "a tenacious and agitated mass of men, feverish and insatiable with excitement and commotion, which encamped, or tumultuously fluctuated, about the courts, staircases, and halls of the Hôtel-de-Ville," and its immediate neighbourhood. Lagrange was an active agent amongst these parties, composed chiefly of the *gamins* of Paris. Unable to disperse them, Lamartine proposed that a decree should be issued, appointing a force of twenty-four battalions of *garde mobile*, and inviting these parties to enrol. His colleague, Marie, assented. The decree was written on a scrap of common paper—all the writing-paper that could be obtained having been exhausted for the numerous decrees previously issued. The lists were immediately opened for enrolment; and these youths, flattered at being asked to serve their country, eagerly gave their names, and thought no more of creating disturbance. Caussidière and Sobrier had, during the evening, exerted themselves with the police in restoring order as far as possible; and at midnight, when Lamartine quitted the Hôtel-de-Ville to proceed to his own home, he found quiet in the streets, though there were sufficient indications of the tumultuous day which had been passed, in the fires which were met with at intervals, round which combatants were lying asleep on a little straw; and in the sentries selected from the citizens, who, with musket in hand, kept watch-and-ward at the corners of the streets. Lamartine changed his clothes, which were torn to rags; took two or three hours' sleep, and returned to the Hôtel-de-Ville at 4 A.M. on the 25th of February, when the fires he before passed were gone out; and the sentries of the people were sleeping with their elbows supported on the muzzle of their muskets. At the Place de Grève, and the streets which surround it, there were numerous groups—some of four or five together, evidently not of the working classes—with red ribbons in their button-holes, and red cockades in their caps. Lamartine passed through them to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where "quiet, silence, and sleep reigned;" and relieved his colleague Marie, who "went, in his turn, to see and comfort his family."

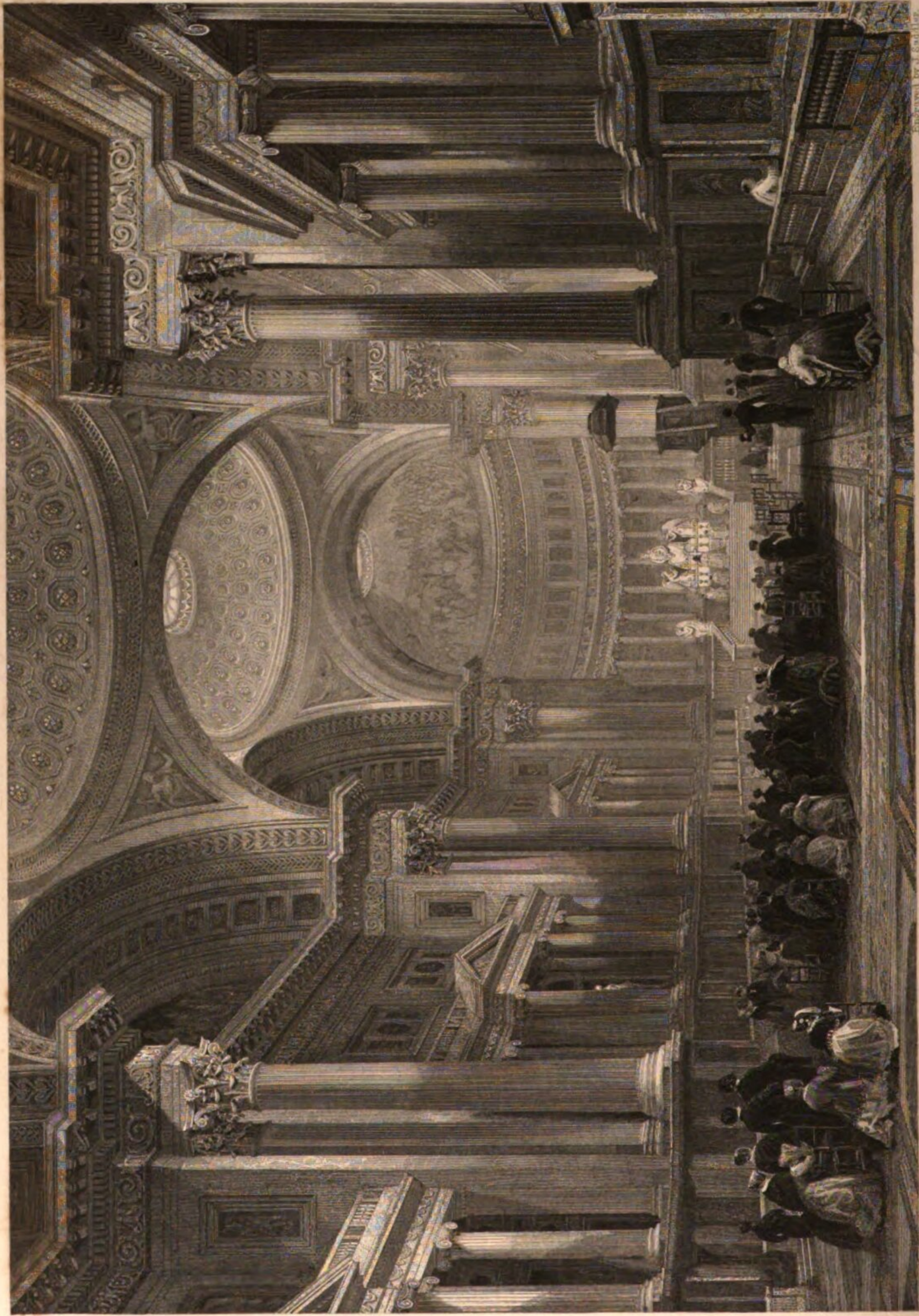
That night the exiled king and his family spent at Dreux; and, before he retired to rest, his majesty wrote to M. de Montalivet, the minister of his household, requesting that his portfolio, dressing-case, and other articles, might be forwarded to him at that town. It was near two o'clock on the morning of the 25th of February when the courier left; and Louis-Philippe immediately retired to rest, falling into a profound slumber almost as soon as he laid on the bed. Shortly after, a messenger, who had been dispatched by M. Bethmond (the new minister of commerce), arrived from Paris with the intelligence that a republic was proclaimed. M. Maréchal, the sub-prefect, to whom the news was first communicated, thought it best not to rouse the king at that hour; and he did not go to the palace till seven o'clock. He then found the aides-de-camp and the duke de Montpensier, and communicated to them the melancholy information. The king still slept; and it was left to the queen to inform him of the downfall of all his hopes. Her majesty did this with the courage and resignation she had displayed throughout. A council was immediately held at the king's bedside, to consult what course it was best to take under those circumstances. It was arranged that the royal party should no longer travel together, but take different directions, to baffle pursuit, should any be made. The king and queen were to proceed to the Cape d'Honfleur, where M. de Perthuis had a house then unoccupied, at which they could be temporarily received. It was hoped that from thence they could embark for England, which it was agreed should be the general rendezvous of the royal family. The prince of Saxe-Coburg, and the princess Clementine were to travel to Germany; the duke de Montpensier, the duchesses d'Aumale and de Nemours, and the children, were to go to Avranches; from thence to one of the channel islands, where there would be no difficulty in obtaining the means of crossing to England. All the party, male and female, changed their apparel for very plain and simple attire; and the king and queen took the names of Mr. and Mrs. William Smith. They were attended by a valet, the king's aide-de-camp, general de Rumigny, and a lady in waiting on the queen. They travelled in a *calèche*, escorted by M. Maréchal, who had procured the passports, and, at Anêt, obtained a very suitable supply of 10,000f. for his majesty's travelling expenses. This was the first post-relay; and from that town the royal fugitives proceeded to Saint André, where the rank of the travellers was suspected; and M. Maréchal had to entrust the secret to a *gendarme*, who, on examining the passports, pronounced "all's right," and permitted them to proceed. The next town was Evreux; and this was avoided, the sub-prefect taking the travellers by a bye-road to a

farm-house, kept by one of his friends, where they were hospitably entertained. Having enjoyed rest and refreshment, this little party again separated, and the king and queen were driven by different roads to Cape d'Honfleur. They remained at the house of M. de Perthuis several days, while generals Rumigny and Dumas made the requisite arrangements for their safe landing in England. Havre was selected as the place of embarkation, and the king walked to that port. After some delay, his majesty and the queen embarked on board an English steamer, which had been sent to cruise off the coast by lord Palmerston, and were safely landed at Newhaven. From thence they proceeded to Claremont, which the king of the Belgians had assigned for their reception. They were, soon after, joined by the duke de Montpensier and his companions, who had found little difficulty in leaving France by the route arranged; and subsequently by the duchess de Montpensier and the duke de Nemours. There was not, in fact, any necessity for the precautions taken, as it afterwards transpired; for the provisional government had authorised Lamartine to provide means for enabling the royal family to quit France.

The duchess d'Orleans had remained at the Invalides, on the 24th of February, till six o'clock in the evening; when she was reluctantly induced to leave: but she refused to disguise herself.—“If I am taken,” she said, “I will be taken as a princess.” A carriage was provided in the Rue de Monsieur. She walked there, leaning on the arm of M. de Morny. The duke de Nemours and the count de Paris followed, the latter led by M. de Lasteyrie. When he had seen his relatives into the carriage, the duke returned to Paris; and the duchess and her son were driven to the Château de Bligny, belonging to the viscount Leon de Montesquiou. There her royal highness was joined, on Saturday, the 26th of February, by the duke de Chartres; and the same day, M. de Morny brought a passport for Germany, which he had obtained with great difficulty, and told her, that not a moment was to be lost in gaining the frontier. Her royal highness was extremely reluctant to quit France; but at length she yielded to the earnest entreaties of her friends, and prepared for her departure.—She was left for a short time, and then M. de Montesquiou went to her room to receive her last orders. He found her praying with her children, and caught the words, “My God! protect France! protect my poor children! protect the generous friends who have fearlessly protected us in the time of trouble; may their hospitality prove to them and to their family a source of blessing, and may our abode under their roof never bring calamity upon them.”—Shortly after, in the midst of a heavy shower of rain, gusts of wind, and intense darkness, the party left. They

travelled by the diligence to Amiens; and from thence went to Lille, where they took the train to Belgium. M. Morny accompanied the duchess and her sons: when they crossed the frontier, all were in tears; and the duchess exclaimed, “Wherever I die, France may be assured that the last throb of my heart will be for her!”—After some detention on the road, the duchess, with her sons, reached Ems; and in March took up her abode at Eisanach. Her mother-in-law, who was still alive, and her sister-in-law, the queen of Belgium, ministered to her comforts, and took care that she wanted for nothing till she joined the king and queen at Claremont, in the summer of 1849.

Thus ended the constitutional monarchy of France, and the reign of a sovereign whose career was marked by the strangest vicissitudes of fortune. The habits of application, learned in the school of adversity, were not discarded when he ascended the throne; and his talents, which were rather solid than brilliant and showy, with the information he had acquired when struggling for existence through the weary years that passed over his head as an exile, rendered him, as a man of business, superior to most of his ministers; and hence, probably, he felt himself impelled to take that lead in his cabinet, which occasioned it to be said of him, that his conduct constantly violated the principle laid down by the *Doctrinaires*, that “the king should reign, but not govern.”—He had three great objects, which influenced his conduct during the seventeen years that he occupied the Tuileries: to preserve peace; to advance the fortunes of his family; and to promote the interests of the middle classes. His character was eminently pacific. Had he been more determined, and not hesitated to shed blood, the insurrection of February might have been easily suppressed. The first or the third Napoleon would have put it down in as many hours as it lasted days; and the leaders would have ended their lives at Cayenne. When the fortifications of Paris were erected, it was asserted, that, in any future insurrection, their guns would be turned upon the citizens; but during the three days of revolution, they were not made the slightest use of. “He had always been a pacific king;” and he would not war with his subjects. His love of peace with foreign powers was said to be injurious to France; but the kingdom occupied a high position in Europe during his reign, and made considerable advances in material prosperity. The bankers, traders, and shopkeepers were particularly benefited; and they certainly proved themselves very ungrateful to their benefactor.—In his family Louis-Philippe was paramount; his influence and his power were unbounded; and he was happy in the love of his children, the fidelity and affection of his queen. His sister Adelaide was also



Engraved by J. Sadler.

Drawn by T. Allom.

Interior of The Madeleine, Paris.

Interior of the Madeleine, Paris.

Das Innere der Madeleine Kirche.

united to him by the strongest ties. He passed the greater part of many nights, after devoting the day to business, in writing by her side; and her clear judgment and prompt decision were frequently rendered available to his service.

One of the strongest personal tastes of Louis-Philippe was a love of building; and the restoration of the palace and museum of Versailles at his own cost, and the embellishment of Paris, are splendid monuments of his reign. One of his works was the restoration of the palace of Fontainebleau. At the time of his accession, it was, in many parts, hastening to decay. The gallery or saloon of Henry II., for instance (of which we give an engraving), "resembled one of those venerable remains which have nothing grand about them but the recollections they bring back." His majesty entrusted its renovation to M. Alaux, who commenced the work in 1834, and completely revived its original character. The frescoes and carvings are executed with great skill; the ceiling is very elegant; and "an inlaid floor of mosaic work, composed of native woods of various shades, contributes to make Henry II.'s saloon one of the handsomest that can be found in Europe." His majesty also completed the church of the Madeleine, in the Boulevard de la Madeleine, Paris, which had been commenced by his predecessors. An old parish church, in the Rue de la Ville l'Evêque, being found unequal to the increase of the population of the parish—in the reign of Louis XV. a new church was planned, and its erection begun. The works, however, were repeatedly interrupted; and it was unfinished, when Napoleon I., in the height of his fame, resolved to convert it into a temple consecrated to the national glory, and intended to be a species of

Valhalla for the great men of France. The designs were made by Pierre Vignon, and the work was carried on, till the downfall of the emperor caused a complete change in the original plan. Louis XVIII. proposed to make it a Christian church, and to place in it monuments to the memory of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette,* Louis XVII., and madame Elizabeth. The building was not finished when Louis-Philippe ascended the throne; but he completed the work, and converted the edifice into one of the greatest ornaments of Paris. It is 300 feet long, and 126 broad. The roof projects beyond the wall on every side, being supported by Corinthian fluted columns, which form handsome porticoes at each end, and covered galleries at the side. There are a number of niches in the main wall, filled with statues of the saints, by the best masters. The interior (*see engraving*) is highly ornamented. It consists simply of a nave, terminated by a grand altar, over which is a fine painting by Zeigler, representing "The light of Christianity dispelling the darkness of ages." It is a most elaborate composition; and requires some time to examine before the entire design of the artist can be conceived. Louis-Philippe greatly improved Bordeaux; and one of the finest areas in that city is the noble square, called, for many years, Place Louis-Philippe. One access to it was from what was called the Quai Louis XVIII., between two lofty rostral columns. From it, the noble bridge of Bordeaux, one of the finest specimens of modern engineering, may be seen to great advantage.

But we must close this notice of Louis-Philippe and his works. Hereafter, probably, fuller details of his career may be given to the world.—It is understood that he occupied much of his time at Claremont in writing his *Memoirs*.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CONQUEST OF ALGIERS; GOVERNMENT OF MARSHAL CLAUSEL; THE ZOUAVES; THE GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL BERTHAZENE; SEPARATION OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITY; THE ARAB BUREAU; ABD-EL-KADER; REVERSES AND SUCCESSES OF THE FRENCH IN ORAN; THE FIRST SIEGE OF CONSTANTINE; THE TREATY OF TAFNA; SECOND SIEGE OF CONSTANTINE; ITS CAPTURE; TRANQUILLITY OF THE COUNTRY; RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES; THE COL DE MOUZAIA; CAPTURE OF MEDEAH AND MILIANAH; CAMPAIGN OF 1841; EVENTS OF 1842; CAPTURE OF ABD-EL-KADER'S CAMP; RESTORATION OF PEACE IN ALGIERS; WAR WITH MOROCCO; BOMBARDMENT OF TANGIERS; CAPTURE OF MOGADORE; BATTLE OF ISLY; CONCLUSION OF PEACE; MASSACRE OF THE OULAH-RIAHS; FRESH INSURRECTION, AND DISASTERS OF THE FRENCH; EVENTS OF 1846; THE DUKE D'AUMALE APPOINTED GOVERNOR; SURRENDER OF ABD-EL-KADER; GENERAL CAVAIGNAC APPOINTED GOVERNOR; STATE OF ALGIERS IN 1848.

ONE of the last acts of the reign of Charles X. was the sending the expedition to Algiers, which laid the foundation of that conquest which has now become the most important of the foreign possessions of France. It was successful. When Louis-Philippe ascended the throne, the generals of his predecessor had overrun the country—

though they did not effectually subdue it; their absolute dominion not extending far round

* The mangled corpse of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were interred, after they were guillotined, in the cemetery belonging to the old church of the Madeleine; Louis XVIII. had them removed to the church of St. Denis.

Algiers—from Bona, on the east, in lat. $36^{\circ} 53' N.$, long. $7^{\circ} 46' W.$, to Oran, on the west—nearly the entire extent of the ancient Libya. Had they been properly supported at home, and sufficiently reinforced, the sovereignty of France might have been extended, as far as was necessary or desirable, with little difficulty. But there was always a party in the chamber of deputies opposed to the conquest, who deprecated the colonisation of Algeria, and who steadily opposed any grants of either men or money to be devoted to the African enterprise. The natural result followed. Ten thousand men could not effect the work for which 40,000 were required; and, whilst the young colony languished, the natives became emboldened, and encouraged to make that resistance which cost the French so dear.

Marshal Clausel, when entrusted with the government of the colony, and the supreme command of the troops,* commenced his African career by extending the French dominion to some distance round Algiers. He established a series of fortified posts, which were adequately garrisoned; and roads were opened to enable the garrisons promptly to communicate with each other. These positions, rapidly acquired, he was unable to maintain, in consequence of the home government recalling the greater part of his force. To recruit his army he resolved to enlist some corps of the natives; and, in October, 1830, the first regiment of Zouaves was raised. It was divided into two battalions, the command of the first being given to M. Maumet, a distinguished staff officer; and that of the second to captain Duvivier, an eminent officer of engineers. This was the origin of that part of the French army which became so distinguished in the Crimean war; and more recently in that of Italy. At first the officers were Frenchmen; the privates all, or nearly all, natives. It was found, however, that the Arabs were very unwilling to enlist under the standard of the infidels; and the corps soon became, in a great proportion, French; a political body, called "Volunteers of the Charter," who had become troublesome at home, being sent to Algeria in July, 1831, and incorporated with the African Zouaves. From that time this force has continued to display great heroism, and an activity almost unknown to Europeans. Its "nucleus continues to be composed of children of Paris, and natives of the environs of Algiers;" and its services are rendered available equally in Europe as in Africa.

The territory of Algeria is divided into three provinces. Algiers, the smallest, in the centre; Constantine on the east, and Oran on the west. These provinces extend along the coast of the Mediterranean, a distance of nearly 550 miles, and are of an irregular breadth, being about 200 miles across in the widest part. As general

* See *ante*, p. 436.

Clausel found himself quite unable to maintain his authority over this extensive territory, he concluded conventions with the bey of Tunis, by which the provinces of Constantine and Oran were to be ceded to two Tunisian princes, who were each to pay an annual tribute of 1,000,000*fr.* to France. By these conventions, the sovereignty of France was solemnly recognised as extending over the province of Algiers and the beylick of Titteri, with its capital of Medeah, to the south-west. These conventions were rejected by the French cabinet; and general Clausel, being considered to have committed an error in concluding them, was succeeded, in February, 1831, by general Berthazene. Soon after his arrival, this general had to send more men back to France; and he was left with scarcely 9,000 to defend the country against the Arabs, who had been excited by their chiefs to wage a "holy war" for the extermination of the infidel invaders. These soldiers of the desert had many qualities that rendered them formidable. Innately brave, they fought chiefly on horseback; and, possessing steeds of remarkable swiftness, which they managed with extraordinary dexterity, they were enabled to make rapid attacks, and very frequently secure retreats; whilst if they chanced to get the superiority, they could inflict immense loss upon a retreating enemy, from their facility of attack.—Soon after general Berthazene assumed the government, he dispatched about half his force upon an expedition against Medeah, of which the French, after it had been taken by Clausel, had been unable to retain possession. The expedition was successful; but, on its return to Algiers, having to pass through a rocky defile, the troops were attacked by the Arabs, and defeated, with the loss of 300 men. When intelligence of this event reached Paris, general Berthazene was recalled; and M. Casimir Perrier, then president of the council, and minister of the interior, resolved, with the assent of his cabinet, to separate the administration of the civil from that of military affairs, both having been previously in the same hands. The duke de Rovigo was appointed to the command of the army; and the civil administration was confided to baron Pichon. It would have been difficult to make a more unfortunate choice, or to put in juxtaposition two men of more contrary tendencies. Their administration did not tend to consolidate French authority in Africa, or to conciliate the natives. There were frequent wars, in which some tribes were said to be extirpated; but when, at the beginning of 1833, ill health compelled the duke de Rovigo to retire, the dominion of France extended little beyond the province of Algiers.

The duke was succeeded in the command of the forces, on the 4th of March, 1833, by general Avizard. This general instituted an Arabian bureau as a special branch of his administration,

destined to give to the relations with the natives a regularity and a certainty which they had not hitherto possessed. M. Lamoricière, then captain of a battalion of Zouaves, who had already distinguished himself as an officer, was placed at its head. General Avizard died in April, and was succeeded by lieutenant-general Voirol, the youngest officer of that rank upon the army list. He sought to render the authority of France respected both in Constantine and Oran; and kept up as large a force as he could command in each of those provinces.

We now first hear of Abd-el-Kader. This chief was the son of a marabout, or priest, in the province of Oran. He united consummate ability with great valour; was a devout Mohammedan; and when he raised the standard of the prophet, he called the Arabs around him, with the fullest confidence of success. His countrymen obeyed his call in great numbers; and, encouraged by the enthusiasm they displayed, he first, at the close of 1833, proclaimed himself emir of Tlemsen (the former name of Oran), and then seized on the port of Arzew, on the west side of the gulf of that name; and the port of Mostaganem, on the opposite coast. The province of Mascara, lying at the foot of the Atlas, was also under his rule. At that time general Desmichels commanded at Oran. He had not a very large force, but he acted promptly. Marching against Abd-el-Kader, he defeated him in two pitched battles; retook Arzew and Mostaganem; and, on the 26th of February, 1834, entered into a treaty with the emir, by which both parties were bound to keep the peace towards each other.

During that year the terms were observed; but, in 1835, the Arab chief again commenced hostilities. He marched to the east, entered the French territories, and took possession of Medeah, being received with the utmost joy by the inhabitants. On the 26th of June, general Trezel, with only 2,300 men, marched against him. Abd-el-Kader had 8,000 Arabs under his command; and a sanguinary combat took place in the defiles of Mouley-Ismael. After a severe combat, the French forced the passage, but with considerable loss. On the 27th the Arab chief made proposals for putting an end to hostilities; but general Trezel required, not only that he should cease to interfere with certain tribes over which he claimed supremacy, but which were inclined to submit to France; but that he should sign a new treaty, acknowledging French supremacy, and making himself the tributary of Louis-Philippe. Abd-el-Kader refused these terms; and the French general, finding his position untenable, commenced a retrograde movement on the 28th of June. In his retreat he was pursued by the Arabs; and before he reached Oran, on the 4th of July, he lost all his waggons, train, and baggage; be-

sides having ten officers, and 252 sous-officers and rank-and-file killed, and 308 wounded. The heads of many of the killed were displayed in triumph by the victors.

This was a severe blow to the French, and the cause of great rejoicing to the Arabs. The former called for marshal Clausel to be restored to his command, and the government at home complied; at the same time issuing a proclamation, declaring that Algeria should not be abandoned, but that the honour of the French arms should be maintained. The marshal left France on the 28th of July; and as soon as he landed, he organised an expedition against Mascara, which was Abd-el-Kader's capital. The duke d'Orleans accompanied the marshal; and he shared in all the dangers and honours of the campaign. The expedition left Algiers on the 26th of November, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Mascara on the 29th. The Arab chieftain advanced to meet the enemy; but, being twice defeated, he resolved to abandon his capital, which the French entered on the 6th of December, and found completely deserted. The streets and houses were alike empty and desolate; and the only living creature they encountered was an old woman, lying on some mats, who could not move of herself, and had been either forgotten or abandoned.

The French set fire to the deserted houses; and having effected the destruction of Mascara, they marched to Mostaganem, which Clausel determined to make the centre of French power in that district. Thinking that the campaign was over, he put his troops into winter quarters; and the duke d'Orleans returned to Toulon, bearing intelligence of the success of the French arms. But Abd-el-Kader, though defeated, was not disheartened. He marched on the fortified town of Tlemsen, which lies twenty miles to the south-east of the gulf of that name, and about thirty miles from the western boundary of the province of Oran; where the French had for some time had a small force of a few hundred men stationed. The Arab chieftain had numerous partisans at Tlemsen, who admitted him into the town; but when he set down before the citadel, on the 6th of January, 1836, he heard that marshal Clausel was hastening to its relief; upon which he instantly decamped. More than forty leagues intervened between Clausel's force and Tlemsen, and for thirty-five, the road ran across a desert plain. But the French are never daunted by difficulties, and they arrived on the 13th, when they found the town had, like Mascara, been abandoned by the Arab troops. The inhabitants, however, remained, and were left to the tender mercies of the French, who imposed upon them a contribution of 500,000f. (£20,000). The garrison was reinforced by the addition of 500 men; and a brigade was sent after Abd-el-Kader,

who owed his escape to the fleetness of his horse. The imposition of the fine upon Tlemsen added to the unpopularity of the French. Marshal Clausel appointed his son governor; who was anything but lenient in his method of enforcing payment; and three of the principal inhabitants sent a petition to the chamber of deputies, on the subject of the extortions practised against them; which was presented on the 18th of February, 1837. The quota of the petitioners to the contribution was equal to £4,240 sterling; and as they were obliged to make the payment in jewels, marshal Clausel, they complained, had them valued at the lowest price; thus compelling them to pay even more than their fair share of the contribution.

The bey of Constantine, Hadgè-Achmet, at this time joined the disaffected Arabs; the beys established at Medeah and Miliiana, by Clausel, were unable to maintain their position; and the people everywhere, said to have been "linked together in a secret league," rose against the invaders. The marshal asked for reinforcements; but as they were not sent so readily as he expected, he left Algeria in April, and went to Paris, to urge the wants of the army upon the government. General Rapatel was left in command of the troops during his absence, and he was, for some time, kept in his cantonments, before the fortified post of Oran, by the enemy. One division of the French army, under general d'Arlanger, had, before the departure of the marshal, commenced the construction of an intrenched camp on the river Tafna; intended to form the centre of communication between Oran and Tlemsen. D'Arlanger had 3,000 men and eight guns; and he was attacked, on the 15th of April, by Abd-el-Kader, with more than three times the number of troops. The Arabs were repulsed; but soon after, on the 28th, d'Arlanger having left half his men to carry on the works at the camp, advanced on Tlemsen, at the head of the other half, to relieve the garrison, closely blockaded by the Arabs. Abd-el-Kader, apprised of his movement, met him with a large body of Arab horse, who nearly surrounded the French, and, after a short and dashing contest, compelled them to retreat to the camp on the Tafna, 250 of their number being put *hors de combat*. General d'Arlanger was among the wounded. From that time the French were obliged to remain inactive, till the arrival, in June, of general Bugeaud. He landed on the coast of Oran with 4,500 men; and having relieved general Rapatel, he marched on Tlemsen. On the road, he was met, at the passage of the river Sickak, on the 5th of July, by Abd-el-Kader, who attacked the French furiously—his army consisting of 7,000 men; 1,200 of whom were infantry, who had been drilled like Europeans. Notwithstanding their

number and bravery, the Arabs were defeated; and so completely shattered and broken up, that for a time, their chief, deserted by many of his allies, remained a fugitive, and unable to make head against the invaders, whose power appeared to be completely established in the west.

As Achmet Bey had assisted Abd-el-Kader in his last forays on the French, marshal Clausel wished to carry the war into his territories. He had great opposition to contend with in Paris, both in the cabinet and the two chambers. The duke de Broglie and the *Doctrinaires* were averse to the Algerine expedition, which the king and M. Thiers supported. The marshal required a force of 30,000 regulars, and 4,000 irregulars, that he might push his conquests into the province of Constantine, and undertake the siege of the capital. He presented a memoir to the cabinet on the subject; in which he said, that "to avoid the great summer heats, the campaign must not be commenced before November. From Bona to Constantine was twenty-eight leagues; or eight days' march, allowing for accidents and occasional *rencontres*. The country was intersected by ravines; the inhabitants were agricultural rather than warlike. An expedition would have every chance of success in its favour, and would necessarily be crowned by the capture of Constantine."* He could not obtain the men he wanted; and was compelled to return, with very few additional troops, to those previously sent with Bugeaud. This time the duke de Nemours accompanied the army, which arrived at Algiers before July closed.

Though his force was not so strong as he had desired, and expected it would be, the marshal resolved to undertake the siege of Constantine, for which he commenced preparations directly after he had landed. He transferred his troops by sea to Bona; and commenced his march from that port to Constantine on the 12th of November. He had 7,000 men under his orders, with a few small field-pieces, but no siege artillery; his provisions were calculated to serve fifteen days. The march was a disastrous one. The Arabs did not offer to molest the troops on their route; but they had to endure the rigours of a season in which the cold was intense, whilst they were almost constantly drenched with rain; and storms of thunder and lightning, with violent gusts of wind, were frequent. The first day the men started from Bona, lured them on. Their route was through a cultivated country; and they bivouacked, at night, on the banks of a stream, where the air was redolent with the perfume of the numerous fragrant wild-flowers that grew in luxuriance around. But this was their only pleasant day and night. On every subsequent day, they had to encounter such weather as we have described; the

* *Annuaire Histoire.*

thermometer being as low as 25° Fahrenheit, and the ground covered with snow. Difficulties and dangers, however, did not cause the troops to shrink from their duty. They gallantly persevered, and arrived in sight of Constantine on the 20th.

Constantine, the *Cirta* of the Numidians and Romans, is the capital of the province of that name, and the chief interior city of Africa. It is built in lat. 36° 22' N., long. 6° 37' E., on the top of a perpendicularly escarped hill, upwards of 800 feet above the river Roumel, which washes the base of the hill. It is surrounded, on three sides, by ravines, one of which is crossed by an ancient Roman bridge, the other by a modern one of considerable elevation. These bridges lead to the town, and were, when the attack was made, defended by strong iron gates, flanked by artillery. The walls were loop-holed, and numerous guns were planted upon them. Under the Numidians and Romans, Constantine was a place of great strength and importance; and the latter built a fortress, on a commanding site, which was, when the French attacked it, occupied by a modern citadel. The city—with handsome flat-roofed houses, and the surrounding cemeteries, laid out with walks shaded by cypress-trees—had quite a picturesque appearance when the hostile force approached it.

Marshal Clausel ordered his troops to occupy the plain of Mansoura, which is opposite the city; and they had scarcely taken up their position, when the red flag was hoisted by the Arabs; and several guns were levelled and discharged at the French. The latter were destitute of the means for a regular siege, having no heavy artillery; the marshal expecting to surprise the Arabs, and carry the place by a *coup de main*. The attempt was made, and failed: the few light field-pieces the French brought up were disabled by the fire from the ramparts; an attempt to run mines under the gates was frustrated by the hardness of the rocks; and an assault upon the gates was beaten back, though it was made with great intrepidity. Under these circumstances the marshal felt obliged to order his men to retire; and on the 23rd of November, the day the assault was repulsed, the retrograde march was begun. The retreat, in which general Changarnier commanded the rear-guard, was made amidst the ridges of the Atlas, which were covered with snow, and the cold was intense. It was the 1st of December before the advanced guard reached Bona. During the eight days the troops had endured great hardships; and although when attacked by the Arabs, as they were on several occasions, their courage never failed, their discipline was greatly relaxed; and, if the march had continued a few days longer, the column would have been entirely broken up. As it was, the loss was 472 dead, partly in the assault, but chiefly from cold and fatigue;

and 288 wounded. Part of the caissons were abandoned; but all the guns taken from Bona were brought back. From that town the marshal sent a despatch to Paris, announcing, to use his own language, that "the expedition against Constantine had not had complete success."

Intelligence of this disaster was known in France before the chambers opened, on the 27th of December, [1836]. The king, in his speech, did not attempt to gloss it over: he said—"While I regret, with you, the losses of the army, I have the consolation of knowing that my second son has shared its dangers; and if success has not crowned its efforts, at least its heroism, patience, and perseverance have sustained its ancient reputation; and I doubt not that the chamber will take such steps as will secure in Africa the preponderance of our arms, and put our possessions in that quarter in a state of entire security." There was a difference of opinion in the chamber. The liberals, led by Dupin, demanded the immediate evacuation of Algiers, which they termed "the fatal legacy of the revolution:" whilst the ministerialists blamed Clausel for making the attack on Constantine at an improper season of the year, and without the necessary siege apparatus. There were several long and angry speeches made on both sides; but the discussion ended in the chambers voting, in February, 1837, large reinforcements, which made the disposable force in Algiers amount to 30,000 men. Clausel was recalled, and the command-in-chief was conferred upon general Damremont, who was an able and intrepid officer, and who would have the benefit of the experience derived from Clausel's campaigns, which was of as much value as his own tact and talents. Unfortunately, general Bugeaud, who commanded in Oran, when he heard of the new appointment, was fearful that his commander-in-chief would step in, and deprive him of the honour he anticipated in subduing Abd-el-Kader, who had collected a considerable number of Arabs, and had taken the field again in that province; the pacification of which the general was desirous of effecting. He had 10,000 men under him; 8,000 of whom were at Oran; the remainder were stationed in the strong posts of Tlemsen, La Tafna, Arzew, and Mostaganem; whilst Abd-el-Kader had interrupted the communication between those places, cut off their convoys, and annoyed them in various other ways.

As soon as general Damremont landed at Algiers, he instructed Bugeaud, by a despatch dated the 8th of April, to refuse to make peace with the emir unless he engaged not to go beyond the Cheliff; as a power must be established in Titteri completely independent of him, and submissive to France. "Nothing in the world," he said, "should induce him to consent that Abd-el-Kader should establish his rule in

the province of Titteri. A ten years' war would be better for the interests of France, than the conclusion of a peace which would put the emir in Medeah." Bugeaud, when he received this despatch, was making preparations to attack the Arabs; and having divided the troops at Oran into three divisions, he commenced a march in the direction of Tlemsen, as that fortress required to be revictualled; and he expected to encounter and crush the army of Abd-el-Kader on the way. The latter was soon informed of the movements of his enemy; and when he learned the amount of the force opposed to him, he knew it would be in vain attempting to resist it; he sent a messenger, therefore, proposing to meet the French general, for the purpose of negotiating the terms of peace, which he professed himself most anxious to conclude. Bugeaud consented, and the interview took place near La Tafna, where the French had pitched their camp, on the 1st of May. The emir came to this interview at the head of a corps of 3,000 cavalry, brilliantly equipped; and he succeeded in convincing the French general of his perfect sincerity. Negotiators were appointed on each side, who were to meet immediately; and, on the 8th of May, the treaty of La Tafna was concluded. It completely violated the instructions given to Bugeaud a month previously by the commander-in-chief; for it limited the possessions of the French to Bona, in the province of Constantine; to Algiers, Sahel, and the plain of Metidjeh, in the province of Algiers; and in that of Oran, to Mostaganem, Mazaghan, Arzew, and a few other fortified places on the coast, with a very limited tract around them; but the fortress of Tlemsen, all its territory, and the entire province of Titteri, were ceded to the emir, who purchased them by supplying the French army with 30,000 measures of wheat, 30,000 of barley, and 5,000 oxen! He recognised the sovereignty of France in the ceded territories; renounced all authority over the Mohammedans who might live within the French territory, who were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion; and criminals were reciprocally to be delivered up.

As this treaty was so opposed to his instructions, we wonder that general Damremont did not repudiate it. However, he did not; and he directed his attention to defending his position, and in preparing for another expedition. When the terms were known in France, they excited the greatest indignation; and as so much had been abandoned in the west, the commander-in-chief was ordered to retrieve the disasters of the previous autumn in the east, and to make another attempt on Constantine. The duke de Nemours, who had gone back to France after the first failure before that place, returned to the army, to share, in the new enterprise, its glory or its disgrace. General Damremont was much

better supplied, both with men and *matériel*, than Clausel had been in the previous year. After establishing a camp of 15,000 men on the plateau of Medgoz, and reinforcing the garrisons in the fortresses left in the possession of France by the treaty of La Tafna, the general had 13,000 men under his command; with sixty pieces of artillery, and 2,000 horses to drag them and the camp equipage over the roads, which, cut across the ridges of Mount Atlas, were most difficult to pass. This army left Bona on the 1st, and arrived on the plain of Mansoura at 9 A.M. on the 6th of October. The enemy was found, as before, quite prepared for the attack; and whilst the sight of the mouldering bones of their comrades, and the recollection of their defeat, spread a gloom through the French ranks, the Arabs, on the contrary, were animated by confidence. They were commanded by Achmet Bey, who encouraged them by the remembrance of their former success. The same success would now await them; for "their enemies," he reminded them, "were not invincible. Small in stature, and fatigued by long marches, they might easily be put to flight; for they were the enemies of the prophet."

General Damremont divided his army into three divisions. The first and second, under generals Trezel and Rulhières, were to occupy the heights of Mansoura and Condiat-Ali, by which the town was commanded; the third, under the duke de Nemours, was destined to cover the approaches, and, when a breach was effected, to make the assault. The men were occupied from the 6th to the 9th of October in opening the trenches, and getting the guns into position; the heavy rains, which fell almost without intermission, greatly impeding the operations. At length all was complete; and on the 9th, the bombardment of "the City of the Devil," as the French called it, was commenced. It was continued for twenty-four hours, when the governor was summoned to surrender. The reply was—"If the French have expended all their powder, and also want bread, we will give them some. But, to the last extremity, we will defend our home. No stranger shall become master of Constantine till he has put to death its last defender." Two days after, on the 12th of October, general Damremont was struck by a ricochet-shot, and immediately expired. His place was taken by general Vallée, who, as the next day was Friday, and an old prophecy predicted that some event fatal to Mohammedan dominion in Africa would happen on a Friday, ordered the assault to take place at seven o'clock on that morning; what was considered a practicable breach having been effected. The assaulting corps was arranged in three divisions, under general Lamoricière, colonel Combes, and colonel Corbin. The Zouaves—who had worked most arduously and cheerfully when opening

the trenches—were under Lamoricière; and when everything was prepared, and the signal given—"Up, Zouaves, and follow me!" he cried, as he darted towards the breach. They did follow him, amidst the confused noise of cannon, drums, and trumpets; nor were the other columns loiterers. All rushed to the post of danger—the duke de Nemours amongst them, who behaved with equal gallantry and coolness; and for some time a desperate contest was maintained. There was little or no firing; it was the scimitar against the bayonet and the sword; and in the midst of the struggle, a mine exploded, and sent numbers of both besieged and besiegers into the air. But the former had no relief, whilst the latter were continually reinforced, and their losses supplied. Colonel Segrignay was killed; generals Lamoricière and Perregaux, and colonel Combes, wounded—the latter mortally; but their places were supplied by others. Still the Arabs resisted, till they were driven from street to street, from house to house, completely across the town, and many were forced over the ramparts on the other side. Achmet Bey had previously retired from the town, and taken up his position, with a body of Arabs and Kabyles, on the neighbouring mountains. At the moment that the defenders were seen falling from the ramparts, the force under the bey "raised a fearful cry—a cry so piercing, that it sounded even above the drums and trumpets. This single, protracted, heart-rending yell of 5,000 manly voices, had, in the beginning, a wild warlike effect; but it died away in exhaustion, with a melancholy vibration, like the breaking chords of a gigantic harp. It was the death-cry of 'the City of the Devil!' An hour later, the silence of the tomb again reigned, and the French were masters of Constantine."* When Achmet Bey saw that all was over, he turned his horse's head, and is reported to have galloped into the solitudes of the desert, with tears in his eyes!

This conquest established the power of the French in the east of Algeria. When the intelligence was received in Paris, it caused great joy. General Vallée was rewarded by being raised to the rank of marshal, and made governor of Algeria; and the inferior officers were generally promoted. But the chamber of deputies acted with a disgraceful parsimony. The minister asked for a pension of 10,000*f.* (£400), for the widow of general Damremont; and for another of 3,000*f.* (£120) for the widow of colonel Combes. The former was reduced to 6,000*f.* (£240), and the second refused altogether. Such was the gratitude of the deputies to those who had shed their blood, and sacrificed their lives, for the honour of their country!

After the capture of Constantine, there was tranquillity in the entire territory of Algeria for

* *The Tricolour on the Atlas*, by Dr. Wagner.

several months, which the French employed in improving their position, in endeavouring to attract settlers from the mother country, and in cultivating amicable relations with the natives, both of Algeria and the Sahara. One object of the treaty of Tafna had been to establish a commercial intercourse between the latter and the inhabitants in the French possessions. For some time this intercourse was kept up without interruption. The Arabs found it advantageous to them; and they eagerly frequented the markets in the plain of Metidjeh, to exchange their horses and camels, and other live stock, for the cotton, silk, iron, steel, and other commodities of the French. Abd-el-Kader, at first, threw no obstacle in the way of this intercourse; but as he saw its effects upon his countrymen, he appears to have apprehended that it might interfere with his dominion. At all events he resolved upon interrupting it. First, he claimed a monopoly of all the articles of merchandise that came into his territory; and, finding that this did not operate very favourably, and losing his principal agent—one Ben Durand, a Jew, his consul at Oran, who died suddenly in 1839, supposed from poison—he prohibited all intercourse between the Arabs and "the infidels;" and then sent emissaries amongst the former to incite them to a holy war, and to urge them to extirpate the invaders. Operated upon alike by fear of the chieftain's wrath, and by reverence for "the prophet," the Arabs gradually deserted the markets; took various methods of showing their wish to get rid of the French, whom they annoyed in every conceivable way; and entered into a secret league, binding them to destroy the invaders. In pursuance of the engagements thus contracted, they spread a hostile army across the colony from one side to the other.

The French, for some time, remained in ignorance of these proceedings; and, as a consequence of the peace, the occupying force not being recruited, was considerably decreased. In the autumn of 1839, there were not more than 40,000 French troops in Africa, who were distributed in thirty or forty garrisons; and had besides to occupy and defend a territory extending 250 leagues along the coast, and some leagues into the interior. These troops were suffering severely from sickness, and the entire number fit for active service was estimated at 25,000 men. The duke d'Orleans had arrived at Algiers in September. On the 11th of October he made his entry into Constantine, and subsequently received the homage of several tribes. An expedition was then undertaken, as much for discovery as for conquest, into the mountainous passes of the Atlas. It was opposed by the Arabs; and on the body of a chief slain in one encounter, a letter was found from Abd-el-Kader, proclaiming the holy war. About the same time, on the 18th of November, the emir, aware of the state of the French

army, and deeming the time for action had arrived, forwarded a despatch to marshal Vallée, which was a specimen of Arab duplicity. He informed the marshal, that "all the faithful Mohammedans had determined on a sacred war against the christians; that he had used all his efforts to prevent them, in vain; and that no alternative was left him but to take part with his countrymen, and obey that precept of his religion, which enjoined war against the infidels." Two days after he crossed the Chiffa, with a number of active Arabs, and commenced the work of desolation in the great plain of the Metidjeh. Taken by surprise, the French posts were driven in; a number of men, amounting to half a battalion, were cut off and destroyed; numerous farms and villages were set on fire and plundered; the occupants fled for shelter to the French camps; and general alarm prevailed. Intelligence of the new outbreak was sent to France; and on the 2nd of December, it was officially announced, in the *Moniteur*, that the war in Algeria was renewed; that immediate and vigorous measures would be taken to maintain the dignity of France, and that large reinforcements would be dispatched to the African army. Those reinforcements were sent off immediately, to the amount of 12,000 men, 3,800 horses, and 1,500 mules. They arrived at Algiers before the year closed; and on the 26th of December, Abd-el-Kader was encountered by a body of 4,000 French, in the ravine of Oued-el-Kebir, between Blidah and the Chiffa. The Arabs were completely defeated; three flags, one gun, and many valuable trophies were taken; and several hundred dead bodies left on the field of battle.

At the commencement of 1840, the colony of Algiers was considered to extend from Bona on the east, to Cherchell, fifty-five miles from Algiers, on the west; but after the treaty of Tafna, it did not run into the interior more than thirty leagues. By that treaty, the two frontier fortresses of Milianah and Medeah had been ceded to Abd-el-Kader, who made the first the centre of his military operations; from whence he continued, after his defeat in December, to send out detachments of his wild irregular followers, to harass the French. These bands daringly ranged over the entire plain of the Metidjeh, threatened Algiers, and kept the French in a constant state of alarm. Marshal Vallée had sent a division early in the year to Cherchell, under colonel Cavaignac, to chastise the Kabyles for having plundered a French brig. Cavaignac satisfactorily executed the task assigned him, and established himself at Cherchell. At the same time, captain Lelièvre, at the head of the 16th company of the African battalion, shut up in the little fortress of Mazagan, made one of the most heroic defences, throughout the month of February, which had

occurred during the war. He was attacked by Mustapha Ben-Tehamy, caliph of Mascara, at the head of 12,000 or 15,000 Arabs; and though so greatly inferior in numbers, and suffering much from the want of provisions and ammunition, he held the fort till the Arabs retired, ashamed and vanquished, notwithstanding their superior numbers.

But the occupation of Milianah and Medeah rendered Abd-el-Kader so formidable, that, in March, marshal Vallée resolved to advance against those fortresses: he therefore collected 10,000 of his finest troops at Algiers. The duke d'Orleans, who had gone to Paris at the close of 1839, having rejoined the army, with his younger brother, the duke d'Aumale, commands were given to their royal highnesses; and the army set out for the south on the 25th of April. The range of the Atlas had to be crossed. To the south of that range, Abd-el-Kader had disposed some 20,000 or 30,000 Arabs, under El-Barkani, the caliph of Cherchell; Mustapha Ben-Tehamy, returned from the siege of Mazagan, and other chiefs; and on the north a body of 1,200 Arab horse scoured the plain. The French crossed the Etriffa on the 27th, and on their advance to the Atlas, continual skirmishing was kept up with the Arab cavalry, who retired before them, but not without occasioning them considerable loss. The advanced guard was under the duke d'Orleans, who evinced the eminent qualities of a brave and able commander in that responsible post. The French were obliged to cross the Atlas by the formidable pass of the Col de Mouzaia, which was the only one practicable for artillery. They had traversed it before; and in 1836, marshal Clausel had made a road to the north, for wheeled carriages. The Col was at that time occupied by Abd-el-Kader with 11,000 men; and he had fortified it by intrenchments and batteries; having thrown up a formidable redoubt on the most elevated point. A more difficult position to carry could not be imagined. The command of that part of the French army which was to make the attack, was given to the duke d'Orleans, who divided his force into three columns, under generals Duvivier, Lamoricière, and d'Houdetot. The attack commenced at 3 A.M. on the 12th of May. "Come, my lads, there is the height of Mouzaia; the Arabs are expecting you, and France is looking on!" were the words which the duke d'Orleans addressed to his troops, as he gave the order to advance. They were received with shouts of "*Vive le Roi! Vive le Prince Royale!*" and the men eagerly rushed forward; the first column attacking the intrenchments on the French left; the Zouaves, under Lamoricière, making a splendid charge on the right; and the 3rd column taking the centre, where the main road ran. The resistance was as fierce and determined as the attack; but the desperate

charges of the French, supported by the effective fire of their guns, prevailed; and the Arabs were driven from the pass with great slaughter. They seemed struck with astonishment when they saw the French flag floating on the top of the mountains, and fled in disorder. The conquerors, descending the southern slope, marched on Medeah, which they reached on the 17th of May, and found that it had been evacuated by the enemy. Having achieved the object of the expedition, the duke d'Orleans, on the 27th, left Algeria, accompanied by his brother. He promised his comrades to rejoin them at the first signal: but it was his last campaign. Political events prevented him from going to Africa in 1841; and on the 13th of July, 1842, he met with the accident which terminated his life.

After the departure of the princes, marshal Vallée proceeded to carry out his original plan, by capturing Milianah, the *Maniana* of the Romans; which, being situated on the slope of a mountain, on the northern side of the Alps, rendered it necessary to retrace the Col de Mouzaia. Abd-el-Kader had reoccupied his former positions; and there was more fierce fighting, in which the Arabs were again defeated, and the pass was penetrated. The emir abandoned Milianah, which the French commander garrisoned with 3,000 men; and then returned to Medeah, for the purpose of victualing that fortress, and strengthening the garrison, so as to enable it to resist any attacks. The Col de Mouzaia had to be crossed a third time; and there was no appearance of an opposing force till the advance corps, a body of Zouaves and chasseurs de Vincennes,* about 800 in number, were descending the southern slope. Then a troop of Arabs rushed from the recesses of the mountain, which had effectually concealed them—thinned the ranks of the French by a destructive volley, and fell upon them yataghan in hand. A fierce hand-to-hand fight, of sword and bayonet against the yataghan, continued for some time. The former prevailed; the Arabs, after a lengthened resistance, were driven from the pass; but the victors had more than half their number put *hors de combat*; of whom 120 were killed. Then Medeah was supplied with provisions, the garrison reinforced, and the command, for the winter, entrusted to general Duvivier. General Changarnier was placed at Milianah; and Cavaignac continued at Cherchell. Marshal Vallée returned to Algiers, where the greatest alarm prevailed; for, whilst the force under the commander-in-chief had been occupied in the operations we have

mentioned, the Arabs had again spread themselves over the plain of the Metidjeh, even up to the very gates of Algiers. Marshal Vallée was a brave officer, but a bad administrator. He took no care to preserve his conquests, except by putting garrisons in the three places we have named: beyond their walls, at the close of 1840, all was at the mercy of the active—seemingly ubiquitous—Arabs.

When intelligence of the state of things in Algeria reached Paris, it was felt that a new administration was become necessary; and M. Guizot resolved to recall marshal Vallée, and send out general Bugeaud, who arrived at Algiers on the 23rd of December, 1840, and was followed by the dukes de Nemours and d'Aumale. He immediately issued a spirited proclamation to his troops; and employed himself in concentrating his resources as much as possible, in order that he might become the assailant, and drive Abd-el-Kader from all his places of resort. The year opened favourably; for in the night between the 12th and 13th of January, the garrison of Oran made a sortie, under the command of the governor, and inflicted a severe chastisement on Mustapha Ben-Tehamy. At the same time, the tribe of Beni-Oualban, which had committed various ravages on the road from Philippeville to Constantine, was dispersed; and some other advantages were obtained, which were considered as a happy presage of the success of the coming campaign.

After marshal Vallée had returned to Algiers in the previous year, the Arabs had closely blockaded Milianah and Medeah; and it became necessary to relieve the garrisons, and supply them with provisions. General Bugeaud opened the campaign in the spring by sending convoys to both places, escorted by strong bodies of troops. The expedition to Medeah had to take the route by the Col de Mouzaia. It was attacked on the 1st of May; but the Arabs, as usual, were found unable to contend effectually with their European opponents. They fought bravely for a time; then broke and fled; and no further attempt was made to prevent the entrance of the convoy into the town. General Bugeaud himself commanded the force which escorted the convoy to Milianah. On the 3rd of May it was attacked by a body of Kabyles and Arabs, consisting of from 10,000 to 12,000 infantry, and 6,000 cavalry. The governor-general had under him the dukes de Nemours and d'Aumale: the first commanding the left wing and a part of the centre; the latter being at the head of two battalions. The action took

* The chasseurs de Vincennes are frequently mentioned in the reports of the military movements of the French, in the last few years. They form part of the infantry, trained to the use of the rifle; and to what is called, in the French army, "the gymnastic pace."

Their celerity is unrivalled, as they take 180 steps in a minute; and they took their name of chasseurs, or light infantry, of Vincennes, because the first corps were trained there.—The chasseurs d'Orleans were a regiment of light infantry, named from the duke d'Orleans.

place in the neighbourhood of Milianah; and there was no want of bravery on either side. The Arabs were, however, beaten, and compelled to retreat; and that retreat terminated in a complete rout. Milianah was then revictualled; and marshal Bugeaud—entrusting to general Baraguay d'Hilliers the command of an expedition destined to act upon Bas-Cheliff; and the superintendence of the province of Algiers and its capital, during his absence, to M. de Bar, marshal of the camp—put himself at the head of the expedition destined to operate in the province of Oran, where Abd-el-Kader reunited all his available forces to oppose him. General Bugeaud took up his head-quarters at Mostaganem, on the sea-coast. His first success was the capture of the important town of Mascara, which surrendered without resistance. Then, combining his operations with those of general Baraguay d'Hilliers, and being ably supported, in the direction of Mascara, Oran, and Tlemsen, by general Lamoricière and his Zouaves; and in the extreme east, in the neighbourhood of Constantine and Setif, by general Negrier, who held the Arabs in check there, and prevented them from joining Abd-el-Kader—the commander-in-chief so environed that chief and the forces he had under his immediate command, that he was driven from post to post; and at last took shelter in Tlemsen. Before he retired to that fortress a great many serious encounters and skirmishes took place, in all of which French discipline and valour triumphed over the irregular bravery of the natives. Disheartened and dismayed, tribe after tribe sent in their submission to the conquerors; and the last hostile act of the year was the complete defeat of the Hachems, the most powerful tribe in the province of Oran. On the 28th of December, this people, and several other tribes, renounced their allegiance to Abd-el-Kader, and acknowledged a new emir, Mohammed Ben-Abdallah.—In January, 1842, Bugeaud marched from Oran upon Tlemsen, which Abd-el-Kader evacuated, taking refuge in Morocco—his last fort, Taponna, which contained his principal dépôt of arms and military stores, also falling into the hands of the French. In addition to the garrisons of Cherchell, Oran, Milianah, and Medeah, the commander-in-chief then placed 6,000 men, under Lamoricière, at Mascara; and 5,000 under Bedeau, at Tlemsen: he himself returned to Algiers.

Abd-el-Kader, however, persisted, with indomitable courage, in asserting his own rights, and those of his people. He re-entered Algeria in the spring of 1842; and, for the whole of that year, kept the French constantly on the alert to repel his attacks—which were generally made in the most unexpected quarters—and to defend their acquisitions. The chief established himself in the mountain chain of Warensenis;

from whence he could dictate not only over the country between the Cheliff on the north, and the Mina, to the west and south, but he was enabled to carry the war into the territories in the neighbourhood of Medeah, Milianah, and Mostaganem. In carrying on his operations, the tribes which had submitted to the French were made the objects of the emir's special vengeance. They were pillaged without remorse; and the devastation occasioned by the repeated *razzias* of his almost savage followers, was fearful in its consequences, especially to the aged, the infirm, the women, and the children of those against whom they were directed. Every consideration of prudence, therefore, as regarded the interests committed to his charge, and of generous concern for those who acknowledged the French supremacy, tended to convince general Bugeaud, that the speedy ejection of Abd-el-Kader from the retreat he had chosen, so convenient for himself, so dangerous to others, was absolutely necessary.

To effect this object, the governor-general organised a winter campaign; and united, on the 24th of November, under the walls of Milianah, three columns of the army of Algiers, for the purpose of operating upon the Arab forces in the mountains, and also against the important unsubdued tribe of the Flitas, whose retreat was in the woods of Beni-Oura. The governor-general commanded the right column, having the duke d'Aumale under his orders; general Changarnier was at the head of the centre; and colonel Corte at that of the left column. The result of the operations was satisfactory, so far as subduing and reducing to obedience the tribes which inhabited the Warensenis, the valley of the Cheliff, and the left bank of the Wed-Rihou, as well as the greater part of the Flitas. But the emir was still at large and unconquered. He left the mountains for Morocco; from whence, at the head of 6,000 horsemen, he suddenly made a descent in the vicinity of Tlemsen, and commenced his usual work of pillage. General Bedeau marched against him, at the head of a considerable part of the garrison of that fort; when the emir, not waiting to come in contact with them, again crossed the frontier, carrying off a large quantity of booty.

During the months of January and February, 1843, Abd-el-Kader kept his followers in a constant state of activity. Several of the tribes which had submitted to the French, again acknowledged his authority; and general Bugeaud had to make a skilful disposition of his forces to check the advances of those of the emir. The latter were defeated in several encounters; and, ultimately—by the success of an expedition, under Bugeaud, which sailed from Algiers, disembarked at Cherchell, and carried on its operations in the province of Oran—two of the most important tribes which had

broken their faith with the French, the Beni-Ferraks and the Beni-Menaces, were severely punished; the Kabyles, who had joined Abd-el-Kader, were dispersed; and the emir himself, with his lieutenant, El-Barkani, was compelled to take refuge in the mountains. The French now became the assailants. In March and April repeated *razzias* were made by generals Changarnier, Bedeau, and Gentil, to compel the numerous tribes to make a definite and positive submission. But all these operations, executed with great boldness and ability, were not equal in results to the capture of the *smalah*, or domestic camp of Abd-el-Kader, by the duke d'Aumale. In this camp were not only his wife and relatives, but the principal persons attached to his fortune, their families, servants, and personal wealth. Nomades, they made their home wherever the fortune of war rendered it necessary that they should pitch their tents, and were constantly in motion. In the beginning of May, the governor-general was informed that the *smalah* was pitched to the south-east of the Warensenis range; and he charged the duke d'Aumale to make himself master of it. On the 10th of May the prince commenced his march, at the head of 1,300 infantry and 600 horse, with provisions for twenty days. His royal highness was to act in concert with general Lamoricière; and the two divisions were so disposed that the emir and his followers must pass between them, to gain the mountains of Djebel-Amour, which the commanders were informed was their destination. On the 14th of May, the duke d'Aumale learned that the emir would be found at a place the French call Oulsek-ou-Rekai, about fifteen leagues from the spot where he then was, in a south-western direction. To reach the encampment the troops had to pass over a wide uncultivated plain, where no water was to be found; but the ardour of the soldiers was inspired by the hope of a prompt victory; and they proceeded readily, and in high spirits, in the route pointed out.

On the morning of the 16th of May, the advanced guard of 500 horse, commanded by the duke d'Aumale, as it approached Taguin, perceived a city of tents, occupying a wide plain, in the midst of abundant pasturage; and without considering the inferiority of his numbers, the duke ordered an immediate attack. His royal highness headed the cavalry in a brilliant charge, in which the Arabs, who defended the camp, were broken and dispersed; and the family tents, flocks, and baggage of Abd-el-Kader, with numerous prisoners, were captured. The chief's mother and wife, however, escaped, as did Abd-el-Kader himself, who mounted his horse, and, with some chosen followers, protected the females in their flight. The number of prisoners taken in this gallant affair was enormous; it is stated to have been about 3,600,

including 300 persons, members of the families of Abd-el-Kader's principal officers. The booty included the correspondence of the emir, his treasure, four flags, one gun, two gun-carriages, and a great number of other valuable articles.

For some time after this disaster nothing was heard of the emir; but, on the 22nd of June, the *débris* of his camp were found at the foot of the plateau de Djeda; the chief being there with several hundred brave fellows, who fought fiercely, but in vain. They were defeated. About 250 were left dead on the field; upwards of 400 were made prisoners; and 300 muskets, the ammunition chests, the drums, a number of camels and horses, and five flags, which had been carried before the emir, were taken.—In the following month, an expedition, under general Bugeaud, entered Oran, and brought the entire district into complete subjection. Suddenly Abd-el-Kader reappeared to the south of Tlemcen; and Sidi Embarek, the most powerful of his lieutenants, and an inveterate enemy of France, was said to be near L'Oued-Mala with a numerous force, his aim being to form a junction with his chief. Colonel Tempoure was dispatched, at the head of a corps of infantry and cavalry, against the latter. He fell in with the enemy on the 11th of November, and obtained a complete victory. Sidi Embarek was killed; and Abd-el-Kader, disappointed of the aid he expected, again became a fugitive. In December, numerous successes obtained over the Kabyles, his allies, still further crippled his power; and he once more took refuge in Morocco.

The result of these brilliant exploits was, that peace and tranquillity reigned in Algeria. The intelligence created great enthusiasm in France; and general Bugeaud, whose skilful administration had produced the results, was rewarded with a marshal's baton; Changarnier and Lamoricière were raised to the rank of lieutenant-generals; and the duke d'Aumale was invested with the chief command in the province of Constantine.

Never, since the French set foot in Algiers, had their power been so fully established, and their authority so universally acknowledged, as it was in the commencement of 1844. Marshal Bugeaud, the duke d'Aumale, and the other generals, deemed this a favourable opportunity for reviving the ancient commercial relations between the provinces; and they devoted their time and energies to that object, and also to quieting the still-turbulent Kabyles, and to the advancement of various works required for the well-being and security of the territory. They were called from these peaceful pursuits by the warlike demonstrations of their neighbour, the emperor of Morocco, Abd-er-Rhaman. Abd-el-Kader had again exerted himself, among the wandering tribes of the desert, to excite a spirit of hostility against the christians, which he had

no difficulty in doing; whilst his friends, at the court of the emperor, lost no opportunity of interesting his majesty in his favour. Abd-er-Rhaman was also induced to favour and protect the fugitive, from a belief, which the latter encouraged, that France was allied with Spain against him; and that an intention existed to encroach on his dominions. The erection of a fort, by the French, at Lalla Maghrina, on the left bank of the Tafna, was considered, by the emperor, a strong proof that Abd-el-Kader was right. In consequence, he ordered his troops to join the Arabs; and, in the early part of 1844, a constant guerilla war was kept up, which compelled general Lamoricière, who commanded at Lalla Maghrina, and general Bedeau, who was at the head of the force at Tlemsen, to be continually on the alert in that quarter, whilst all the rest of Algeria was at peace. The *raids* made by the troops of Morocco upon the French territory, were repulsed; but the aspect of affairs was considered so alarming, that, at the close of May, marshal Bugeaud established himself in the neighbourhood of Tlemsen, at the head of a considerable force; whilst the emperor, at the head of 30,000 men, advanced towards his frontier. This state of things caused the French government to dispatch the prince de Joinville with a squadron of frigates, and smaller vessels, to the coast of Morocco, to be ready to aid marshal Bugeaud, if necessary.

In June, overtures were made by Abd-er-Rhaman, with a view to bring about such a mutual understanding as might lead to peace. They were at once assented to. On the 4th of July, an interview took place between general Bedeau, on the part of the French, and El-Guennaoni, the caid of Ouchda—a small town, a short distance from the frontier—on the part of the emperor. The intrigues of Abd-el-Kader rendered these preliminaries abortive. The interview ended in insults being offered to the French, which marshal Bugeaud thought it necessary to resent. The troops of Morocco, on the spot, were composed of men from the Oudais and the Bokharis, the most warlike tribes in the empire; but they were attacked and routed; and Ouchda being taken, was occupied by a French garrison.—The negotiations were, however, resumed; and the demands made were—that all the *corps d'armée* of the emperor, which had advanced to the French frontier, should be removed or dissolved; that the chiefs who had violated the French territory should be punished; that Abd-el-Kader should be expelled from the territory of Morocco; and that the line of demarcation between the two territories should be definitely settled. These demands were met by recriminations on the part of the emperor; and, after nearly a month spent in fruitless negotiations, marshal Bugeaud resolved upon war. It was arranged that the

first operation should be the bombardment of Tangiers by the French squadron, under the prince de Joinville. The squadron consisted of the frigates *Jemmapes*, *Suffren*, *Triton*, and *Belle Poule*; the brigs *Cassard*, *Volage*, and *Argus*; and the steamers *Vélocé*, *Pluton*, *Gassendi*, *Phare*, *Rubis*, and *Var*. The prince was on board the *Pluton*; and the squadron arrived off Tangiers on the 23rd of July. His royal highness took on board M. de Nion, the French consul; and dispatched the *Vélocé* upon a reconnoitring expedition to Mogadore. The commencement of hostilities was delayed by the proffered mediation of Mr. Drummond Hay, the British consul; Sir Robert Wilson, the governor of Gibraltar, having also attempted to bring about an accommodation. The well-meant efforts proving abortive, on the 6th of August, a fire from the French vessels was opened upon Tangiers. The city—the *Tingis* of the Romans—stands on the west side of a bay of the same name, which runs out of the Strait of Gibraltar. It is built on a series of semi-circular heights, rising one above the other; is naturally strong from its position; and was defended, when the French made the attack, by a high wall, with bastions constructed after the European fashion; upon which, and on batteries crowning two hills about 150 feet above the sea-level, and others on the water's edge, eighty large guns were mounted. When the attack commenced, the prince had transferred his flag to the *Suffren*, which, with the *Jemmapes*, took the lead. The broadsides from the ships were rapid and destructive; the garrison returned the fire with great spirit, but with much less effect; for their guns were levelled too high, and many of the shots went over the mast-heads of the vessels. In little more than an hour the Moorish guns were silenced, and the batteries dismantled, when the bombardment ceased, the French having only three killed and sixteen wounded; the ships sustaining some trifling injury. The Moors admitted a loss of 150 killed, and 400 wounded; but, said the prince de Joinville, writing on the 8th, "It is impossible to ascertain accurately the number of the killed, as they are still withdrawing dead bodies from beneath the ruins."

This was not a war of conquest. Already having differences with England on the subject of Otaheite, the French government had no wish still further to complicate the position by taking possession of Tangiers, which was, and is, the principal market from whence the garrison of Gibraltar procure their supplies of necessaries. The prince de Joinville was, therefore, interdicted from entering the city. But it was resolved to make a descent on another part of the coast, for the purpose of exhibiting to the Moors the power of the nation they had so gratuitously outraged. The point selected

was Mogadore; and it was proposed to destroy the town, which was the private property of the emperor; and to occupy or blockade the harbour till satisfaction was obtained. The repairs rendered necessary by the injuries done to the ships by the bombardment, having been remedied, the prince again made sail, and the squadron was united before Mogadore on the 11th of August.

Mogadore is situated upon the Atlantic Ocean, on the west coast of Africa, in 32° 32' N. lat., 11° 35' E. long. It is the principal port of the empire; and although surrounded by a barren and sandy region, there are a number of villas in the city and neighbourhood, whose rents bring a considerable sum to the privy purse of the emperor. The town is built on a rocky promontory; is defended by a strong wall, and several batteries; and, as the result proved, was capable of making a much more effectual resistance to a besieging force than Tangiers.—The harbour is small, and its entrance is protected by a small island, on which, also, several batteries were erected.

The weather was so rough for several days after the 11th of August, that the ships could not communicate with each other; and it was not till the 15th that the arrangements for the attack were completed.—On that day, the *Belle Poule* frigate, with three armed brigs, entered the harbour, and opened a fire on the town, which was kept up the whole day, and replied to from the batteries on the mainland, and also by those on the island. In this engagement, the *Belle Poule* suffered seriously; and as little impression was made on the town, prince de Joinville resolved to attack the island, and destroy the batteries there, unless he could capture them, and turn their guns on the city. The attack was made on the 16th; when 500 picked men were landed, under the orders of captain Duquesne and captain Bouet. They were met by the Moorish troops, and a desperate and sanguinary combat ensued, in which one-half of the enemy perished with their yataghans in their hands; the others retreated to a mosque, where they were surrounded, and capitulated.—The works were then partly dismantled; and the guns in the batteries which were left standing, were turned against the city. For some time, an interchange of discharges was kept up with great spirit and vivacity; but the guns on the Mogadore side were gradually silenced. A landing was then effected by some French soldiers, who entered the town, and liberated the British consul and several other British subjects, who had been detained by the Moorish authorities, and not suffered to leave the place. They were sent on board the English ship of war, *Warspite*, which had followed the squadron to watch the proceedings. The town was dismantled, and abandoned to the tender mercies

of the Kabyles, who descended from their mountains, and carried off a large amount of plunder, besides maltreating the inhabitants, whom the French ought to have protected from outrage. A force was established on the island competent to its defence, and the squadron returned to Algiers.

While the prince de Joinville conducted this expedition by sea, marshal Bugeaud had entered the Moorish dominions by land; rallying his little army of 8,000 infantry, and 3,600 horse (2,100 of the latter being irregulars), at the fort of Lalla Maghrina. The emperor had a numerous army of 35,000 men, encamped at no great distance from the Algerine frontier; and as soon as it was known that the French were invading the country, the Moors left the camp to meet them. The hostile forces met on the 14th of August, about two leagues from the camp, on the banks of the river Isly, near a place which marshal Bugeaud calls, in his despatches, Koudiat-Abd-er-Rhaman. The Moors assumed the offensive with 25,000 horse, when the French were crossing the Isly; and the latter were enveloped on all sides. They obtained, however, the most complete victory; their "infantry, which displayed extraordinary steadiness, and also their cavalry, achieving prodigies of valour." The French successively took all the camps, which covered a space of more than a league: the booty consisted of eleven pieces of cannon, sixteen standards, and between 1,000 and 1,200 tents—one of them belonging to the emperor's son; the prince also lost his parasol, the badge of his command: a large quantity of ammunition, and various other articles, were taken. The French losses, though severe, were light for so brilliant an action. The Moors had 800 killed; the number of wounded was much more considerable. In this gallant action—which procured for the marshal the title of duke d'Isly—general Bedeau, and colonels Cavaignac and Pelissier, held the chief commands under him.

This short campaign terminated the war and the quarrel. The emperor of Morocco, finding that he could not contend with the arms of France, concluded a treaty with the marshal; by virtue of which Abd-el-Kader was outlawed from the Moorish territory; and the emperor engaged to prevent troops from assembling on his frontier. The French agreed to evacuate the island of Mogadore; and the prisoners of war were to be exchanged on each side. The provisions of this treaty were faithfully carried out, and Abd-el-Kader was thus deprived of resources which were of the greatest service to him in the hour of need. The intelligence of these successes created much joy and enthusiasm in France; and on the 29th of August, Louis-Philippe addressed an autograph letter to the prince de Joinville, in which he thanked God for having preserved his son through the

dangers he had so nobly braved; and conveyed to that son, and the squadron, "his personal congratulations, and the national gratitude, for the new laurels which it had added to the French flag." The trophies taken in Morocco were transmitted to France; and, at the end of September, were publicly received in the presence of the king and the royal family. The standards were borne in procession to the Hôtel des Invalides, where they were deposited in the nave of the chapel.

After the victory of Isly, it was considered, both at Paris and Algiers, that the French sovereignty in Algeria would no longer be contested. This was the opinion of marshal Bugeaud, who asserted, both in his despatches and conversations, that "the battle of Isly was the definitive completion of the conquest of the country." The attitude of many of the hostile tribes seemed to show that this idea was correct, as they appeared to have laid down their arms, and to have resumed their agricultural avocations. The desire of living in peace with these turbulent men, which would afford that security so necessary for the purposes of colonisation, caused the authorities, and the French colonists generally, to accept the situation of the moment as the presage of a long peace. Under the influence of these supposed pacific prospects, prince de Joinville received orders to return with his fleet to Toulon; and marshal Bugeaud ordered his army into cantonments. This was a grave fault, and compromised all the fruits of the victories achieved at Isly, Tangiers, and Mogadore.

Notwithstanding he had lost the support of the emperor of Morocco, Abd-el-Kader did not quail before his formidable enemy. He retired to the desert; and there the spirit and enthusiasm of Islamism—the hatred which the Mohammedans entertain for the Christians—soon enabled him to rally around his standard numerous recruits. The appearance of another enemy of the French, also greatly favoured his designs. This chief is described as a man "unknown, without home, and without name;" but who, by his religious fervour, the apparent devotion of his life, and his assumption of sanctity, had won the confidence of the wild inhabitants of the Sahara. A goat was his chief companion: the animal, which shared his solitude, appeared to follow him with affection, obeyed many orders which he gave it, and excited the admiration of the Kabyles; and they gave to its owner the name of Bou-Maza—*i.e.*, "the man of the goat." He had given two entire years to the study of the resources of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants; and at the commencement of 1845, appeared in Constantine as a follower of the prophet, and an enemy of the infidels. Many Arabs joined him; and he soon afterwards was found in the province of Oran, where he exer-

cised great cruelty upon the tribes which had submitted to the French. Colonel St. Arnaud had just been appointed to the command at Orleansville, a new town in the province founded by the French. That officer went in pursuit of Bou-Maza, defeated him in three several encounters, and compelled him to retire, for a time, from the field. Whilst this chief was thus effecting a diversion in the north, Abd-el-Kader kept up an irregular desultory warfare in the south. If defeated on one point, his bands soon showed themselves on another; he harassed the French by cutting off their convoys and detachments; and such was the degree of animosity—the thirst for vengeance—inspired in the invaders by the perseverance of their indomitable enemy, that it led them into acts of savage ferocity, which we believe none regret more than do the French themselves.

One of these acts was perpetrated under the orders of an officer who had not, at the time, been long in Africa; and whose name has since become famous from his achievements in other quarters—colonel Pelissier—now marshal Pelissier and duke of Malakoff. This officer was, in June, 1845, engaged in warfare with a Kabyle tribe, called the Oulah-Riahs, which had never been subdued. Defeated in the excursions made into the French territory, the nature of their own country—intersected with hills, abounding with immense caverns and winding labyrinths, into which it would be destruction to lead strange troops—protected them from pursuit. On the 18th of June, a corps, under colonel Pelissier, had repulsed a marauding inroad of the Oulah-Riahs, who retreated, as usual, to their caverns; now known as the caves of Al Kantarah. The French, under the orders of Pelissier, surrounded the entrances of the caverns with fascines, which were set on fire. Letters were then flung to the Arabs, informing them that they would all be suffocated unless they gave up their horses and arms; then their lives would be spared. They refused at first, but soon offered compliance if the French troops were first withdrawn to a distance; a condition to which colonel Pelissier refused his assent. More burning fascines were then brought, and thrown into the caverns, where a great tumult arose; as some were for complying with the terms of the French, which the majority still rejected. A part of the women attempted to escape, but were fired at by their husbands and relations, and either killed or compelled to return. The throwing of the fascines was kept up for some time, and then suspended by order of the colonel, who sent in a flag of truce, again to urge a surrender; but the officer who bore it was received with a discharge of musketry. After this, the fire was continued for several days; during which, terrible noises issued from the caves; and the result is best told in the words of a

French officer, writing on the spot, on the 28th of June.

"On the morning of the 26th," he says, "there remained but a mass of half-consumed ashes, and nothing more was to be heard. We determined on entering the grotto. How can I describe the shocking aspect it presented? The cattle, rendered furious, had crushed all around them—the men and women, who had evidently rushed about in order to escape, being suffocated and gored. We had to walk twenty steps over bodies of the dead and dying. Hundreds of human beings were heaped up in this dreadful place, from which there had been no outlet. At the sides of the cave were the stiff bodies of men, who had stood up and applied their faces to the fissures, that they might breathe. About seventy who had survived, expired the moment they were brought into the open air; others were killed by the fragments of rocks the heat had detached. A large number had received yataghan cuts, and bore the marks of deep wounds. A terrible struggle had no doubt taken place in the cavern, in that profound darkness. Already have nearly 600 dead bodies been extracted from the grotto; there are many more, which it is impossible to get at: 800 men, women, and children have perished. The whole tribe of the Riahs is exterminated." It is said that only thirty-seven survived.

The intelligence of this terrible affair excited a great sensation in France, where every one recoiled in horror as he heard the tale. Marshal Bugeaud, to excuse his colonel, loyally assumed the responsibility of the act, which, he contended, was one of policy and humanity; necessary to destroy the confidence of the tribes in their grottoes, which they believed to be impregnable—a confidence that led to their continued hostility, and to many acts of cruelty; as they believed, if they reached the caves after any *razzia*, they were safe. It is affirmed, the terrible example was not made in vain. Some days after the "execution" (as it is termed by French authorities) of the Oulah-Riahs, the Sebéahs, another tribe, on being pursued, retired to their grottoes. There was no occasion to employ the fascines against them, for, when summoned, they gave themselves up immediately.

Soon after this event, marshal Bugeaud was summoned to Paris, to consult with the government upon the then situation and future prospects of the colony. On the 24th of August, the functions of governor-general were conferred, *ad interim*, upon lieutenant-general Lamoricière; and, on the 4th of September, the marshal embarked for France. The new governor had scarcely entered upon the discharge of his duties, when he was called upon to take immediate steps to repress a general insurrection of the tribes in the province of Oran—to which the destruction of the Oulah-Riahs gave

rise. It broke out on the 8th of September, in the environs of Cherchell; on the 12th in the Dahra; on the 18th, among the Flittas; and well were the sufferers of the grotto avenged, by a series of events disastrous to the French army. The close of the Ramadan was the time chosen to give the signal for the insurrection; and Abd-el-Kader, on the frontiers of Morocco, with 20,000 Arabs, devoted to his fortunes; and Bou-Maza, amongst the Flittas and the neighbouring tribes, began to operate simultaneously, in order that they might keep their enemy's forces divided.

The governor-general, generals Bedeau and Bourjolly, colonels St. Arnaud, Cavaignac, and Pelissier, were all employed, in various directions, against the Arabs. The division under Cavaignac advanced into the country of the Traras, on the north-western frontier of Algeria. One of his officers, lieutenant-colonel Montagnac, of the 15th light infantry, was deputed to command a fort at Djemma-Ghazaouat; where a neighbouring chief, who had made submission, and whose subsequent conduct had not afforded the slightest ground for suspicion, came to him, and gave the information that Abd-el-Kader was in the mountains of Trara, with very few followers, and that he might be easily surprised. Colonel Montagnac, believing the truth of this information, set out in the route indicated by the chief, at the head of about 450 men—all, except a few hussars, selected from his own regiment. On reaching a place called Sidi-Brahira (four leagues from Djemma-Ghazaouat), this little band was surrounded by great numbers of horsemen and Kabyles, who attacked them with the ferocity of savages—no doubt increased by the barbarities which it was known had been practised on their countrymen. The French fought as bravely and as fiercely. Repeatedly they charged the enemy, in order to force their way through the mass, and were repeatedly driven back. All, with the exception of eighty, fell on the spot. That remnant, commanded by the only officer who survived, captain Goreau, got possession of a religious building, where they defended themselves against the efforts of Abd-el-Kader to obtain possession of it. They were well supplied with ammunition; and making loopholes in the walls with their swords and bayonets, they kept up such a constant fire, and the emir lost so many men, that after two days he retired, as the little band of French soldiers refused to surrender. He, however, left a large force of cavalry in the neighbourhood. The French (who belonged to the chasseurs d'Orleans) quitted the building as soon as they saw the enemy retire; a crowd of natives came up, through whom they soon made their way at the point of the bayonet, and proceeded towards Djemma-Ghazaouat. At a league's distance they were

attacked by Kabyles. One hussar dashed on to acquaint the garrison of the position of his comrades; but before assistance reached them, only twelve men were standing; making thirteen who escaped out of the 450 who had left the fortress a few mornings before. General Lamoricière immediately sent reinforcements to the post.

General Bourjolly was ordered into the territory of the Flittas, with a column 1,800 strong. There he met with several disasters, having Bou-Maza to contend with. The principal engagement commenced on the 22nd of September, and continued into the 23rd; both parties fighting with a "terrible stubbornness." The French lost several officers and a number of men; and the general abandoned the defiles of the Flittas; took up his position upon the river Mina, and sent for reinforcements to Mascara and Orleansville. Before the year closed, the French had the worst in several smaller affairs, which were very harassing, and the result was dispiriting. In the most serious, 200 men were entirely surrounded in the post of Ain-Temouchin, and had to surrender themselves prisoners to Abd-el-Kader.—The intelligence of these reverses created a lively sensation in France. The king felt them seriously; and the ministers and their supporters, with a large majority of the people, seemed to be animated by one spirit—a desire to redeem the glory of the French arms, and to bring the war in Algeria to a successful close. Marshal Bugeaud consented to return to Algeria, and resume the command. He embarked on the 13th of October, and large reinforcements of troops followed. After they landed, there were several engagements with the Arabs, in which the latter were obliged to retreat; but although the natives suffered great losses, the results were not decisive; Abd-el-Kader and Bou-Maza, when the year closed, being still at the head of numerous bodies of Arabs, and resolved not to submit.

The operations of both parties were resumed early in 1846. Bou-Maza had about 6,000 men, in the plain between the Mediterranean, the Mina, and the Warensenis. Their courage was somewhat cooled by the latter events of the previous year; and Bou-Maza made great efforts to revive their drooping spirits. But colonels Canrobert and St. Arnaud, who were sent against him, afforded the Arab no time to organise his forces. He was harassed and pursued from point to point; and, at last—surprised in the neighbourhood of Orleansville, where his horse was shot under him, he himself wounded, and his principal lieutenant killed—he was obliged to make for the mountains; and nothing was heard of him for several months.—Abd-el-Kader pursued his old tactics. He gained some advantages, but was hampered with the prisoners taken at Ain-Temouchin, and other

places—about 300 in all; who were in his camp, under the care of his lieutenant, Ben-Tami. He wanted provisions, and also men to guard them; and he made an offer of exchange with marshal Bugeaud, for an equal number of Arabs. Unhappily, the marshal deemed this offer to be neither serious nor sincere. He was convinced that it had for its object only to induce the Arab population to believe that negotiations for peace were going on between Abd-el-Kader and France; and to aid the latter in maintaining his ascendancy over the tribes which were on the point of escaping from his influence. The marshal refused to entertain the offer; and Abd-el-Kader transmitted to his lieutenant secret instructions, leaving him free to act according to circumstances. In consequence of those instructions, all the prisoners were massacred on the 28th of April, with one exception: a trumpeter, named Roland, escaped.

There were no actions worth recording in 1846, though there were frequent skirmishes, in all of which the superiority of the French arms was maintained. Before the year closed, several tribes voluntarily submitted to the dominant power; and early in 1847, some of the most considerable chiefs of the Arabs and Kabyles also came in to the different commanders, and professed fealty. Amongst them Bou-Maza made his submission, at Orleansville, on the 12th of April, to colonel St. Arnaud. At that period, Algeria presented a very different aspect from that which prevailed in 1845 and part of 1846. The three provinces enjoyed profound peace; all bowed before French supremacy; and only one object remained, which marshal Bugeaud considered desirable to accomplish—that was, the conquest of the Kabyles, those hardy mountaineers, who had so often aided Abd-el-Kader; and whose most important tribes still defied the power of France. The marshal believed, that while they remained independent, there would always exist the means of exciting dissatisfaction, and spreading insurrection.—Even at that time, a chief named Muley-Mohammed was endeavouring to induce the Kabyles to recommence the war, which had everywhere else ceased; and they showed themselves to be quite ready to obey his injunctions. The submissions of some of their chiefs, had rendered the Kabyles to the west and south of the Djurjura range, and in the valley of the Oued-Leba, tributary to France. But numerous tribes inhabited the mountains that run between the provinces of Algiers and Constantine, to the east and south-west of the former; and also those to the west of Algiers, dividing it from Oran. These people are "more bloody and ferocious than the races of the plains; of different language and origin; fairer in complexion and hair. They live in huts, till the soil, and possess little cavalry." There is,

however, one "tie that connects Moors, Arabs, and Kabyles—that is, the religion common to them all—Islam. The rules of this religion, and the climate, make them temperate in eating and drinking, teach them to despise the luxuries of this world, and to strive for the blessings of Paradise."*

Having resolved to oblige the Kabyles to acknowledge French supremacy, marshal Bugeaud collected a considerable force. Towards the close of April, he entered the valley of Oued-Sahel, to the east of Algiers; and addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants, calling upon them to undertake to expel Muley-Mohammed from their mountains, and to recognise the authority of France. To this proclamation no reply was made. Accordingly, on the 6th of May the campaign commenced, the marshal and general Bedeau commanding the army. There was a great deal of fighting; the hardy mountaineers defending themselves and their liberty with a steady and determined valour which elicited respect. But they could not resist the equally resolute heroism of the French soldiers; and the result was, that, in August, fifty-five tribes in the triangle, of which the angles are Bougie on the north, Sétif on the south, and Hamza on the west, acknowledged the sovereignty of France. The marshal was desirous of disarming the Kabyles, and of placing military posts in the mountains; but he required supplies of men and money to carry out his views, which the French chambers refused to grant. He was indignant at this refusal, and resolved to resign his offices of governor and commander-in-chief. In pursuance of this determination, he placed his authority in the hands of general Gentil; and repaired to Bougie, accompanied by his principal officers, to embark for France. When he was preparing to step on board the ship which was to convey him to Europe, those officers presented an address to him, couched in the most affectionate terms; and congratulating him on the happiness he must feel, at carrying with him, in his retirement, the glory of having caused the flag of France to float triumphantly over the territory of Algiers.—Soon after, more tribes submitted; and before 1847 closed, the authority of France was recognised and respected, from the frontier of Tunis to that of Morocco, and from the Mediterranean to the extreme limit of the little desert.

It had, for some time, been the intention of Louis-Philippe to place the duke d'Aumale, already governor of Constantine, at the head of the entire territory of Algeria. As soon as marshal Bugeaud arrived in France, this appointment was made by a royal *ordonnance*, in which not one word of regret was expressed at the retirement of the late governor, nor was

* Hughes.

there any grateful recognition of his services. It contained the mere commonplace formula: "The resignation of marshal Bugeaud is accepted." Three months after, however, the king, in his speech to the legislature, did make the *amende honorable* to the marshal, when he said—"The illustrious chief, who for so long a period has gloriously commanded in Algiers, has desired to repose after his labours. I have confided to my well-beloved son, the duke d'Aumale, the great and difficult task of governing that French territory."

The duke d'Aumale prized his new position, which imposed upon him a serious responsibility. As governor of Constantine, however, his conduct had been irreproachable, and there was no reason to apprehend his failing in the exercise of the more extensive power placed in his hands. He immediately took up his residence at Algiers; where it was arranged that he should be joined by the duchess and her children, as soon as the former had recovered from her approaching accouchement. His young spouse drew bright pictures of the future: she contemplated introducing more of the civilisation of France into Africa; and of establishing a minor court in the palace of its deys. But, alas! all these projects for the future vanished, and dispersed "into thin air; and, like the baseless fabric of a vision, left not a wrack behind." The government of the duke d'Aumale continued little more than six months; and, in that short space of time, nothing was realised but the establishment of a bank of France and Algiers; and the publication of an official journal, written in the native language, and destined to offer instruction to the various tribes upon the politics and the opinions, the power and grandeur, of France, and the manners and customs of its people. The only great event of the period was the submission of Abd-el-Kader.

Towards the close of 1847, the Arab chief, having recruited and reorganised his forces, made an effort to gain in Morocco compensation for what he had lost in Algiers. He resolved, in fact, to contest the throne with the emperor, Muley-Abd-er-Rhaman; and the son of the late emperor, who thought he had been unjustly deprived of his birthright, joined him. The emir invaded Morocco; and met, at first, with great success. But fortune changed, and his troops began to desert him. He was then near the emperor's camp; and, with the few men left him, he resolved to make a night attack upon it. The Moors were not prepared for the surprise, and at first fled in all directions. The weakness of the assailants, however, was soon apparent; and, ashamed of retreating before such a foe, the emperor's troops rallied, and Abd-el-Kader, in his turn, was obliged to retire. He had no resource but to recross the frontier, which he did by the river Malouia, a few leagues

from the borders of the French territory. He was advancing in the direction of that district, his intention being to regain the desert; but general Lamoricière, apprised of his movements, came up with a numerous body of men to guard the passage, and to prevent the emir, with his armed followers, from entering the French territory. There was now no escape, and fighting was useless. In that dilemma, Abd-el-Kader threw himself upon the generosity of the French general. He sent his lieutenant, Bou-Krauia, to Lamoricière, with overtures of submission, which were tendered on condition that he should have leave to retire to St. Jean d'Acre, or Alexandria. General Lamoricière accepted the conditions; and the 23rd of December was fixed for the introduction of the emir to the governor-general. The duke d'Aumale received him, in the presence of generals Lamoricière and Cavaignac. On being introduced to his royal highness, he said—"I had wished to have done earlier what I do to-day; but I awaited the hour marked by God. The general has made me a promise, in which I place faith. I have no fear that that promise will be violated by the son of a great monarch like the king of the French." The duke confirmed the promise; and, in his despatch to the minister of war, dated the same day, he said—"I ratified the promise of general Lamoricière, and I confidently hope that the government of the king will sanction it." The next day the emir was entertained by his conquerors; and, on the 25th, with his women, his children, and servants, he embarked on board a French frigate for Toulon, where, on his arrival, instead of being liberated, according to the terms of his capitulation, he was transferred to the interior of France, and confined in the Château d'Amboise.

The promise to give Abd-el-Kader his liberty was, perhaps, an injudicious one, as his former conduct had proved that his word could not be implicitly relied upon. Still, having been given, it ought to have been kept; and the duke d'Aumale was most anxious that it should be faithfully observed. Writing to his brother, the duke de Nemours, on the 15th of February, 1848, his royal highness said—"I have not time to write to the king to thank him for his kind letter, and also for the warmth with which he defended the word of his son, in the affair of Abd-el-Kader. I am more thankful for that than for any other thing." In less than three weeks after that letter was written, the duke was, like the Arab chief, an exile. On the 29th of February, there were rumours flying about of misfortunes to his family; and, on the 2nd of March, the packets which arrived brought the intelligence of another "three days' revolution;" of the establishment of a republic in France, and the nomination of general Cavaignac as governor-general. The next morning, at ten

o'clock, the duke and the prince de Joinville, who had come to pass the winter in Algiers, traversed, on foot, the streets of that city, and embarked on board the *Solon*, which, at twelve o'clock, sailed for Europe. Before he embarked, his royal highness issued the following proclamation:—

"Inhabitants of Algiers!—Faithful to my duty as a citizen and a soldier, I have remained at my post as long as I believed my presence useful to my country. That necessity no longer exists. General Cavaignac is named governor-general of Algeria. He will soon arrive in Algiers; in the interim the functions of the office will be discharged by general Changarnier. In submission to the national will, I leave you; but, during my exile, my prayers will be offered up for your prosperity, and for the glory of France, to which I could have wished longer to have dedicated my services.—D'AUMALE."

A week after the former governor left, general Cavaignac arrived at Algiers, from the west; and he received there his nomination as governor-general; his commission as general of division; and two proclamations, addressed to the people and the army, which were immediately circulated. In the former, the change of government was announced; and the Algerines were told, that "the republic would defend Algiers as a part of France; that the material and moral interests of the people should be studied and promoted; and that a progressive assimilation of the institutions of Algeria to those of the mother-country, was contemplated by the provisional government, and would form one object of the serious deliberations of the national assembly. France," it was added, "relied upon their patriotism to second the efforts of the governor-general, who possessed the confidence of the provisional government." The proclamation to the army recognised the heroic acts and good conduct of the troops, "which the republican government appreciated, and would recompense." It called upon them to follow the road of honour and of duty; and to remain faithful to that discipline which never abandoned the French soldier.

When general Cavaignac assumed the government of Algiers, the authority of France was not nominally, but really extended over the entire territory which once acknowledged the sovereignty of the deys, and the suzerainty of the Porte. Though the eighteen years that had elapsed since their first landing had been almost one continued period of war, yet the French had introduced many of the improvements which the hands of civilisation produce. Swamps had been drained, roads had been made, stage-coaches had been set up, and schools and similar institutions established. In the towns, great progress in the arts of life was apparent; but, in agriculture, little advance

had been made; a very small portion of the ground capable of cultivation having been ploughed or dug up. The government which is established resembles that of France. Up to 1847, much of the military element was infused into the administration of the governor-general. But, in August of that year, a royal *ordonnance* was issued, giving a new form of government to the colony, and establishing a council of direction to assist the governor-general. The three provinces or departments have a prefect at their head; sub-prefects in each *arrondissement*; civil commissaries in the most important districts; and *maires* and municipal councils in the communes.

In the department of Algiers, Algiers is the chief town. There is only one *arrondissement*, of which the town of Blidah is the centre; six civil commissariats—Medeah, Milianah, Douera, Koleah, Cherchell, and Ténès; and two communes, Algiers and Blidah. The department of Oran has Oran for its chief town; one *arrondissement*, with Mostaganem for its centre; two civil commissariats, Arzew and Mascara; and two communes, Oran and Mostaganem. The department of Constantine has the city of Constantine for its capital; two *arrondissements*, with Philippeville and Bona for their centres; two civil commissariats, Bougie and La Calle; and two communes, Bona and Philippeville. The military administration of each department is in a lieutenant-general; and a general of brigade is placed over the subdivisions, which are as follow:—In Algiers: Blidah, Medeah, Aumale, Milianah, and Orleansville. In Oran: Mascara, Mostaganem, Si-di-bel-Abbe, and Tlemsen. In Constantine: Bona, Sétif, and Bathna. The affairs of the natives are in the hands of the military authorities, assisted by an Arab *bureau*; and there is a political Arab *bureau* for political affairs, which centralises all the concerns of the tribes. Justice is administered much as it is in France. A court of appeal sits at Algiers, having two chambers, one civil, the other criminal. Tribunals of the first instance (six in number) are established at Algiers, Blidah, Bona, Philippeville, Constantine, and Oran. A *justice de paix* is appointed to each of the important towns; and there are two tribunals of commerce, one at Algiers, the other at Oran. The tribunals of the Mohammedans are preserved; but those of the Jews, which existed previous to the French conquest, have been suppressed. The established religion is, of course, the Roman catholic; but protestants are protected; and it is said, that, under

the combined influence of the government and of the clergy, christianity makes rapid progress in Africa: and the establishments for public instruction unite, with the influence of religion, to consolidate the progress of civilisation in that part of the globe.

The city of Algiers, which is the seat of government for the province, as well as the chief place of the department, has a population, European and native, of about 70,000. Standing against a precipitous hill, the lower half, with the exception of two grand mosques, is principally formed of the wharfs, warehouses, public buildings, and private houses of the French. The upper half is almost exclusively occupied by the natives. In the lower city, "the Place Royale covers more than two acres of ground in its centre, and is adorned with orange and lime trees, a pleasant fountain, and a fine equestrian statue of the unfortunate duke d'Orleans. Two large streets, called Bab-el-oued and Bab-azoun, running north and south, intersect the city; and were it not that, as a thoroughfare for carriages and general traffic, they are somewhat narrow and confined, nothing could be more convenient than the colonnades by which they are flanked; so that, let the weather be fair or foul, rain or sunshine, there the invalid may always have a pleasant promenade, with shade or shelter, from one end of the city to the other."* In the upper town, the square, substantial Moorish houses stand one above the other in irregular succession. The windows, which resemble nothing so much as peep-holes, are defended by strong iron gratings; and the terraces are the exclusive domain of the ladies. When the French first occupied the city, the officers were in the habit of mounting upon the roof of some unoccupied dwelling, telescope in hand, to gaze upon these dark-eyed beauties. It was not till several had been shot, that this invasion of the privacy in which the Moors immure their females, was discontinued.

There were about 100,000 Europeans in Algeria in 1848; of whom perhaps 60,000 were Frenchmen; the remainder was composed of Spaniards, Italians, Maltese, Germans, Poles, and Irish. The number is now doubled, at least. The following is an estimate of the number of tribes and persons of the native inhabitants:†—

Department.	Tribes.	Population.
Algiers	290	900,000
Oran	275	600,000
Constantine	580	1,300,000
	1,145	2,800,000

cient and modern), is *L'Algérie*, by M. Leon Galebert. Paris, 1854.

* Davies' *Algeria*.

† The best authority for the *History of Algiers* (an-

BOOK IX.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC, AND THE SECOND EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT; PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC; LOUIS NAPOLEON IN PARIS; THE GOVERNMENT LABOUR COMMISSION; ATELIERS NATIONAUX; STATE OF THE COUNTRY; THE GARDE MOBILE; THE POLICE; THE ARMY; THE NAVY; THE FINANCES; THE MEASURES OF THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION; FOREIGN AFFAIRS; THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR; HIS COMMISSIONERS AND CIRCULARS; THE CLUBS; THE PRESS; THE SOCIAL QUESTION; DEMONSTRATION OF THE 17TH OF MARCH; FOREIGN REFUGEES; EMEUTE OF APRIL 16TH; THE ELECTIONS.

THE government which was installed in office on the 24th of February, 1848, though it assumed and exercised, without control, all the powers of a dictatorship, found itself surrounded with difficulties. The populace of Paris were in a state of wild insubordination; some clamouring for the equal communism which the socialists preached; others for the adoption of the red flag, and the principles of the first republic. There was no force at hand to preserve peace. The troops, dispirited by the inaction of the 23rd, had been broken up, and sent out of the metropolis; the municipal guard was disbanded; the national guard, though still ostensibly embodied, was so disorganised and demoralised, that no reliance could be placed upon it; and the police was equally ineffective. The members of the provisional government were, unfortunately, divided amongst themselves. Ledru-Rollin and Flocon were ultra-republicans; Louis Blanc and Albert, socialists; and their colleagues, professing moderate principles, had to yield, on many points, to the minority, the latter being so strongly supported by the populace, who were not slow in making known their wants and expectations. On the 25th of February, the members of the government had scarcely assembled in council, before the Hôtel-de-Ville, which had been made the seat of the administration, was invaded by a tumultuous crowd, composed, apparently, of workmen; whilst thousands thronged the surrounding streets. Lagrange, who had previously rendered himself so conspicuous, was again seen actively moving amongst the crowd. He carried a red flag in his hand; and the first demand of the excited multitude was, that that emblem should be substituted for the tricolour which floated over the Hôtel-de-Ville. Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin would have complied with the demand; but M. Goudchaux vehemently opposed it. M. Lamartine supported the finance minister. He repeatedly faced the riotous mob, and boldly declared that he would never adopt that ensign. "The tricolour," he said, "had made the tour of the

world with the republic and the empire; whilst the red flag had only gone the round of the Champ-de-Mars, and trailed through the blood of the people." For hours it was doubtful which would triumph—the violence of the mob, or the passive resistance of the provisional government. At length, the firmness and eloquence of Lamartine having somewhat subdued the popular effervescence, the majority of his colleagues agreed to a decree, by which it was ordered, that the tricoloured flag, bearing the words, "French republic!—Liberty! equality! fraternity!" should be the national ensign; but that, "as a rallying sign, and a grateful recognition of the establishment of the republic, the members of the provisional government, and all the public functionaries, should wear a red rosette; a similar rosette should also be fastened to the staff, bearing the flag."* M. Lamartine announced this decision to the multitude; and his eloquence was so far effective in calming their passions, that they dispersed; but it was only to be succeeded by fresh crowds, with new claims upon the administration.

This time the demand was for the "*Droit du Travail*." The Place de Grève, about an hour after the first crowd had left it, and whilst the provisional government was employed in organising the *mairies*, was again filled by masses of people, who made the air resound with their clamours. One of their leaders, a young man, apparently above the class of the *ouvriers*, forced his way into the council-chamber, and dashing the butt-end of a musket he carried in his hand, with great violence on the floor, he imperiously demanded those "rights," which Louis Blanc, in his *brochure* on *The Organisation of Labour* (published a short time previously), had contended belonged to the workmen. This demand produced fresh discussion, and renewed differences amongst the men to whom the destinies of France were then entrusted. They ended in the adoption of the following decree—the three first sentences of which were written by

* *Moniteur*, Feb. 26th, 1848.

Louis Blanc; the last was added by Lamartine:—
 “The provisional government engage themselves to guarantee the existence of the workmen by means of labour. They engage themselves to guarantee labour to every citizen. They take it to be necessary for the workmen to associate with one another, in order to reap the legitimate reward of their toil. The provisional government restore to the workmen, who are its real owners, the million belonging to the late civilist, which will be soon due.”*

The appearance of this decree restored peace for the time; and the members of the government proceeded to take other steps which were necessary for the preservation of order and the maintenance of authority. Whilst the national guard was reorganising, the prevention of outrage, and the protection of property, were entrusted to the young men of the St. Cyr, the Polytechnic, and the normal schools; and the students of law and medicine. These young men, we are told, “exercised an ascendancy over the people,” who “respected in them the flower of their race;” and “there was not one amongst them who would not have risked his life to preserve the republic from the profanation of demagogues in its cradle.”† As a popular measure, the abolition of the punishment of death for political offences, was decreed on the 26th of February; and to lessen, in some degree, the financial pressure which the revolution brought upon all the mercantile and trading classes, the payment of bills falling due on the 22nd of February, and which had not been met, was postponed to the 15th of March; and the payment of the *rentes*, which would fall due on the 22nd of that month, was ordered to be anticipated, and made on the 15th. The state of the finances prevented this last order from being acted upon. Decrees were also issued, calling upon the army to be faithful to the republic, and for constituting the *garde mobile*. During the morning of the 26th, the Place de Grève was filled by crowds of socialists, who, not satisfied by the decree of the 25th, “demanded that Louis Blanc should be appointed minister of progress;” and that the words, “organisation of labour,” should be instantly inserted in the programme of the promises guaranteed to the people. The ministers were much annoyed by deputations from this crowd making their way to them, and loudly clamouring for the above measures; but there was no violence used, except that of words.

Before the 26th of February closed, the republic was proclaimed from the steps of the Hôtel-de-Ville. There were numerous groups remaining in the Place de Grève, who were addressed by Lamartine. The orator said, that he and his colleagues called upon the people to witness their gratitude for the magnificent

national co-operation, which had just accepted the new institutions. “The provisional government had only joyful intelligence to announce. Royalty was abolished; the republic proclaimed; the people would exercise their political rights, and national workshops would be opened for those who were without work. The army was being reorganised. The national guard indissolubly united itself with the people. The penalty of death for political offences was abolished.” A proclamation, announcing that abolition, was read; the crowds soon after dispersed; and, in the evening, Paris was brilliantly illuminated.

The next day was Sunday; and the barricades having all been removed, the city was perfectly tranquil. The rain poured in torrents during the morning, but that did not prevent the people from gathering in the streets, as it was known that there would be a review of such troops of the national guards as could be got together, in the Place de la Bastille, and that the republic would again be proclaimed. The weather cleared before the hour fixed for the review, 2 P.M., arrived; and there were more than 150,000 people and national guards assembled. Many of the former had arms, and joined the guards when they passed before general Courtois and the members of the provisional government, who were assembled on the steps of the column of July. From that spot M. Arago proclaimed the republic amidst great enthusiasm. M. Dupont de l’Eure then addressed the multitude, thanking them for their respect for order, and the grand moral support they had given to the revolution. This address was followed by a brief speech from M. Crémieux. Then the national guard and the citizens defiled past the column and the group of statesmen on its steps, the bands playing national airs. These men, “belonging to every profession and opinion, saluted the republic, and raised their weapons to the sky, to attest their readiness to maintain order by defending the government.”‡ At night the city was again illuminated; Venetian lamps being tastefully arranged to produce the tricolour, which had a beautiful effect.

The members of the provisional government, to their honour be it recorded, were very desirous that the royal family should be enabled to quit France without difficulty or annoyance; and as soon as a little breathing-time could be obtained, in the midst of the numerous demands made upon them, his colleagues entrusted Lamartine with the charge of making inquiries respecting them, and of supplying the king or the princes with money, if they required it; 300,000*f.* (£12,000) being placed in his hands for that purpose. He found that all the members of Louis-Philippe’s family had left Paris—the duke de Nemours and the duchess de Montpensier having remained two days, unmolested,

* *Moniteur*, Feb. 26th, 1848.

† Lamartine.

‡ Lamartine.

and then proceeded to England.* It was believed that the ministers had also succeeded in leaving the capital in safety. It was satisfactory to the members of the new government thus easily and quietly to get rid of their predecessors; but, before they had ascertained that they had done so, an arrival was announced, which not a little embarrassed and annoyed them. As soon as Louis Napoleon, then a resident in London, heard of the events of the 24th of February, he left England for Paris, where he arrived on the 28th. The sentence of banishment against his family had not been abrogated; but, in 1847, Louis-Philippe had permitted prince Jerome to return to France; and his nephew thought that there would be no objection to his again visiting his native country. As soon as he reached Paris, he announced his arrival to the provisional government, in the following letter:—

"Gentlemen,—The people of Paris having destroyed, by their heroism, the last vestige of foreign invasion, I hastened from the land of exile, to enlist myself under the banners of the republic, which has just been proclaimed. With no other ambition than that of serving my country, I beg to make the members of the provisional government aware of my arrival; and I request them to be assured, both of my devotion to the cause they represent, and of my personal sympathy for them.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

Looking at the unsettled state of the public mind, the members of the government were afraid the enemies of the existing order of things would avail themselves of the prince's presence to create disturbances in his name, and they requested him to return to London; which he immediately did.

The proclamation of the republic, and the manifestation made by so many thousands of the more respectable inhabitants of the capital to support M. Dupont de l'Eure and his colleagues, did not discourage the socialists. Louis Blanc's object in proposing the decree of the 25th of February, was, as he himself says, "to involve the government in an obligation to adopt such practical measures as were necessary. Of these, the principal, of course, was the immediate creation of a special public department, fully provided with all the means of carrying out the object. And this purpose was quite in harmony with the construction which the people put upon that document."† Are we wrong in supposing, that they knew, from the proposer, or from some intermediate friend, that the insisting upon this construction being carried out, would be agreeable to, and find an advocate in, him? However that may be, on the 28th of February, when the ministers assembled in council, they "unexpectedly saw crowds of

workmen spreading over the Place de Grève, and ranged, as it were, in order of battle. Over them waved numerous banners, bearing the words—'*Ministère du Progrès*,' '*Organisation du Travail*.' Almost immediately after, a deputation from the persons thus assembled was announced." That deputation was the bearer of the popular demands, as previously made known by the mottos on their banners. The "instant decision" of the council "was required; and, without hesitation, Louis Blanc proposed that the request should be complied with. Since the revolution," he said, "had a social direction, why not present it at once in its new light?"‡ Lamartine contended, that the provisional government had no right to take a step which, if taken at all, belonged to the national assembly: and the majority of the council being of his opinion, Louis Blanc tendered his resignation. To have accepted it, would at once have thrown his followers—and the socialists were computed to form in Paris a mass of 50,000 men, mostly armed§—into open insurrection; and a revival of all the horrors of the first revolution might have been anticipated. After some consultation, the majority of the ministers proposed to institute a commission, for the discussion of social questions, till the national assembly met, and to place Louis Blanc at its head as president. At first he positively declined to lend himself to the formation of what he considered would be merely "a stormy school, in which it would be his task to deliver lectures on hunger, to hungry people." Arago pressed the acceptance of the office upon him, proposing to become a member of the institution, as vice-president; and Louis Blanc suffered himself to be persuaded to agree to the proposition of his colleagues. It was, therefore, resolved, that a "government labour commission" should be formed. It was thought, however, better to have Albert for the vice-president, as he was more intimately connected with those who demanded what they called the "organisation of labour," being one of themselves. M. Vidal was appointed secretary.

The appointment of this commission was announced by a decree dated the 28th, and published in the *Moniteur* of the 29th, of February. With the exception of the three officers named, it was to be formed of workmen; it was to "be permanent;" to devote itself to "an inquiry into the social condition of the operatives," that being the "express purpose" for which it was formed; and its seat was to be the Luxembourg. There Louis Blanc, Albert, and Vidal assembled on the 1st of March. They were met by about 200 workmen, deputies from the various trades' unions of Paris, who took their "seats in the places formerly occupied by the peers of France." When the object of the commission had been explained to them, they

* Lamartine.

† *Historical Recollections.*

‡ *Historical Recollections.*

§ Lamartine.

expressed approval of it; but one of their number demanded two preliminary measures:—1st, a limitation of the hours of labour; 2ndly, an abolition of the system of *marchandage*, or middle-men, who acted between them and their employers. They were told, that the first step must be to provide for the representation of the working classes at the Luxembourg; and Louis Blanc suggested, that each craft should elect three deputies, “one of whom should take part in the daily labours of the government labour commission; and the two others in general meetings, to receive reports submitted to them for their deliberation and discussion.”* He found the workmen were not to be diverted from their object. They agreed to elect deputies to a “labour parliament,” but they insisted upon their demands. Whilst this discussion was going on, M. Arago appeared at the Luxembourg, and addressed the meeting. He was listened to respectfully; but could not induce his hearers to abandon the two preliminary objects. They declared, that no labour should be resumed till what they asked was granted; but Louis Blanc saying there were other interests which must be consulted, and appealing for their confidence, they departed, with cries of “*Vive la République!*” The president immediately sent out messengers to the employers, to summon them to a meeting the next morning, at eight o’clock. Having obtained the reluctant assent of a majority of those assembled, the provincial government issued a decree the same day, abolishing the system of middle-men, and reducing the hours of labour from eleven to ten per day in Paris, and from twelve to eleven in the provinces.

Such were the first acts of the government labour commission, of which Louis Blanc was at the head; and whose operations must not be confounded with those of the *ateliers nationaux*, or national workshops. The latter were established by decrees of the provisional government, simultaneously with the commission, but they were put under the direction of M. Marie, the minister of commerce. They were professedly founded on the principles upon which the English poor-law is framed; and were intended to afford relief to the numerous workmen who had been thrown out of employ by the revolution. M. Emile Thomas was the person really responsible for these *ateliers*, as they were established upon a plan suggested by him to the *maires* of Paris. In that plan he proposed, that the government should find work for all who could not get employment in the regular establishments. They were to be enrolled *à la militaire*, in squads of ten men each, under a *chef d’escouade*; brigades of five squads,

under a brigadier; companies of four brigades, under a lieutenant; battalions of four companies, under a *chef de bataillon*; and services of three battalions, under a *chef de service*. A field-officer was placed at the head of the services in each *arrondissement* of Paris; and a central board of management was established at Monceaux. In the first instance, a sum of 5,000,000f. (£200,000) was placed to the credit of M. Emile Thomas, who was made director, under M. Marie, of the *ateliers*. He was instructed, by the minister, to hold the workmen well in hand, and to find some means of attaching them to him sincerely. If he did that, the number could not be too large; and money was no object. The minister said, these directions were given for the public safety; “as the day, perhaps, was not far distant when they would have to be marched into the public streets.”† Perhaps M. Marie and his colleagues expected, in the *ateliers nationaux*, to collect a force of *ouvriers* which might, if necessary, be opposed to the communists and socialists under Louis Blanc. The chief employment given to these men was digging. It was not productive work; but merely contrived that they might do something. Work even of this description, however, could not be found for all who applied for admission to the *ateliers nationaux*; and whilst the employed received 14f. per week, the unemployed had 8f. for doing nothing.

The establishment of the *ateliers nationaux* proved a complete failure. The original plan, as supported by several members of the government, was, to have employed the labourers in some great public works, for the improvement of the French soil: and if set to enclose and cultivate land then unproductive, the establishments might have been beneficial in their effect. But the men were, unfortunately, all retained in Paris, where work could not be obtained for one in ten of those who applied for it; and “the workshops, crowded by misery and idleness, became day by day more burthensome, more unproductive, and more menacing to public order.”‡ The effect of the workshops, and of the steps taken by the labour commission at the Luxembourg, was, to render labour more unproductive than ever. It became unprofitable alike to employer and employed: the former closed their establishments; and the latter, finding work becoming every day more difficult to procure, began to regard, with jealousy, the Englishmen who were employed on the railways, and in other undertakings, for which they were found much more eligible than the natives. This jealousy did not long remain inactive; the *ouvriers* resorted to violence; and the English were obliged to leave France, and return to their own country. They had placed a considerable amount of their earnings in the French savings-banks; the state of the French finances

* *Historical Recollections.*

† *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, par Emile Thomas.

‡ Lamartine.

had compelled the government to suspend the payment of the deposits, except for small sums; and many of them had great difficulty to procure the means for crossing the Channel; some being obliged to leave before they could either get their arrears of wages, or sell their effects. Lord Normanby did his utmost to obtain justice for his countrymen; but they never recovered all that was due to them.—Before this occurrence, many of the English workmen were disposed to regard the French revolutionists with approval, and to express great pleasure at their success. After the return of the expelled operatives, their sentiments were found to have undergone a considerable change.

The government having issued the decrees for the establishment of the labour commission and the *ateliers nationaux*—the attention of the Parisian people was attracted from both, for a brief period, by the preparations making for a most impressive ceremony, which was performed on the 4th of March. All the bodies of the killed in the three days of February, were collected for interment in one spot, in vaults formed in the Place de la Bastille, at the bottom of the column of July. The funeral service was performed in the church of the Madeleine, which was hung in mourning, and lighted by fifteen funeral torches. It was attended by all the members of the provisional government; by the entire municipality of Paris and the Seine; by the Polytechnic, the law, and the medical students; by deputations from the educational, literary, and scientific institutes, and the courts of law; and by the relatives of the slain. A double row of national guards lined the way from the Place de la Madeleine to the column of July—through which the procession from the church passed to the place of interment. There was an immense crowd in the Place de la Bastille; and when, at half-past four, the coffins were lowered into the vaults, a solemn silence prevailed. A long black crape veil, flowered with silver tears, flowed from the top of the column; beneath which speeches were delivered by MM. Crémieux and Garnier Pagès; and then the crowd dispersed calmly and peaceably, and—what would be remarkable in any crowd, but was more especially so in a large assembly of the French people—almost without a word or a sound. “Silence, the lesson of kings, was, on that occasion, for the first time, the eloquent form of the sympathy of a whole people.”*—Previous to this event, the archbishop and clergy of Paris, the members of the council of state, and the judges of the various courts, had sent in their adhesion to the republic.

The monarchy of France had been subverted, and the republic established, at, comparatively, a very small cost of life. An official return of

* *Moniteur*, March 5th, 1848.

the killed and wounded was published in the *Moniteur*, on the 5th of March; and from that document it appeared, that 638 wounded persons were carried to the hospitals after the conflicts in the streets, of whom ninety-one died. This is exclusive of sixty-five soldiers and municipal guards, who perished at the Château d'Eau; nor were those who died in the streets, where they fell, ever enumerated. It is said, however, that the number of those who perished in that way was very small; and probably all the lives that were lost—military and insurgents—were under 200. This was undoubtedly owing to the very faint show of resistance made to the populace. If the soldiers and the national guards had done their duty, the insurrection might, as already observed, have been easily put down; but the loss of life would undoubtedly have been great.—Nor was there much destruction of property in Paris. There the insurgents set their faces against robbery and plunder, except in the case of the Tuileries. There were many scenes of devastation, no doubt; but they were the work of thieves and plunderers, not of the men whose cry was, “No monarchy!” “Down with the Bourbons!” In several instances, where the latter found parties making free with private property, they were shot dead on the spot, and no pity was expressed for them.—The mob which plundered the Tuileries was composed of the lowest classes of the Parisians. They established themselves in the various rooms; and it was not till the 7th of March that they were expelled. During the time they remained, the ample supply of provisions and wine, found in the store-rooms and cellars, enabled them to gorge to repletion; and the *citoyens* being joined by the *citoyennes*, they amused themselves with impromptu balls and concerts, and other entertainments. They held the palace against all intruders; and an outcry was raised by the populace outside, who wanted to come in for their share of the good things. At length, M. Caussidière determined to expel them; and as, when summoned, they refused to depart, he dispatched a body of his *montagnards*, to drive them out by force. Finding that they must fight, or fly, or surrender, some of them—said to be about fifty in number—left in the night of the 6th of March. The next morning the remainder submitted to the police. Much of the plunder was found upon their persons; and quantities of jewels, &c., were subsequently recovered from the shopkeepers to whom they had been sold.

In the departments, a much more unfavourable state of things existed for several days. The intelligence of the flight of the royal family, and the establishment of the republic, was proclaimed at Lyons by torchlight, at 8 P.M. on the 25th of February. It was

received with riotous shouts; and a disorderly crowd set fire to, and plundered, the religious and charitable establishments of the Croix Rouge, Fourvières, and the Faubourg du Paix. In Lyons, and on the Upper Rhine, disorder prevailed for some time; and in other quarters many grievous outrages were committed by the lawless bands which traversed the country. On the 25th, a mob went to the palace of Neuilly, plundered it, and burned it nearly to the ground. A fearful fate awaited many of the plunderers. The cellars were soon crowded to suffocation. The casks of wine and liquors were broken open, and emptied of their contents. Many drank so intensely, that they at once fell insensible to the ground. Others quarrelled and fought, their weapons being the bottles, which they held by the necks, and broke about each other's heads. This was going on in the cellars; whilst in the rooms above, plunderers were carrying off the valuables; and when the work of devastation was completed, the torch was applied. Numbers of those who had been occupied in the cellars were, by that time, incapable of moving; and as the flames continued during the greater part of the next day, they were either burned or suffocated. On Sunday, the 27th, upwards of a hundred dead bodies were dug out of the ruins.

Numerous private mansions were also plundered in various directions. Amongst them was the château of M. Rothschild, near Surènes. That banker had given 50,000*f.* towards a fund collected for the relief of the sufferers in the "three days" strife, just at the time when his mansion was plundered and burned. The plunderers professed to have acted under the impression that the château was a royal mansion. On discovering their mistake, as they alleged, they sent an apology to the owner! But the railways could not have been destroyed under the belief that they belonged to the Orleans family; yet, for a long distance round Paris, the stations and bridges were burned or pulled down; and, in some places, the rails taken up, no doubt for the purpose of interrupting the communications, and enabling the plunderers to carry on their depredations with greater impunity. The government was not aware of the extent of these outrages for several days. The interruption of the supplies of food from the country, on which the Parisians had to depend for subsistence, first caused alarm, and produced inquiry, when it was found that Paris was environed by marauding bands, for at least thirty or forty leagues on each side. The new *garde mobile* was first regularly organised by general Duvivier, to send against these offshoots of the revolution; whom it succeeded in dispersing, restoring tranquillity, and re-establishing confidence. Whilst the national guard continued in the ineffective state to which the revolution had reduced it,

the *garde mobile* rendered essential service. It soon became popular; before many weeks had elapsed it comprised 14,000 men, divided into twenty-four battalions, and was the most active and reliable force the provisional government had at its command.—It was not till the 15th of March that a decree appeared, from the minister of the interior, incorporating citizens of every class into the national guard; ordering that uniforms should be furnished, free of expense, to all persons who were unable to provide them for themselves; that the companies of grenadiers and voltigeurs (which were composed of the wealthier members) should be abolished; and that the distinctive and expensive uniform which the members of those companies wore, should be discontinued. Caussidière did not hesitate so long in taking steps to restore the police to something like efficiency, as Ledru-Rollin did before he issued the decree respecting the national guards. As soon as the former was made prefect of police, he began to collect around him a force on which *he* could rely himself, whatever might be the case with his superiors. He instituted a "republican guard," to which he gave the name of *montagnards*, after the democrats of the old convention. They were taken mostly from the worst classes in the metropolis, a few being members of the old force. Attired in blue blouses, white trowsers, and red caps, with red woollen neckcloths, and scarfs of the same colour and stuff round their waists—they converted the prefecture of police into a guard-house; continually smoking when not on duty, and, at all times, using the coarsest language. These men, knowing their haunts, soon became the terror of the thieves of the metropolis; but they could not be relied on to suppress a popular riot.—Sobrier, annoyed at not having received the appointment of prefect himself, kept aloof from Caussidière. He embodied a "free corps," which, nominally a part of the police, and subject to such regulations as the prefect might think proper to impose, really submitted to no orders except his own. In the first instance, this force was always ready to obey the behests of Lamartine, or any other member of the majority of the government. It did little, however, to protect property; whilst, as a police, for the repression of social crimes and misdemeanours, it is affirmed, that Caussidière's force "was the most efficient ever known in Paris." At a subsequent and not far distant period, when conspiracy began again to show its head—the opinions of the prefect being at variance with those of the majority of the government—the *montagnards* were found "aiding and abetting" the conspirators, rather than supporting the administration.

It was not the civil force alone which recent events had disorganised. The army was in a state far from satisfactory; and, although the

heads of that army—marshals Soult, Sebastiani, Gérard, and Bugeaud; generals Changarnier (who had just arrived from Algeria), Oudinot, Lahitte, Baraguay d'Hilliers, Bedeau, &c.—sent in their adhesions to the provisional government soon after it was installed; it was known that the number of the rank-and-file was greatly reduced, many of the men having returned to their homes during the days of revolution. If the republic were forced into war, therefore, it would be without adequate means to repel any aggressive movement of an enemy. On the 3rd of March, a committee of defence was appointed, consisting of general Subervie, the minister of war, president; generals Oudinot, Pelot, Pailloux, Vaillant, Bedeau, and Lamoricière; M. Deniée, one of the heads of the commissariat; and major Charras, a young and active officer, secretary. This committee proceeded to examine the army returns; and made a report a short time after its appointment, from which it appeared, that the total number of disposable men in the ranks did not, at that time, exceed 101,000. The minister of war had proposed that 60,000 men, to be called the "army of the Alps," should cover those mountains, from Var to Grenoble; that there should be another army in the north, of 30,000 men; a third, of 100,000, dispersed along the Rhine; and a fourth to watch the passes of the Pyrenees, as Spain was a power from which hostility might, not unreasonably, be expected. His colleagues assented to his proposals; and the committee reported, that, exclusive of the force which must be kept in Algeria, it would require 514,000 men to meet the demands for the home service. Under the sanction of the committee, the government resolved to raise the number of troops to 580,000; and, as men were wanted in France immediately, and Algeria, where the republic had been acknowledged, was quiet, Lamartine proposed that the army in that country should be reduced by 40,000 or 50,000 men. This proposal was strongly opposed by the generals who had been in Africa; and, as a compromise, it was resolved that, first, 20,000, and, subsequently, 10,000 more should be sent home from Africa, to be replaced by the new levies. Orders had been, some days previously—in fact, as soon as the provisional government began to act—sent out to Algiers, transferring the government of the colony, and the command of the army there, from the duke d'Aumale to general Cavaignac.

Whilst general Subervie and the defence committee were employed in reorganising the army, M. Arago, as minister of marine, gave his attention to the fleet. He armed the squadrons, fortified the ports, and caused the French flag to be displayed along the Mediterranean coast. He found a general desire, on the part of all ranks and classes, to aid in getting the navy into a respectable position; one more

worthy of a great nation, than that in which it was found when he took the management of the marine department. Nor had general Subervie any difficulty in recruiting the army, or in inducing the force he found embodied to obey its new masters. There were a few seditious movements, but they were very easily suppressed; and the privates and officers alike transferred their allegiance to the republic, almost without a murmur. The idle inmates of the Hôtel des Invalides evinced insubordination, and even went so far as to offer violence to the sub-governor, general Petit. General Courtais, however, at the head of 2,000 workmen from the *ateliers*, subdued the movement, arrested the offenders, and consigned them to punishment.

The two ministers were assiduously carrying out the measures necessary for the re-establishment of the naval and military forces, when complaints against general Subervie, on account of his great age, appeared in the *National*; and the other members of the defence committee indicated a desire of deliberating and communicating with the government, independent of him. The general, notwithstanding his age, appears to have executed the duties of his office with ability, perseverance, and success; but the intrigues against him were persisted in. Those intrigues have never been explained or accounted for. He complained of them to Lamartine, who promised to support him; but, before the end of March, at a council—when the minister of foreign affairs, and several other members, were absent—the articles in the *National*, and the wishes of the members of the defence committee, were put forward. The council, after some deliberation, resolved to dismiss Subervie,* and to offer the ministry of war to general Cavaignac; conferring it provisionally, till his arrival, on M. Arago. The latter hesitated to accept the office in connection with that he already held; but at length he was induced to comply with the wishes of his colleagues; and for a short time he assiduously performed the duties of both. One of his first steps, after he took possession of the hôtel of the war department, was to get a few regular soldiers back to Paris, and place them at the posts outside the city.

To carry into execution the necessary measures connected with the army and navy, money was wanting, as it was for numerous other purposes; and the provisional government, like its predecessors, found the finance question a very difficult one. When it assumed office, there were 135,000,000f. in the bank of France, and 55,000,000f. in the treasury; making a total of 190,000,000f. (£7,600,000). Notwithstanding they had this large sum in the public coffers, the ministers found it necessary, at a very early

* This is Lamartine's account. Louis Blanc says, that the minister resigned.

period, to publish a decree, announcing, that "all the taxes, without exception, would continue to be collected as before;" and requesting "good citizens, in the name of patriotism, not to delay their payments." This decree was coupled with a promise to repeal, within a brief period, some of the more obnoxious imposts, including the *octroi* on butchers' meat, and the stamp on newspapers—a measure intended to conciliate the proprietors of journals, by whom it was eagerly demanded. It was followed by an appeal to the people, "to pay the amount of one year's tax in advance," in order that the republic might be enabled to "relieve all persons in distress, to restore activity to all transactions, and to diffuse the advantages of credit amongst all those who augment the national wealth by their labour."

When the financial plans and prospects came to be discussed in the ministerial councils, and the repeal of the newspaper stamp was insisted upon by his colleagues, M. Goudchaux refused to adopt the measure; and as his opposition produced no effect, he resigned his office on the 5th of March, and was succeeded by M. Garnier Pagès; in whose place M. Armand Marrast was appointed *maire* of Paris. The new minister had not been long in office, before he published a *Report on the Financial Condition of the Republic*; from which it appeared, that the increase of expenditure since the time of Charles X. had been very great. The funded public debt had been augmented from 4,267,315,402f. (£170,642,616), on the 1st of January, 1841, to 5,179,644,730f. (£207,185,781); and the floating debt from 250,000,000f. (£10,000,000) at the beginning of 1831, to 670,000,000f. (£26,800,000) in February, 1848. The expenditure had also largely increased; the credits put to the account of the late government, in 1847, amounting to 1,712,979,639f. (£68,519,185). The deficiency was 48,000,000f. (£1,920,000); and to make up that sum and former deficiencies, the deposits in the savings-banks had been so largely drawn upon, that it was impossible the government could maintain its engagements with the depositors. The minister of finance, therefore, proposed to pay all deposits of 100f. and under, in full; but he was obliged to hold larger deposits in hand for a time, and then pay them partly in cash, partly in treasury bonds, and partly in government stock. He also proposed, in order to retrieve the position of the exchequer—1. To reduce the number of government *employés*.—2. To sell the crown diamonds, and convert into money the silver plate and ingots found in the Tuileries (and which had been recovered from the plunderers), and other royal residences.—3. To sell the woods, lands, and other property of the crown, comprised in the ancient civil-list; but not the domains called

"private."—4. To provide a better administration of the finances.—5. To contract a loan.—6. To levy an additional land-tax of 45 per cent.

The publication of this report was followed by an increased demand upon the bank of France; the sums drawn from it having been much larger than usual since the 26th of February. On the morning of the 14th of March, there were only 70,000,000f. in the bank; that sum had diminished to 59,000,000f. in the afternoon; and M. d'Argout, the governor, addressed a letter to the finance minister, informing him of these facts; and that, "in a few days, the bank would be entirely exhausted of its specie." The next day, the provisional government issued a decree, making the notes of the bank a legal tender, and dispensing with the obligation that establishment was under to pay them in specie. Shortly after, the banks of Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, Nantes, Lille, Marseilles, Havre, Toulouse, and Orleans, were authorised to suspend cash payments; and their notes were declared to be a legal tender within the boundaries of their respective departments. A *maximum* was assigned for the amount of the issue of those banks, and also for that of the bank of France; that of the latter being fixed at 350,000,000f. (£14,000,000); and of the former at 25,000,000f. (£1,000,000).

The finance minister was induced, by the state of the money-market, when he took office, to propose the purchase, by the state, of the great lines of railway. The shares in all of them had fallen to a price which was ruinous to the proprietors; and the directors of several companies were desirous that the government should take their concerns into its hands. There is little doubt, had those lines been, at that time, transferred to the state, and effectively and honestly worked, that they would have afforded a most productive source of revenue. But Garnier Pagès delayed the purchase, though it was his own idea; and the opposition of some companies, and the advanced demands made by all, when it became known that the government was in the market as a purchaser, caused the scheme to fail. Lamartine was a warm advocate of it; and the delay to complete the arrangement, when the companies were willing to give their consent, is the only fault he thinks M. Garnier Pagès committed as a minister of finance.*

M. Carnot, the minister of public instruction, was as active in his department as those for war, the marine, and finance, were in theirs. His first act was, to issue a circular to the clergy, declaring that "the republic was desirous of being religious;" and it encouraged the *curés* to return to their churches, "which had been respected by the people, and protected by the government." He also set on foot various

* *History of the Revolution.*

measures to advance education; founding the school of administration, and the Maternal school—the latter intended to form fit superintendents for female houses of refuge; increased the means for acquiring a knowledge of the theory and practice of agriculture, in the industrial schools; restored the Lycées, in which he ordered that the *History of the French Revolution* should be read and studied; organised public lectures, and patronised popular literature. He collected round him many *litterateurs* holding his opinions—amongst them M. Béranger, still the most popular song-writer in France.

The state of the army, and of the finances, rendered that of the foreign relations of France a matter of serious concern. Domestic affairs had been so pressing, that it was not till the evening of the sixth day after he had taken office as foreign minister, that M. Lamartine was enabled to quit the Hôtel-de-Ville, and take possession of his own. He had appointed M. Payer chief of his private cabinet; and M. Bastide, a man whom he only knew from seeing him on duty on the 23rd and 24th of February, as under-secretary: those persons had gone to the hôtel of foreign affairs, which had been taken possession of by a body of insurgents. But, unpopular as M. Guizot had been, his *employés*, who were found there, were not molested: “the interior was respected; neither was the minister’s cabinet or the archives touched.” When Lamartine went there himself, on the evening of the 1st of March, he found the hôtel occupied by detachments of national guards and combatants. Bastide had established military regulations, “and the place resembled a fortress rather than a ministerial office. Its occupants were bivouacking in the courts, in the ante-chambers, in the apartments, and on the staircases.”* The usual official appearance of the place was soon restored; and Lamartine proceeded to the active discharge of his duties.

He was very desirous to preserve peace; “deeming offensive war as adverse to the republic itself, and fatal to the nation:” but he was without information as to the views of the European powers. He considered, however, that the question of peace or war, “turned wholly on the disposition of England,” as no coalition of the continental powers was possible, unless they were subsidised by the government of London. From various causes, there appeared to be a “fortunate coincidence of the republican with European circumstances, which admitted the possibility of maintaining peace;” but all was uncertain. The first act of Lamartine was to write what he calls “a short and vague letter” to the diplomatic agents of France at foreign courts; in which they were directed to

announce the establishment of the republic to the respective courts to which they were accredited; and to inform them, that the change had not altered the position of France in Europe; but “she was ready to renew relations with other countries.” He then assembled all the individuals employed in the foreign-office, and told them, that those who were willing faithfully to serve the republic would be retained in their situations. Most of them remained. Next he recalled from abroad all the ambassadors and nearly all the ministers plenipotentiary, as the republic had not been acknowledged; sending, in lieu of those official personages, secret and confidential agents, who were instructed to “observe and inquire; and, in their conversations with sovereigns, ministers, and people, to give its true character to the new republic—viz., that it was pacific, if understood; terrible, if provoked.” These agents were also informed, that the plan of diplomacy he proposed to follow was, “To await, with dignity, the decision of England; to conciliate Prussia; to keep watch on Russia; to soothe Germany; to elude Austria; to smile on Italy, but without exciting her; to encourage Turkey; to leave Spain to herself; to deceive no one by vain fears and hopes; to be cautious not to drop a single word which it might be necessary, one day or other, to retract; to make the republican policy the soul of a diplomacy, devoid alike of ambition and weakness.”—Finally, on the 5th of March, he drew up a “manifesto to Europe,” which, submitted to, and approved by, his colleagues on the 6th, was published on the 7th. It was very long; and had it been compressed into half the space, would have been much more effective. Still it was satisfactory, as it evinced the wishes of the provisional government for peace.

The foreign minister commenced by eulogising “the heroism, moderation, and tranquillity of the French people,” whose “revolution had entered upon its definitive period—France was a republic.” The “proclamation of that republic was not an act of aggression against any foreign government in the world;” for “war was not now the principle of the French administration, as it was the fatal and glorious necessity of the republic of 1792.” France “would not commence war against any state; it was unnecessary to add, that it would accept war, should conditions incompatible with peace be offered to the French people.” It was declared, that “the treaties of 1815 had no longer any lawful existence in the eyes of the republic; nevertheless, the territorial limits, circumscribed by those treaties, were facts which were admitted as a basis, and as a starting-point, in the relations with other powers. But if those treaties no longer existed, save as facts to be modified by common consent,” the “good sense, the moderation,

* *The Revolution of 1848.*

the conscience, the prudence of the republic existed, and afforded to Europe a surer and more honourable guarantee than the words of documents, which had so frequently been violated or modified by Europe itself." If, however, "the hour for the reconstruction of the oppressed nations of Europe, or other parts of the world, should seem to have arrived"—"if Switzerland should be restrained or menaced in the progressive movement she was carrying out"—"if the independent states of Italy should be invaded—if limits or obstacles should be opposed to their internal changes"—"the French republic would think itself entitled to take up arms in defence of those lawful movements for the improvement and nationality of states." The republic—"determined never to veil liberty at home, and equally determined never to veil its democratical principle abroad"—"proclaimed itself the intellectual and cordial ally of popular rights and progress, and of every legitimate development of institutions among nations, who might be desirous of maintaining the same principles as her own." But France "wished, for the sake of humanity, that peace might be preserved; she also expected that it would. The war agitated a year ago between France and England, was not a war of the republic, but of the dynasty." That dynasty had carried away with it that danger of war which it created for Europe by the exclusively personal ambition of its family alliance in Spain. That domestic policy of the fallen dynasty, which, for the space of seventeen years, had been a dead weight on the national dignity, had "also, by its pretensions to a crown in Madrid, operated as an obstacle to liberal alliances and to peace. The republic had no ambition, no nepotism; it inherited no family pretensions." It "pronounced, at its birth, three words—liberty, equality, fraternity." "There was not one of those words which signified war. If Europe were prudent and just, there was not one of them which did not mean peace."

There did not appear any disposition, on the part of foreign powers, to interfere in the internal administration of France. The republic had been recognised by the ambassador from the United States of America on the 28th of February, the day after it was proclaimed. Great Britain declared itself friendly, but could not recognise a provisional government. As soon as the national assembly met, and a permanent government was formed, however, lord Palmerston undertook that diplomatic relations should be resumed; and, in the meantime, lord Normanby remained at Paris, and M. Tallenay was sent to London, as *chargé d'affaires*, for the purpose of keeping up friendly communications between the two governments. As the manifesto of M. Lamartine was favourably received by the European powers, it was followed up by the appointment of representatives to the various

courts. M. d'Harcourt was sent to Rome; general Aupick to Constantinople; M. Bellocq to Brussels; M. de Lurde to the Hague; M. de Thiard to Berne; M. Bixio, as *chargé d'affaires*, to Turin; M. de Benoit Champy to Florence; M. de Lesseps to Madrid; M. Bois-le-Comte to Naples; and M. de Circourt to Berlin. No change was made at Vienna; and at St. Petersburg the ambassador was recalled, and only a secretary of legation left.

The movements in Lyons and on the Upper Rhine suppressed; the republic quietly accepted, if not approved of, in every other quarter of France, and the capital apparently contented, and cheerfully submissive; the reorganisation of the army, and the strengthening of the navy proceeding favourably; the measures of the minister of instruction being generally approved of, and the powers of Europe appearing to be amicably inclined—the members of the provisional government seem to have thought that their difficulties were over, their troubles at an end. Writing at an early period in March, the most eloquent, and perhaps the most able of those members (M. Lamartine), says—"The scaffold was abolished; prisons were opened only to receive malefactors; laws were respected; even laws of taxation were implicitly obeyed by a suffering people. Honour and conscience superseded law, and the spirit of conquest was repudiated. War, that natural allurement to French genius, was repressed by the hand of philosophy. The inspiration of God throughout a nation was seen and felt. This state of things would have continued indefinitely, had not the inspiration of reason, truth, and practical fraternity been disturbed in the very heart of the government itself, by less favourable influences."

The "less favourable influences" alluded to, were those which emanated from the Luxembourg, and from the ministry of the interior. It was a great misfortune that these differences prevailed; and they furnish a strong argument for those who contend, that all coalitions of men of different and opposing principles must end in evil. Had the members of the provisional government been united in opinion and principle, their task would have been more easy; and it is probable that the result to France would have been different. As already remarked, there were three sections in the ranks of those who held ministerial offices; and the administration of the interior was in the hands of the ultra section—of those who divided the republicans into two classes—*de la veille et du lendemain*: those of the eve and of the morrow; the former being the most advanced party. Ledru-Rollin belonged to that party; and he lost no opportunity of endeavouring to extend its influence.

On the 5th of March, two decrees appeared—one convoking the national assembly; the other

defining the qualifications of a deputy. The assembly was to meet to decree the constitution; and was to consist of 900 members, one for every 40,000 of the population. The suffrage was conferred on all Frenchmen of the age of twenty-one years; and the mode of election was to be by secret ballot. With respect to the candidates—all Frenchmen “twenty-five years of age, and not deprived or suspended in the exercise of their civic rights,” were declared to be eligible; but to make the election of any candidate valid, he must receive the votes of at least 2,000 electors. Each deputy to receive 25f. per day, during the session. The 9th of April was fixed for the elections, and the 20th for the meeting of the national assembly.

Ledru-Rollin, simultaneously with the appearance of this decree, dispatched commissioners into all the departments of France, ostensibly to maintain order, and supply the place of the prefects and sub-prefects, where the latter had either left their posts, or, as was the case in many instances, had been expelled by the people; but their real mission was to promote the progress of ultra-republicanism in the interior of the republic. On the 7th of March, he addressed a circular to these commissioners; in which he recommended “moderation after victory,” but deprecated weakness; and told the officials, that “political functions, in whatsoever degree of the hierarchy they might have place, could be trusted to *tried republicans* only: in a word, to men of the day before, not men of the day after.” It was the duty of the government, the commissioners were told—“a duty it could not neglect, except under pain of abdication, or betraying itself”—not “merely to receive and register the votes, but it must enlighten France, and labour openly to defeat the counter-revolution, if it should attempt the impossibility of again raising its head.” And as the “odious practices” of the late government “had profoundly corrupted the official class,” it now became “necessary to speak loudly and firmly, to root out the seeds of error, and extirpate the calumnies so long spread through the country.”—This circular was followed by one from the usually judicious minister of public instruction, Carnot; addressed to masters of primary schools—charging them to take an active part in influencing and determining the choice of the electors. He informed them, that there “was a great error, against which the inhabitants of the agricultural districts must be guarded.” They believed, “that, in order to be a representative, it was necessary to enjoy the advantages of education, or the gifts of fortune.” But, he said, “an honest peasant, possessed of good sense and experience, would represent the interests of his class in the national assembly better than the rich and educated citizen, who had no experience of rural life, or who was

blinded by interests at variance with those of the bulk of the peasantry.” And poverty need be no excuse or disqualification, as each member of the assembly was to receive 25f. per day.

The commissioners sent by Ledru-Rollin soon made their presence felt in the departments; and numerous representations as to their conduct was made to the minister—some of his correspondents wishing to know what their powers were? On the 12th of March, another circular, signed by the minister, was sent to these commissioners. It gave directions as to their relations with the army, the law functionaries, the national guard, and the elections; commencing with the reply to the question respecting their powers, that “they were unlimited.” It then proceeded—“Agents of a revolutionary government, you are revolutionary also. The victory of the people has imposed on you the duty to proclaim, to consolidate, your work. To accomplish that task, you are invested with their sovereign powers; you are responsible to no authority; you take orders only from your own conscience; you are bound to do what the public safety requires.” * * “The republican feelings require to be warmly excited; and, for that purpose, political functions should be entrusted only to zealous and sympathetic men. Everywhere the prefects and sub-prefects should be changed. In some lesser localities the people petition to have them continued. It is for you to make them understand, that we cannot preserve those who have served a power whose every act was one of corruption. You are invested with the authority of the executive; the armed force is, therefore, under your orders. You are authorised to require its service, direct its movements, and, in grave cases, even to suspend its commanders. You are entitled to demand from all magistrates an immediate concurrence. If any one hesitate, let me know, and he shall instantly be dismissed. As to the irremovable magistracy, watch carefully over them; if any one manifest a hostile disposition, make use of the right of dismissal, which your sovereign power confers.” With respect to the national guard, detailed instructions as to its organisation were to be sent to the commissioners; but they were told, that the elections were, “their great work; they would prove the salvation of the country; to obtain a seat in the national assembly, the candidates must be clear of all traditions of the past:” and the rallying-cry was directed to be, “New men as much as possible, sprung from the ranks of the people;” in order that “the day of election might be the finest triumph of the revolution.”

These circulars were not written by Ledru-Rollin, but by Jules Favres, a clever young advocate, who resided at the hôtel of the interior. The papers of this kind which issued

from that source were very numerous; and of some of them, the minister, it is said, was himself kept in ignorance. Madame Dudevant (better known as Georges Sand) also took up her residence at the minister's hôtel; where she edited a paper called the *Bulletin de la République*, in which the most violent opinions and principles were advocated in the strongest language. The provisional government ordered, that this paper should not be circulated in the departments till it had been examined by one of its members. This duty, in the midst of other avocations, was frequently neglected; and hence falsehoods and incendiary opinions were frequently conveyed into the interior. Some officials suppressed the journal when it reached them, full of exciting articles, tending to revive every bad passion of the first revolution. But many of the commissioners sent into the departments by M. Ledru-Rollin, were persons utterly unfit for their position. Some had been criminals—one even a galley-slave; and others made no hesitation in disseminating the most violent opinions. Thus M. Sauriac, sent to Montauban, declared, that, "if the banks failed, and commerce perished, so much the better. They would only arrive the sooner at their ends. As long as there were rich men, they must work for their ruin." By such men, the *Bulletin*, when it reached them, was eagerly circulated: the more inflammatory its language, the better it suited them.

The other ministers were quite ignorant of the circular of the 12th of March, which excited alarm and indignation in some quarters—indignation in others. A deputation from the Republican Club for the Liberty of Election, on the 15th of March, waited on the provisional government expressly to protest against it. Lamartine highly disapproved of it; and he summoned a secret meeting of all the members of the government, to be held at the Hôtel-de-Ville on the 16th of March, employing himself, in the interim, in drawing up a proclamation of a very opposite tendency from Ledru-Rollin's circular. Before the hour of meeting, the Place de Grève was occupied by members of the privileged companies of the national guard, which had been disbanded by the decree issued by the minister of the interior on the previous day, and amalgamated with the masses of the corps. Some of these men had presented themselves at the Hôtel-de-Ville on the 15th, as soon as the decree appeared, and demanded its recall, threatening to come armed the next day. They did not, however, on the 16th, take that extreme step: but as the members of the government appeared, they gave vent to expressions of approval, or the reverse, according to the opinions those members were supposed to entertain upon their pretensions. As the malcontents were several thousand in number, their appearance was

formidable. On being asked why they were assembled? they replied, to protest against the decree, and to demand that their privileges of distinct enrolment, and peculiar uniform, should not be abolished. They also associated the circular of the 12th of March with their own peculiar grievance, and asked for the dismissal of the minister of the interior. They were addressed by Lamartine, and persuaded to forego their demand, and give up their privilege, so opposed to the spirit of the times. They remained, however, in the Place; and the enemies of Lamartine assert, that the ostensible cause of their assembling was not the true one; but that they had been really convened by that statesman, with a view to overawe his colleagues, and induce them to assent to his views with respect to M. Ledru-Rollin's circular. He, of course, denies the imputation; but he admits that, when the ministers assembled, there were "two camps, in hostile array, within and without doors;" that without being the effect of chance; that within, of his will. He addressed his colleagues, and read his proclamation, which was entirely free, in words and tone, from a dictating spirit. It told the people, that "the privilege of election belonged to all, without exception." That "the right was equal and absolute for all; no citizen could say to another, 'You enjoy more of sovereign power than I.'" And they were called upon to "give safety, liberty, and respect to all;" to "insure to others that independence of suffrage they themselves wished to enjoy:" to "accomplish the greatest work of modern times—the foundation of the government of the people at large; the organisation of democracy; the republic of all rights, all interests, all intelligence, and every virtue."

There was a warm discussion; but the majority—Dupont de l'Eure, Marie, Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, Arago, and Crémieux—triumphed. It was agreed that the proclamation should be issued, and circulated throughout France; and the minority signed it as well as the majority. When the council broke up, it was found that a large number of workmen had entered the square, who had pressed on the ranks of the unarmed national guard, reproached them for their aristocratic pretensions in wishing to be kept distinct from the people, and to wear a privileged uniform; and having, by weight of numbers, forced them from the square, they hooted and insulted them, as in small groups, and greatly dispirited, they departed for their homes.

These movements of the populace were all directed by clubs, which were more numerous in Paris than at any former period. The decree abolishing the punishment of death for political offences, was followed by the discharge of those men who were in prison for such offences, committed against the late government. Two of

the liberated were Armand Barbès and Blanqui, convicted of instigating a conspiracy, in connection with secret societies.* Both these men founded clubs as soon as they once more mingled with society; but not in concert, for Barbès always spoke in terms of bitterness of Blanqui, who was, for some time, an object of suspicion, it being reported, that a document found in the archives of the minister of the interior, showed that he had been in communication with Louis-Philippe's government, betraying to it the secrets of his associates. His club, called the Central Republican Club, was comprised of more violent spirits than that of Barbès, known as the Centre of the Revolution; and the language addressed to them at their meetings was intemperate in the extreme. Raspail, an ardent communist, was at the head of the Friends of the People, a club very popular in the faubourgs, and said to consist of from 1,500 to 2,000 members; whilst Cabet, another communist, who afterwards endeavoured to carry out his doctrines in his settlement of Icaria, across the Atlantic, was considered to have from 800 to 1,000 followers in his club of the Fraternal Central Society. There were many other similar associations in the populous districts of the metropolis—independent of the societies of *ateliers*, which resembled the trades' unions of England, and professed not to interfere with politics. Two of the political clubs—those of the *Quinze-Vingts* and of the Sorbonne—"especially attracted the attention of the government; as they kept up excitement among the most idle, the most thickly-populated, and the most irresponsible of the poorer districts of Paris."† The Centre Club of the Rights of Man was a still more formidable association. It was the old society of that name, which had always been continued, in spite of the laws passed against such associations, and was, soon after the revolution, supposed to consist of several thousand members. Every member professed, in the words of the constitution of the club, "the absolute abnegation of his individuality for the service of the society." In return, "the society pledged itself to stand up bodily to defend him, if there was yet time; to avenge him if he were dead." As "the constitution of the society was military," the members agreed "to hold themselves in constant readiness for service, whether in arms or otherwise, whenever the central committee decreed."—It was estimated there were in Paris, at least 140 political and socialist clubs, averaging 1,000 members each. The Club of Clubs consisted of delegates from the other societies, each sending three. Its meetings were first held at the house of Sobrier, in the Rue Rivoli; and afterwards transferred to the hôtel of the interior. In this club the management of the others, as far as political demon-

strations were concerned, was vested. It was an armed body; as were the clubs of Barbès and Blanqui, and that of the Rights of Man.—The evils caused by these societies, were increased by the presence, in Paris, of a number of foreign agitators. From Poland, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Ireland, and England, charlatans and demagogues rushed to the French capital as soon as the republic was proclaimed, all seeking to enlist the French government and the French people in their cause; and desirous of obtaining both moral and direct aid, to promote insurrection in their own countries. These foreigners found a ready reception at the clubs; amongst whose members the fraternising principle of the first republic was revived.

Nor was the press idle. The *Moniteur*, "under all changes still the same," was the organ of the provisional government. The *National* and the *Constitutionnel* supported the views of the majority, and the *Réforme* those of the minority, of that body. The ultras and the socialists were bitterly attacked by Emile Girardin, in the *Presse*, and by M. Proudhon, editor of the *Représentat du Peuple*. The abbé de Lamennais, also, in a paper called *Le Peuple Constituant*, opposed the principles and measures of the Luxembourg commission. It is a singular fact, that, whilst the principles of the communists and socialists were opposed in the columns of the *Presse*, the proprietors of that paper, on the 5th of March, put those principles into practice, by constituting themselves into an "association of labour and capital." They considered the salaries of all their *employés* as a common fund with their capital; and decided, that the proceeds of their paper should be applied—1st, to the payment of salaries; 2nd, to the payment of interest, at five per cent. on the capital; 3rd, payment to the *employés*, the capital represented by the salaries being treated as the capital in money. The proceeding did not answer as far as profit was concerned; and was not likely to find many imitators.

The social question of labour was the most difficult one with which the government had to contend. The communists and socialists had made many converts amongst the working-men, whose position had, no doubt, very much deteriorated under the administration of Louis-Philippe. The employers, also, who depend so much upon order and peace, were sufferers from the unsettled state of society during the year 1847, and the disturbances which had taken place in 1848; and the number of the unemployed was more than usually numerous. The commission sitting at the Luxembourg had no material means of relief in their hands. Louis Blanc, unlike M. Marie, had no command over the public purse; and the appointment of such a body was little more than a farce. Its first days were spent in consultation upon the

* See ante, p. 540.

† Lamartine.

principles of social science; which the commissioners reduced to two simple rules—"From every man according to his faculties. Such is DUTY. To every man—within the limits of the resources of the community—according to his wants. Such is RIGHT."* The impossibility of carrying out such principles, except in a state of Utopia, must be obvious to all. The commission, however—or rather Louis Blanc—did something more than consult and discuss. After the decree of the 15th of March, ordering the national guards to be reorganised, and clothes to be provided, at the public expense, for those who could not clothe themselves, the president of the commission applied to a working tailor, who succeeded in getting a number of his fellow-workmen to form a co-operative society, for whom Louis Blanc obtained a commission, from the members of the provisional government, to make 100,000 military frocks for the national guard. He also obtained for them the use of the prison of Clichy; and there about 2,000 tailors, on the co-operative system—i.e., equal wages, and an equal division of profits—worked for two or three months. Co-operative societies of saddlers, spinners, sail-makers, masons, file-makers, &c., were also formed. Louis Blanc's plan was, to enable all workmen, who choosed, to form such societies, government finding them the necessary capital to commence with, to be repaid with interest. This is a very different plan from that of the *ateliers nationaux*, which made the government the actual employers; but it is a plan quite as impracticable in the present state of society. The labour parliament also proposed, that government should take into its own hands such works as the proprietors wished to dispose of; find capital to carry them on; pay equal wages, relying on the point of honour to ensure hard work, instead of competition; and dividing the profits into four parts—to be applied to the redemption of the capital; to form a fund for the old, the wounded, and the sick; to the payment of wages; and as a reserve for unforeseen contingencies.

Besides the formation of these co-operative societies—some of which were temporary, and others still exist—Louis Blanc obtained decrees from the provisional government: 1. To establish, at the expense of the state, a "labour registration office" in every municipal district of Paris; where workmen and employers could obtain information connected with the supply of, and the demand for, labour, free of cost.—2. To suspend prison labour, and the work done in barracks, that the workmen might not have to compete with the low wages paid to criminals, or with the labour of the troops.—3. For the same reason, to prohibit work in religious communities, except under regulations so adjusted as to prevent any unfair competition.—4. (Issued

* *Historical Recollections.*

after the workmen had compelled the employers to discharge all the English operatives). Placing foreign labourers under the special protection and safeguard of French operatives; making them responsible for the honour of the country.—The commission was also successful in settling various disputes between workmen and their employers; one of which, between the master-bakers and their journeymen, threatened to deprive the citizens of Paris of their supply of bread, at least for a time. Thus the labour commission was not utterly useless; and Louis Blanc does not deserve all the censures which some writers have lavished upon him. His abstract theories are, however, no doubt, visionary; and it is a violation of the first principles of justice, to propose "an equal distribution of wages among workmen unequal in strength, skill, steadiness, and industry." But the doctrines of socialism have a charm for the working-men, because they tend to equality; their disciples not perceiving that, if carried out, they would produce the equality of starvation. They were popular in Paris, amongst the men thrown out of employ by the revolution; and it was the cry of "*Droit de Travail!*" which rallied most of the crowds by whom the *émeutes* of 1848 were created.

On the 17th of March, another of these *émeutes* occurred in the Place de Grève. As soon as the national guards had left the place the previous day, M. Courtais, their commander, issued a general order, in which he described those who had taken part in that demonstration, as "misled men, who were the instruments of impotent wrath, so different from men who suffer and await."—They were sufficiently discouraged without this rebuke; and their discomfiture, in what was an ill-judged movement, encouraged the followers of the Luxembourg commission to proceed with a demonstration previously planned for the 17th. The opponents of the moderate majority of the provisional government, both socialists and ultras, appear to have imbibed the idea, that the elections, whether of officers of the national guard, or of the members of the national assembly, if they took place on the days named in the government decrees, would not be favourable to them. They wanted more time, to endeavour to enlist the majority of the people in their favour; as they knew they were not popular in the departments, whatever might be the case in Paris. They resolved, therefore, to arrange an imposing demonstration, for the purpose of obtaining the postponement of the elections, and the removal of the few troops which Arago had introduced. This is Louis Blanc's account of the origin of the meeting on the day in question. Lamartine, and the supporters of the majority of the government, say, that the manifestation was intended to force upon them the creation of a

department for the "organisation of labour," with Louis Blanc at its head. It was also affirmed, in these quarters, that Caussidière, the prefect of police, whose opinions coincided with those which emanated from the hôtel of the interior, had employed his agents to spread a report among the people, that the assembly of the national guards, on the previous day, had been caused by Lamartine and his friends, for the purpose of coercing their opponents. The people were, therefore, called upon to meet, and show their strength; not for the purpose of violence, but to give a moral support to their friends, and to let their enemies know the force they would have to contend with, should popular feeling and popular opinion again be defied.

Whatever truth there is in these statements—and the probability is, that there is some foundation for all of them—the clubs were on the alert. Popular assemblages are always available for purposes of disturbance, by those who choose to pervert them to that purpose; and the directors of the Club of Clubs had given the word to those assemblies to meet early in the morning, for the purpose, we must suppose, of taking advantage of circumstances. As early as 10 A.M., accordingly, men began to show themselves on the Boulevards, singing the *Ca Ira*; and the following placard was posted on every wall in Paris:—"The people watch jealously the manifestations of those members of the government who have given so many pledges to the revolution. They await, with confidence, the realisation of the promises of the government. They have shed their blood in defence of the revolution, and are ready to do so again."

Louis Blanc says, that, at a meeting of the members of the provisional government, on the evening of the 16th of March (at which generals Courtais and Guinard, the commanders of the national guard, were present), he told his colleagues all he knew of the projected movement; and, as he fully approved of its avowed objects—the postponement of the elections and the removal of the troops—he urged the council to grant both demands. They refused, and he and Albert resigned, as members of the provisional government. They were quitting the room, when Ledru-Rollin urged delay, as there was no necessity for hurry in fixing the elections; the preparations not being finished, and information of moment being expected from the provinces; and they agreed to remain. The next morning, Louis Blanc called a meeting at the Luxembourg of those workmen who were in greatest repute with their comrades. They told him that "the movement was on foot, and could not be stopped." He then urged them "to abstain from all inflammatory cries; carefully to keep down their own excitement; in a word, so to manage the demonstration, as to convert it into a lasting testimony to the good sense of the

people." They gave him such assurances, that, with a mind almost completely at ease, he went to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where his colleagues were assembled.*

By noon, the people on the Boulevards, and in the Champs Elysées, had increased to immense crowds of 140,000 or 150,000 persons. They advanced in silence to the Hôtel-de-Ville, where three companies of the *garde mobile* were stationed, under colonel Rey; and defiled before the building while the provisional government was holding a council. As this moving mass advanced into the Place de Grève, and past the Hôtel-de-Ville, there could be no mistake as to what party it belonged to. It was led by 500 or 600 men, selected from the various political clubs, who were headed by some of the principal speakers of each body. The members of the different societies walked together—some of them holding red or tricoloured ribbons in their hands, which linked them one to the other. Each club was preceded by a banner; and in front of all were three men and one woman, wearing red caps. These caps, which had been worn unmolested as the *cortège* passed from the Champs Elysées to the Place de Grève, were, according to Lamartine, pulled off by the workmen who had previously assembled in the latter. When they were collected in the Place, an hour elapsed—the crowd alternately singing the *Marseillaise* and the Girondin hymn; and shouting, "*Vive le gouvernement provisoire!*" "*Vive Ledru-Rollin!*" "*Vive Louis Blanc!*" There were a few cries of "*Vive Lamartine!*" but they were very rare.

At length the populace began to manifest symptoms of impatience; and the provisional government consented to receive a deputation of the clubs, which, they were told, was waiting for admission. Nearly a hundred members of the political societies formed the deputation, headed by Blanqui; who, in reply to the question, "Citizens, what do you ask?" from Dupont de l'Eure, president of the council—replied, that an adjournment of the day for electing the officers of the national guard was desired; and also of that for the election of the national assembly, in order that the deputies might be placed above the suspicion of having been returned under improper influence. Other demands were, the removal at once, and for ever, of regular troops from Paris; and an implicit compliance with the will and wishes of the people, as expressed through the clubs. Louis Blanc, who had seen the faces of men who were disposed to go further than he was, and to subvert the government in favour of Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Albert, and himself, took the lead in addressing the deputation, assuring them, after some compliments on their "sympathy and devotedness," that the desires they had made

* *Historical Recollections.*

known should be the subject of deliberation. This did not satisfy the deputation, one of whom said—"Acts we will have upon this very spot; and we will not withdraw till you have deliberated here, in our presence." Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin both joined their colleagues in expressing indignation at such seditious language;* and Lamartine, in an impressive address, conveyed to the deputation the decision of his colleagues, which was, to give attention to, and deliberate upon, their demands; and to decide upon them, "not according to what appeared to be the mere will of the people of Paris alone, but according to the right and the will of the entire republic." There was much angry discussion between the deputies; and several speeches were delivered by those who were disposed to support the provisional government; and others who were quite inclined to go all lengths. After some time spent in this altercation, the deputation retired, and took up a position in front of the hôtel. Soon after, a call for the members of the government rose from without; and some of them went down. Louis Blanc formed one of the party; and as he was making his way through the crowd, a man seized his arm, and said—"Then you, too, are a traitor, are you!" No further demonstration, however, was made; and the people defiled from the Place de Grève as they had entered, believing that they had accomplished their ends, and leaving the unpleasant conviction on the minds of the majority of the government, that they had been defeated by "an act of insolent overbearing, on the part of certain men, under the pretext of a great popular gathering, and a homage to the republic."†

This demonstration rendered Lamartine less sanguine than he appears to have been only a few days before, of the permanence of that state of peace, order, and tranquillity, of which he boasted. He felt that it was necessary to be prepared for any contingency; and—as there were only from 1,500 to 2,000 troops in the various posts outside Paris, introduced by Arago, for the protection of the gates of the city and the railways—his first step was to open a communication with general Negrier, who commanded the army of the north, then amounting to 80,000 men; and to prepare him to receive and defend the government at Lille, should it be compelled to leave Paris; or to march on Amiens or Abbeville, if succour were desired for the capital. As 20,000 men could also be drawn from the Rhine, and 500,000 national guards from the north, east, and west, Lamartine concluded that there would be an ample force at the disposal of the provisional government, to "deal destruction on the dictators and the committees of public safety, who might dream of

renewing the tyrannies of 1793." He next made overtures to some of the principal party leaders—the men who influenced opinion in the clubs, controlled the extreme journals, and who could thus create or allay excitement—to induce them to take the side of moderation, and to await the issue of the elections. To a certain extent he was successful; and he was, at this time, supported by Sobrier. The latter was very willing to oppose anything that Caussidière was supposed to sanction; and he employed the men he had especially raised, and the others who were under his orders, in watching the popular movements, and in guarding those departments of the government which were likely to be the object of any popular demonstration. As there were no regular troops then in Paris; as it was undefended by the national guard, which, though it consisted, nominally, of 190,000 men, under general Guinard, was not systematically enrolled, and was unprovided with uniforms; and as the *garde mobile* had not at that time attained the strength which it did shortly after, the zeal and devotion of Sobrier were most essential; and they were effective in preserving the public peace.

The embarrassments of the government were increased at this period by the movements of the foreign refugees, who were, in fact, conspirators and revolutionists; and Belgians, Poles, Italians, and Irish, all sought to interest the provisional government and the people of France in their favour. They received no encouragement from the former as a body; but the latter, through the clubs, were led to countenance schemes and acts which threatened to involve the republic in war. The Belgians, "especially, besieged with their importunities the minister for foreign affairs and the minister of the interior." The former discountenanced and repelled their proposals; but they were supplied with arms and money by Ledru-Rollin; and, in the night between the 24th and 25th of March, 800 Belgians and 100 French arrived at Quiévrain by the railway train, and attempted to cross the frontier. They were, however, met by a Belgian force, and prevented. Another descent was made at Risquons-Tout, near Turcoing, in the night of the 28th of March, by a larger body of men, 1,500 in number, composed of Belgians, and workmen from the *ateliers nationaux*. Some pupils of the Polytechnic school accompanied the workmen from Paris. They had communicated their object to Ledru-Rollin, who supplied them with money, and a note to the governor of Lille. The latter, supposing that the expedition had the sanction of the provisional government, supplied the men with arms from the arsenal. Thus equipped, the insurrectionists crossed the Belgian frontier, shouting "*Vive la République!*" The French had been led to believe that that cry would bring

* Caussidière, Lamartine, and Louis Blanc.

† Lamartine.

both people and troops around them with open arms; but, instead, they were received with a discharge of grape, and a charge of cavalry. After a short struggle they were obliged to retreat, losing twelve killed and forty wounded; and we hear of no more attempts on Belgium.* There was an attempt made on Savoy, by a party of refugees from Lyons, who took Chambéry; but were expelled the next day by volunteers from the mountains. The Poles went further. There were a great many of that nation in France; those who chose had been enrolled in brigades, and were paid out of the French treasury. But this did not satisfy them; they demanded that France should declare for their nationality, and make war in their behalf. France refused; and the same answer given to a deputation of Poles, which waited on the foreign minister, to claim the "intervention" of the republic in their behalf, was returned to Smith O'Brien, who, with some other agitators, applied for arms and succour from the French republic. Both were refused, in long set speeches delivered by Lamartine; in which, by abouring strenuously to please both parties—those who sought for aid to create a revolution, and their governments, which were at peace and amity with France—the French minister appeared to be playing the part of one ready to take that side which most contributed to his interest, rather than resolved to follow that course which truth, justice, and honour pointed out, regardless of all other considerations. Smith O'Brien, and the deputation of Irish malcontents, spent the evening, after they had their interview with Lamartine, at the club of Blanqui; where they were rapturously received, and the conduct and speech of Lamartine were severely condemned.

As the time progressed, and the day for the elections drew near, the idea that there were two hostile parties in the government, each determined to defeat the other, and that the minister of the interior, and the minister of foreign affairs, were at the head of the opposing forces, became very prevalent. The adherents of both men believed that they were personally in danger; and armed bands of their friends watched their hôtels by night, whilst some members of those bands hovered around them by day, and guarded their steps. The Club of Clubs formed the centre of agitation. That body then met at the ministry of the interior, and kept Ledru-Rollin apprised of the movements which took place in the faubourgs, and the other resorts of the populace. The object of the club was to acquire, by negotiating with every party, a preponderating influence over all. Deputations of its members had several interviews with Lamartine, from whom they received

no encouragement; and he refused to take part in any attempts to prolong the dictatorship of the provisional government, or to postpone the meeting of the national assembly.—The constant gatherings of the various political bodies; the speeches made there, and which were reported amongst the general public; and the belief that some of the members of the government were in favour of a communist or socialist insurrection, were not without their effects. Idle fellows, followed by groups of children, went to the neighbouring villages, where they bought young poplar trees, which they planted, as trees of liberty, surmounted by the red cap, in various parts of Paris. This was done amidst noisy displays on the part of the populace, which the prefect of police took no steps to prevent, as he professed to apprehend, that, by attempting to repress, he should increase them. So excited did the public mind become from these and other causes, that, as the day for the elections approached, the government began to think seriously whether it would be safe for the national assembly to meet, previously to the national guard being properly enrolled and equipped. Early in April, a report from the minister of the interior was read, in which he established the fact, that a longer time was necessary before the guard could be organised, clothed, and armed; and it was resolved to put off the elections till Easter Sunday, the 23rd of April; the assembly to meet on the 4th of May.

Although the proclamation of the provisional government, intended to counteract the effect of that issued by Ledru-Rollin on the 12th of March, professed to leave the people perfectly free to choose their representatives, yet various means were taken to influence the electors through the press, and by circulars from the heads of departments. A more revolutionary measure was adopted to satisfy the clubs. The council of ministers authorised the dispatch of two or three emissaries into every department, for the purpose of propagating sound republican doctrines. They were elected by the Club of Clubs; paid by the minister of the interior; and were to be "upright, honest, and moderate men." "All admixture, even confidential, by those agents, of the name of the government in connexion with the choice of the candidates, was interdicted to them." They were to inculcate principles, not to select men. As might be expected, this step—which Lamartine terms "a concession to an emergency, a sacrifice to concord"—did not elevate the character, nor forward the interests, of the administration. "Some of the men employed," the same authority informs us, "scandalised opinion and morality, by acts which were a stain upon their mission." And the majority of the members of the provisional government, subsequently made by the *Commission d'Enquête*.

* The complicity of the minister of the interior was fully established by the investigation into the conduct

government, seeing its effect, greatly regretted the reluctant consent they had accorded to this scheme of the clubbists, which appears to have been coolly devised to enable them to propagate their own opinions, and explain their own views, at the expense of the country.

Lamartine, whose measures to give the government the command of a competent military force we have already noticed, now turned his attention to the question of who, amongst the generals, would make the best commander-in-chief, and minister of war. General Cavaignac, the governor of Algeria, had been solicited, by the electors of his department, to become a candidate for its representation in the national assembly. His reply pleased Lamartine; and although Cavaignac had been offered, on the dismissal of Subervie, the ministry of war, and had replied in such terms that the offer was not pressed, the minister resolved to make an attempt, through his mother, to whom he was introduced by M. Flocon, to induce that general to return to France. The attempt was successful, and the general soon after arrived in Paris; the governor-generalship of Algeria, and the command of the army there, being then conferred on general Changarnier.

Before the arrival of Cavaignac, however, the provisional government was on the point of being overthrown. Its moderation was a great fault in the eyes of the ultras. Many of the old republicans—the secret conspirators who had plotted to bring about the revolution of February, and were annoyed that those who had been rather their opponents than their friends, should have attained the power which they thought should be in their own hands—had always been ready to join any movement for expelling M. Dupont de l'Eure and his colleagues from the Hôtel-de-Ville. Open manifestations of the hostility of these men had not been wanting; and the provisional government had friends in the clubs (perhaps the right name would be spies), who revealed to them what was privately done and determined upon. The communists and socialists were also greatly dissatisfied with the existing state of things; and, from Louis Blanc and Albert, the ministers received warnings of the discontent of the *ouvriers*. At a council, held on the 14th of April, those chiefs of the Luxembourg informed their colleagues, that an immense demonstration, similar to that of the 17th of March, was intended to be made on Sunday, the 16th of April. That was the day fixed for the election, by the working classes, of the fourteen officers, which were to be selected by them as part of the staff of the national guard. The delegates to the "labour parliament" had resolved that the ceremony should take place in the Champ-de-Mars, on the part of the trades' unions associated with the Luxembourg; whilst the independent workmen's clubs

were to assemble in the Hippodrome. After the election, the two classes of workmen were to unite, and proceed in good order to the Hôtel-de-Ville, to convey to the provisional government their demand that it would, without delay, take the initiative in measures to destroy and prevent pauperism. They were also to express sympathy with the government; and to prove the sincerity of that sympathy by a substantial memorial, in the shape of a sum of money, collected amongst themselves, which was to be presented to the president of the council in a decorated basket. A petition was also to be presented, setting forth, that "it was for them, the men of the revolution, men of action and devotedness, to declare to the provisional government that the people decreed the democratic republic; that the people desired the abolition of man's servitude to man; that the people desired the organisation of labour by association."

This was the avowed programme of the people of the Luxembourg. Louis Blanc avers, that it was all they contemplated; that there were no *arrières pensées*; no concealment; and that the intentions of himself and his colleagues were perfectly open, honest, and honourable. The government was informed, however, that very different designs were contemplated by some agitators—led by Blanqui—who meant to take a share in the proceedings of the day. The more violent men of the clubs had formed a plan to displace the majority of the men in power; to add to the minority some of the chiefs of the clubs and factions; to take possession of the Hôtel-de-Ville; and to name, in the first instance, a committee of the public safety, composed of Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Arago, who was very popular, and who they thought was disposed to desert his colleagues. The directors of this movement assembled at eleven o'clock on the night of the 15th, and declared their sitting permanent. The next morning, 100,000 men, armed, and provided with the munitions of war, were to assemble in the Champ-de-Mars, and carry out their plans, the success of which they never doubted.

But the threatened members of the government, especially Lamartine, had been on the alert. The numerous workmen employed in the *ateliers nationaux* were, on this occasion, useful. Early in the morning they mixed with the people, as they collected in groups, and induced many of them to disperse. The battalions of the *garde mobile* were called out. Ledru-Rollin had an interview with Lamartine at his own hôtel, to tell him what he had heard of the movement; to express his indignation at his name being made use of; and to concert with his colleague the measures it was necessary to adopt. Lamartine instructed the minister of the interior to cause the *générale* to be beat in Paris,

and to call the national guards to arms. Ledru-Rollin left, promising to carry out the wishes of his colleague; who, on his part, proceeded to send messages to the schools, the suburbs, the workmen of the quarries of Belleville, and of the Panthéon; and hundreds of well-disposed citizens responded to his call. The defence of the Hôtel-de-Ville was entrusted to general Changarnier, and four battalions of the *garde mobile*; and all waited for the *générale*. It was not heard, however, and probably would not have been beaten at all, if M. Marrast, after a long delay, had not written fresh orders, and sent them off himself. The result was, that the national guard and the well-disposed citizens assembled along the quays, the boulevards, and the other principal streets on the north side of the city, in immense numbers.

The trades met, as arranged, in the Champ-de-Mars and the Hippodrome, and proceeded with the elections. The followers of Blanqui were collected in the Champs Elysées; but they did not muster in great force. The elections over, the workmen, from the Champ-de-Mars and the Hippodrome, joined, and marched to the Place de Grève, preceded by a banner, with the inscription, "Abolition of the employment of man by man—organisation of labour by association:" which had, it is said, been prepared by Louis Blanc and Albert, without the knowledge of their colleagues. As they advanced, they found that the Hôtel-de-Ville was surrounded, the bridges occupied or invested; and they could only proceed by sufferance. After some time, the workmen who had the money to present, followed in the wake of a corps of the *garde mobile* to the Hôtel-de-Ville, and presented it. They immediately retired; and the disaffected—the men who were to have brought about a counter-revolution—were outnumbered wherever they showed themselves. Victory for them was impossible; to have made any attack would have been folly. They dispersed, cowed and ashamed; and, the streets cleared of these malcontents, "200,000 bayonets afterwards passed in review" before the Hôtel-de-Ville, with cries of "Long live Lamartine! Down with the Communists!" That minister pronounced that day to be "the happiest of his political life. The factions were more than vanquished, they were discouraged. The people of Paris had pronounced their decision, which was the presage of what the nation was about to repeat at the elections. Paris had risen in arms, without distinction of rank or fortune; and those arms had been completely united for the protection of the republic, moderate government, order, property, and civilisation. Society was re-established."* During the day, some of the ministers had been at the Hôtel-de-Ville; others at the hôtel of the finances. They met, for

* Lamartine.

refreshment, at 10 P.M., at the house of M. Crémieux; and the congratulations exchanged were most animated and cordial. During the repast, some battalions of the national guard, who were prevented from passing before the Hôtel-de-Ville by evening closing upon them, sent a deputation to request permission to do so by torchlight. The ministers repaired to the Place de Grève, and from 25,000 to 35,000 men defiled in their front, uttering loyal acclamations.

After the events of this day, the government were determined at once to test the feeling of the national guards, and ascertain whether they would assemble at their call; and also, by a grand military display, to strengthen a desire which the people of Paris had begun to express, for a return of the army. A general review of all the national guards of Paris, the precincts, and the nearest towns; of the *garde mobile*, and of the regular artillery, infantry, and cavalry, then in Paris, was ordered for the 21st of April. It was termed, in the order, "the review of fraternity;" and one part of the ceremony was to be the distribution of the new colours of the republic to the national guard. The members of the government took their stations at the Arc d'Etoile, at 8 A.M. The troops soon after put themselves in motion to the sound of martial music; night set in before all had passed, though they marched from thirty to forty abreast; and the ceremony, continued by torchlight, did not conclude till eleven o'clock. Even then all was not done. Two legions of the national guard, who had been prevented from doing so on the 21st, defiled before the members of the government on the 22nd, in the Place Vendôme.

The next day the elections took place. They had been fixed for Easter Sunday, because it was supposed that the people would not be diverted, that day, by their ordinary labour, from the duty of voting. They all went off peaceably. Nearly 10,000,000 votes were recorded; and, in the following week, the returns were made. Notwithstanding the effort of Ledru-Rollin's commissioners, and the emissaries from the Club of Clubs, the returns were not favourable to the ultra-republicans. Out of the 900 members, 130 were said to be legitimists, and 300 Orleanists; of the remainder, the great majority belonged to the moderate party. Lamartine was at the head of the poll for the department of the Seine; for which Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Albert were also returned. The popularity of Lamartine, at this period, was shown by his return for ten departments; the aggregate number of electors who recorded their votes for him being something more than 2,000,000. Their defeat was not quietly accepted by the ultra party. The adherents of that party raised *émeutes* at Nantes, Amiens, Marseilles, Rouen, and several other towns. At the latter there was two days' street-fighting

between the rioters and the troops. Many lives were lost; and when the intelligence was brought to Paris, that city was kept in a state of alarm for several days, by the inflammatory placards of the clubs, and the angry denunciations of the national guards of Rouen by the popular leaders. Louis Blanc urgently, but in vain, pressed on the ministers the propriety of arresting the generals who commanded in Rouen; and the excitement had scarcely subsided, when the day arrived for the national assembly to meet.

The moderate members of the provisional government were glad when that day came, for they were perfectly ready to lay down the dictatorship, which they had exercised since the 24th of February. In that period, besides the various acts we have mentioned, they had abolished the oaths of political allegiance. There had, in the last few years, been so many changes of government; and officials, civil and military, had so frequently to swear to obey different parties—that oaths had, in France, become a scandal and a disgrace, and people were, as they well might be, ashamed of them. When Talleyrand vowed fidelity to Louis-Philippe, he said, "This is the thirteenth oath I have taken, and I hope it will be the last." Under such circumstances, the provisional government thought it advisable to abolish the custom. They decreed the abolition of slavery in the colonies, provided the national assembly would vote the planters a proper indemnity. They abolished titles of nobility and imprisonment for debt, and ordered all persons then in prison to be liberated; proclaimed total freedom of religious worship; and made the magistrates' appointments revokable for misbehaviour. They had, also, incorporated the *garde mobile*, reorganised the national guard, and raised the effective strength of the army to 348,000 men, the number fit for service on the 1st of May. They had, as we have seen, a host of difficulties to contend with; and from the 24th of February to the 16th of April, they

had no public legal force to protect order and property. During that time, they had not only the contending claims of employers and employed to struggle with—they had not merely to combat disaffection in the streets, where bands of workmen, animated by the dangerous and anti-social ideas, which were so assiduously propagated by many of the clubs, were constantly going about, singing revolutionary songs, and uttering anti-social cries—but they had also to contend with some of their own number, anxious to keep the power which circumstances had devolved upon them, in their hands; and who encouraged socialist and red republican ideas in all who came near them. Yet, said Lamartine, when the dictatorship was surrendered to the more constitutional authority of the national assembly—"We have traversed more than two months of crisis, of suspended employment, of distress, of elements of political agitation and social anguish, accumulated immeasurably in a capital of a million and a-half of inhabitants; we have traversed all this, without having to grieve over property violated, or one life sacrificed to passion or proscription; one political imprisonment; one drop of blood shed in our name in Paris! Descending from this long dictatorship, we can go out and mingle with the people in the public streets, without fearing that any one shall call us to account in the name of a single citizen, and say to us, 'What have you done with him?'" This is true: and though we can neither approve of the way in which they became possessed of power, nor of all their dictatorial acts—for they should have governed, not legislated, during their temporary possession of office—yet we must say of Lamartine and his colleagues, that they appear always to have acted honestly, if the wisdom of some of their acts may be questioned; and that the unpopularity they had subsequently to encounter, and the neglect with which they were visited, are not very honourable to the people of France.

CHAPTER II.

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; ITS CHARACTER, AND EARLY PROCEEDINGS; EMEUTE OF THE 15TH OF MAY; BANISHMENT OF THE ORLEANS FAMILY; ELECTIONS OF THE 4TH OF JUNE; LOUIS NAPOLEON; STATE OF THE FINANCES; THE ATELIERS NATIONAUX; SOCIALIST INSURRECTION OF JUNE; CAVAIGNAC DICTATOR; SUPPRESSION OF THE ATELIERS NATIONAUX; ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY; M. GOUDCHAUX'S FINANCIAL PLAN; LOUIS BLANC AND CAUSSIDIERE LEAVE FRANCE; LOUIS NAPOLEON ELECTED A DEPUTY; DEBATE ON THE CONSTITUTION; ABSTRACT OF THAT DOCUMENT; LOUIS NAPOLEON CHOSEN PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC; CLOSING EVENTS OF 1848.

THE national assembly met on the 4th of May, in a wooden building erected for the purpose, as the hall where the deputies had formerly as-

sembled was not large enough to contain the increased number of members. On the first day, between 620 and 630 were present; and

they exhibited a curious admixture of parties and classes. The members of the old aristocratic families, and of the wealthy *bourgeoisie*, were mixed up with *ouvriers*, and men in blouses; and every section of the political world had its representatives.

Berryer, Montalembert, Larochejaquelin, Molè, and Thiers, were amongst the legitimist and royalist members. The moderate republicans had returned Lamartine, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and the eloquent protestant divine, M. Coquerel. The socialist leaders, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, and Albert, were there to defend their principles, and advocate their views; and the ultra, or red republicans, were represented by Ledru-Rollin, Victor Hugo, Eugene Sue, Emile Girardin, the abbé Lamennais, and several others, who had previously diffused their doctrines through the press. There were also three members of the Bonaparte family; and *attachés* of the Bonaparte party—the latter, men who were more inclined to shout "*Vive l'Empereur!*" than "*Vive la République!*" The *ensemble* has been described, and we believe with truth, as being, "instead of a body of republican legislators, an assemblage of imperialists, Bourbonists, Orleanists, and socialists, with a moderate number of members who were sincere in their attachment to a republic. It was a legislature of partisans, and not of patriots."

As the oldest deputy, M. Audry de Puyraveau took the chair. He called upon Dupont de l'Eure, who briefly addressed the assembly; saying, "that they were about to form a new government, on the sacred base of democracy; and to give to France the only constitution suited to it—that of a republic. Faithful to their origin and constitution, the provisional government proclaimed that republic in February. They now inaugurated the national assembly by the only cry which should rally it." The cry of "*Vive la République!*" was then raised; and a spectator of the scene, an American, tells us, that the left responded to it; but the centre and right were nearly silent, and there was very little display of enthusiasm.

When Dupont de l'Eure sat down, M. Ollivier rose, and demanded, that every deputy should ascend the tribune, and take the oath of allegiance to the republic. He was reminded that the provisional government had abolished oaths; but he denied that any other power than that of the national assembly could repeal an old and accepted law. M. Crémieux, amidst cries that "the oath was abolished, and for ever," explained the reasons which had influenced him and his colleagues to adopt the measure alluded to; and that measure was ratified by the assembly. Then M. Berger proposed, that the national assembly should solemnly proclaim the republic. While this motion was under consideration—the deputies being all, apparently, in

a state of great excitement—general Courtais entered, and said, that he came in the name of the people of Paris, to request the members of the provisional government, accompanied by those of the assembly, to go to the outside of the building, and proclaim the establishment of the new form of government. Accordingly, all present left the chamber for the steps in front of the hall, which faced the Pont de la Concorde. The entire space to the river, and the Place de la Concorde, were occupied by the people and the national guards. The contemporary writers say, that 200,000 citizens were present. To them a solemn proclamation, "that the republic was, and should remain, the form of government for France," was made, amidst loud acclaims; and shortly after, printed copies of the proclamation covered all the walls of Paris.

The next day the officers were elected; it being resolved that the president should hold his office only one month. M. Buchez (the joint mayor of Paris with Armand Marrast) was chosen to serve the first month, receiving 383 votes. Six vice-presidents, six secretaries, and three questors, were also chosen. The members of the provisional government then, severally, gave an account of the acts done by them in their respective departments; M. Lamartine explained the different principles on which they had acted, and exerted all his eloquence to eulogise and predict the permanence of the form of government which was so soon to be subverted. The system of himself and colleagues, he said, had been "that of democratic truth, which would gradually enlarge itself into faith in universal brotherhood." He entered into a review of the domestic position of the country, and of its foreign relations. The latter he represented as most favourable. "France, counting amongst its friends the free states of Switzerland, Italy, and the emancipated people of Germany, was already at the head of 88,000,000 of confederates and allies." The situation he described as one of prosperity and glory; and "we," said the orator at the close of his eloquent address, "accept the whole responsibility connected with it; we congratulate ourselves upon having appeared before the representatives of the nation, with its grandeur secured, its hands full of alliances, and unstained with blood."

On the 6th of May, the provisional government resigned the dictatorship which they had exercised since the 24th of February, into the hands of the assembly; Lamartine being the orator on the occasion. A vote was proposed, that the "provisional government had deserved well of the country;" to which all the deputies present, with the exception of Barbès and two others, assented: and the assembly proceeded to organise eighteen *bureaux*, or committees, for conducting the public business; and to lay down rules for their guidance.—On the

8th, one member from each *bureau* was selected to constitute a committee, for the purpose of determining the form of government to which the administration of affairs should be entrusted; while the assembly was considering the various proposals relative to the constitution, which were likely to come before it. Contrary to the report of this committee—which recommended, by a majority of 14 to 4, that the assembly should appoint a ministry, nine of the members to hold portfolios; and one, without a portfolio, to act as president—the assembly itself decided, by 411 votes to 385, that an executive committee should be appointed by that body, by whom the ministry should be nominated. A ballot was taken for the members of that committee on the 9th: the result was as follows. Arago, 725 votes; Garnier Pagès, 715; Marie, 702; Lamartine, 645; Ledru-Rollin, 458. This vote was the first signal of the downfall of Lamartine's popularity. He appears to have aimed at being the head of the executive; and feeling that, numerous as were his friends, they could not alone secure him the object of his ambition, he formed a coalition with the opposite section of the republicans. Previous to the ballot for the executive committee, he created considerable astonishment by asserting, that, whatever differences might have existed between him and some members of the late provisional government, they were more apparent than real; that they were all adjusted; and that he should decline forming part of any government of which Ledru-Rollin was not a member. The latter was elected one of the executive committee; and so was Lamartine; but he was fourth instead of being the first; and from that day he never regained his popularity, but sank lower in the scale. In his *History of the Revolution of 1848*, he has entered into a long and laboured vindication of his conduct and motives; but we do not think posterity will reverse the sentence of his contemporaries, which condemned a coalition that appeared to be utterly unprincipled, and to be entered into merely for the sake of place.

The executive committee was no sooner appointed, than M. Walewski moved, that the assembly should invite them to take into consideration the prayer of the Polish deputies, who demanded the assistance of France to restore their nation to independence. The motion was passed over; and the conduct of the assembly, in not agreeing to it, was made the pretext for exciting a popular feeling against it. The refusal, the next day, to appoint a minister of labour—a motion made by Louis Blanc, and supported by all the socialists in the assembly—united the socialists with the “friends of Poland,” in opposition to that body. Proceedings had already commenced, under the sanction of the so recently appointed executive committee, for a

fête, on the 22nd, to celebrate the inauguration of the new order of things; which was to be called “The Feast of Concord.” The same day that the assembly refused to add the department of labour to the other branches of the ministry, the delegates of the Luxembourg issued a proclamation, refusing to attend this *fête*, and calling upon the workmen to absent themselves.—The following day (the 11th) the new ministry was announced. The members were—M. Crémieux, minister of justice; M. Bastide, of foreign affairs; M. Charras, of war; admiral Lacy, of marine; M. Recurt, of the interior; M. Carnot, of public instruction; M. Trélat, of public works; M. Flocon, of commerce; M. Bethmont, of religion; M. Ducleu, of finance. M. Caussidière continued prefect of Paris. A commission was also appointed, on the motion of M. Arago, to inquire into the condition and the sufferings of the working classes, of which M. Louis Blanc was the president.

The government was scarcely organised before intrigues were formed against it; the principal actors in which were MM. Louis Blanc, Caussidière, Barbès, Blanqui, and Ledru-Rollin. The public mind was greatly agitated and influenced by bulletins of an alarming tendency, “prepared, singular to say, by a woman of eminent literary talent” [madame Dudevant]; and “a most poisonous influence was exercised by the addresses delivered, and the principles promulgated, in the Luxembourg, by M. Louis Blanc, among the workmen there assembled.” The clubs were also very active. “The Club of Clubs, under M. Sobrier, accumulated 30,000 cartridges, and hundreds of muskets; the club of the Rights of Man, composed of 14,000 men in Paris, and 20,000 in the provinces, established manufactories of arms, and prepared for war.” The object of the agitators was, to dissolve the assembly, and establish a committee of public safety; and the question of Poland was to be made the pretence for attacking the government.*

The first step taken was to get up a petition to the assembly, calling upon that body to adopt immediate measures for the liberation of Poland, and to declare war against Germany. It was openly proclaimed, that, in order to coerce the assembly into compliance, this petition would be presented, on the 15th of May, “by 100,000 men.” The executive committee, thus forewarned, gave orders to general Courtais, who was commander-in-chief of all the forces in Paris, to occupy the approaches to the hall of assembly and the Palace Bourbon, with which it was connected, by the national guard,

* These statements are given on the authority of a “Report” made to the assembly early in August, by a committee, appointed to inquire into the insurrections of May and June. The quotations are from that document.

and the *garde mobile*; and not to suffer any body of men, armed or otherwise, to come near the hall where the deputies met. The prefect of police was sent for, to assist the executive committee in providing for the peace of the capital; but he excused himself from attending on a plea of lameness; and the force under his orders appears to have remained inactive all the next day. Early in the morning of the 15th, general Courtais, the members of the executive committee, and the minister of the interior, met at the Luxembourg, to ascertain whether the orders already given had been carried out; and whether any further arrangements to protect the assembly from insult and outrage, and to preserve the peace of the capital, were required. Everything being done that was considered necessary, M. Recurt, and the members of the executive committee, except Garnier Pages and Arago, repaired to the hall. The sitting commenced at noon. A large number of deputies were present, and 12,000 of the national guard were stationed round the Palace Bourbon and the hall; a body of the *garde mobile* occupying the courts, whilst four battalions of the latter force were placed as a reserve, in the Champs Elysées.

Soon after the president took his seat, M. Walewski presented the petition in favour of Poland, and enforced its prayer in strong language, speaking with great emphasis and animation. Several deputies followed, taking the same side; and Lamartine rose to reply. During this time the deputies were in a state of excitement, from the apprehension of danger, which was augmented by the sounds of an advancing multitude from without, constantly increasing in violence. Lamartine had only just ascended the tribune, and commenced his address, when he was interrupted by information, that a large body of people, preceded by the clubs, was rapidly advancing, and that the assembly would be broken up. Professing a wish to defer his speech till some other supporters of the petition had been heard, the orator left the tribune, and going to the president's chair, conveyed to M. Buchez, in a whisper, the information he had just received; advising him to order the *rappel* to be beaten; he being entitled to do so, as president, if necessary for the protection of the assembly. The president hesitated to comply, and the order was not given. It was found that the crowds had then succeeded in passing the national guard, and had come up to the iron railing which enclosed the hall. They had been enabled to reach this point by the disposition general Courtais made of his forces. Instead of taking possession of the Pont de la Concorde, by which the palace was approached in one direction, he arranged his troops in rows on the footpath, leaving the centre open; through this avenue the crowd had advanced, shouting,

"Poland for ever!" When they reached the rails—the court beyond being occupied by the *garde mobile*—their progress was momentarily arrested; and cries were raised for Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine. The questors, who had been watching the advance of the multitude, went in search of those two members of the executive committee; who soon appeared at the top of the flight of steps which led to the hall. They there became witnesses of a scene which was well calculated to alarm them. Many thousands of men—some respectably dressed, but the great majority in coarse blouses or rags—were pressing against the enclosure, and endeavouring to force an entrance; at the same time demanding admission, amidst the most hideous cries, and many alarming threats. Both the members of the government essayed to address this tumultuous assemblage: the attempt was vain; it was impossible for them to make themselves heard. When Lamartine first appeared, there were shouts of "*Assez joué de la Lyre; mort à Lamartine!*" But the multitude, generally, were not prepared to go that length, and the cries were suppressed. The pressure of the immense crowd, however, soon caused the rails to give way; the mob began to enter the court, and the *garde mobile* levelled their muskets; but general Courtais, who had ordered them, when they took their posts, not to load their weapons, now gave the word to "sheath bayonets." They obeyed, to Lamartine's great consternation; who exclaiming "All's lost!" returned to the assembly, followed by the mob, at whose head were Barbès, Raspail, and several other members of the same school.

In a very brief space of time, the tribune was occupied by general Courtais, MM. Raspail, Barbès, and Blanqui, surrounded by a number of wild-looking men, some in blouses, and others in their shirt-sleeves. Barbès, addressing the people, as they forced themselves into the hall, occupying and filling every passage—told them, that "they were come there to exercise their right of petitioning. They had done well to enforce that right; and they must now take measures to prevent it from ever being contested again." A scene of the greatest confusion ensued, in which several deputies left their seats, and endeavoured to quit the hall. The mob which had intruded itself usurped the functions of the deputies; a noisy group surrounded the president's chair; others made demands for a variety of objects they wished to obtain; and, in the midst of the uproar, Barbès again spoke from the tribune, "insisting" that a forced tax of a milliard of francs (£40,000,000) should be laid upon the rich, to support the poor; and that, whoever ordered the *rappel* to be beat, to summon the national guards against the people, should be declared a traitor to his country. Whilst the "people" were applauding this

proposition, a portion of them forced Huber into the tribune, who, possessed of a very loud voice, and raising it to its highest pitch, exclaimed, "In the name of the people, whose voice the assembly has refused to hear, I declare the assembly dissolved." Instantly the president was dragged from his seat, and pushed from the hall; the deputies followed him; and the chamber of the national assembly remained in the possession of the mob.

Having succeeded thus far, the next step was, to inaugurate a provisional government. The following names were proposed, and agreed to, amidst much confusion:—MM. Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, Caussidière, Sobrier, Huber, Bormès, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, Cabet, Raspail, Blanqui, Barbès, Lagrange, and Etienne Arago. Some of these men, who were present, immediately proceeded to the Hôtel-de-Ville, to instal themselves, and take such steps as they deemed necessary to maintain their position. They were followed by a large portion of the multitude who had invaded the Place de la Concorde and the hall of assembly; but those places still continued to be thronged by excited crowds.

Thus the insurgents appeared to triumph; but, in a very short space of time, their movement was suppressed. M. Garnier Pagès and M. Arago, who had remained at the Luxembourg, when they heard that the hall of the assembly had been invaded by a desperate mob, immediately ordered the *rappel* to be beaten; and a number of the national guards speedily answered to the call. Headed by colonel Clement Thomas, they first went to the hall of assembly, cleared it of the mob which remained, rallied the members to their places, and restored M. Buchez to the chair. The assembly declared itself to be *en permanence*; and the president invested colonel Thomas with the provisional command of the national guard. M. Lamartine then put himself at the head of a body of that force, and proceeded to the Hôtel-de-Ville. They forced their way to the chamber, where some of the newly-formed provisional government were employed in organising its proceedings, and in preparing proclamations, which were to be addressed to the people. Barbès, Blanqui, Albert, Sobrier, and Raspail were present. They were made prisoners, and sent off to Vincennes, with nearly seventy of their followers. The success of the movement was reported to the national assembly; and, before that body adjourned for the night, general Courtais and Louis Blanc entered the hall: the former was denounced as a traitor, and, having his epaulettes and sword taken from him, was contemptuously driven from the assembly. Louis Blanc, whose clothes were much torn, rushed to the tribune, and declared, on his honour, that he had had nothing to do with the scenes of the day, of which he expressed his disapprobation; but he was driven from the

tribune, amidst derisive cries. Soon after the assembly was adjourned.

There was still one body of the insurgents left. About 3,000 of them took possession of the prefecture of police, being joined by many of Caussidière's *montagnards*. They shut themselves up in the premises, and were not molested on the night of the 15th. On the morning of the 16th, double the number of the national guard invested the place. At first the insurgents threatened resistance; but they thought better of it, and surrendered. The national assembly met at an early hour on that day. The president, as soon as he took the chair, stated, that he had not, on the previous day, ordered the *rappel* to be beaten, because he feared it would still more excite the anger of the people; and he was greatly blamed for his conduct. M. Garnier Pagès then announced, that the executive committee had entrusted the command of the national guard to colonel Thomas, and that of the army in Paris to general Bedeau; that "the brave and glorious army, with which the members of the committee had fraternised," had been recalled to Paris; and that general Cavaignac, who had arrived from Algeria, had replaced M. Charras in the war department.—Caussidière resigned his seat in the assembly, but still held his office as prefect of police.

On the 18th of May, the following committee was appointed to draw up, and submit to the assembly, the plan of a constitution:—MM. Cormenin, Armand Marrast, Lamennais, Vivien, Tocqueville, Dufaure, Martin (of Strasburg), Voirhaye, Coquerel (a protestant minister), Corbon, Tourret (de l'Allier), Gustave de Beaumont, Dupin, Vaulabelle, Odillon Barrot, Pagès (de l'Ariège), Dornès, and Considerant. They immediately entered upon their labours; but several months elapsed before they were brought to a conclusion.—A commission was also appointed to inquire into the insurrections of the 16th of April and the 15th of May. The report made, a few days after, so strongly implicated Louis Blanc, that the procureur-general, on the 5th of June, applied to the assembly for leave to prosecute him. Leave was refused by 369 votes to 337; and many thought that party-feeling, rather than the facts of the case, influenced the decision.—On the day the commission was appointed (May 18th), serious disturbances broke out at Lyons. A band of ruffians, which assumed the name of *Voraces*, threw up barricades, hoisted the red flag, and made themselves, for a time, masters of the city. A force was sent against them. The suburb of Croix-Rousse, which they made their head-quarters, was declared to be in a state of siege; and, in a few days, the national guards put down the insurrection.

The "feast of concord" was celebrated on Sunday, the 21st of May; and in Paris it went

off with *éclat*. Every one who took part in it seemed in harmony with each other, and to desire nothing so much as to bury in oblivion the events of the preceding week. But this state of tranquillity was of short duration. It was first disturbed by elections; and then by a socialist insurrection. By resignations, and by members elected to sit for other places besides the department of the Seine having decided to sit for the former, eleven vacancies were created for that department; and the elections were fixed for the 4th of June. As soon as it was announced that fresh elections were to take place, the Orleanists put forward the prince de Joinville, and the Bonapartists Louis Napoleon; the latter being recommended to the electors in a placard, in which they were told, that he "only asked to be a representative of the people;" but, it was added, "he had not forgot that Napoleon, before being the first magistrate of France, was its first citizen." At night, on the Boulevards, his name was frequently heard; and "*Vive l'Empereur!*" was raised by his friends, as often as they heard "*Vive la République!*" uttered by the supporters of the government. These manifestations caused the ministers to bring forward in the *bureau*, where the business of the interior was considered, a proposition to enforce, in his case, the law of banishment, passed, in 1816, against the Bonaparte family. This proceeding became known to Louis Napoleon through the press; and he addressed a letter to the president, remonstrating against it. He asked why the law was to be maintained against him?—instancing several of his recent acts, which evinced his desire to preserve tranquillity. The same reason, he observed, "which caused him to take up arms against the government of Louis-Philippe, would make him, should his services be accepted, devote himself to the defence of the national assembly. In the presence of a king, elected by 200 deputies, he might recollect that he was the heir to an empire founded on the votes of 4,000,000 of Frenchmen. In the presence of the national sovereignty, he neither could nor would lay claim to aught but his rights as a French citizen." At that time, the proposition for continuing the law of banishment against Louis Napoleon, was not brought before the assembly; but, in consequence of the proposed candidature of the prince de Joinville, that body, on the 26th of May, by 695 votes to 63, adopted a decree for the perpetual banishment of Louis-Philippe and all the members of the house of Orleans; and declaring them incapable of serving the republic in any capacity. This was an extraordinary vote: considering how many Orleanists, or reputed Orleanists, had been returned to the assembly, it is surprising that only sixty-three voted against the decree.

The elections took place on the day fixed; and on the 8th the result was made known. The list presented the names of men of the most

opposite character and principles. We subjoin it, with the number of votes for each man:—

Caussidière . . .	147,400	Victor Hugo . . .	86,965
Moreau . . .	126,889	Louis Napoleon Bo-	
Goudchaux . . .	107,097	naparte . . .	84,426
Changarnier . . .	105,537	Lagrange . . .	78,682
Thiers . . .	97,394	Boisset . . .	77,247
Pierre Leroux . .	91,375	Proudhon . . .	77,094

Of these eleven deputies, Caussidière was the prefect of police, who had resigned his seat—being implicated in the conspiracy of May. The three next on the list were moderate republicans; Thiers was an Orleanist; Pierre Leroux, the founder of the Humanitarian school. Victor Hugo, no politician, but a literary celebrity. Lagrange was the conspirator of Lyons, and the leader of the party who, at the hôtel of foreign affairs, on the night of the 23rd of February, committed those acts which caused the fall of the monarchy. Boisset was the projector of the banquet which was the cause of the revolution; and Proudhon was the bold avower of the maxim, "*La propriété c'est le vol*" (property is robbery), which he made the title of a book.

The election of Louis Napoleon gave rise to a long debate in the assembly, as to whether the proscription against him should be maintained. It was introduced by Lamartine on the 10th of June; and a report, that a crowd had been raising a cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"—from which, on the commander of the national guard interfering, a shot had been fired at that officer (a report which turned out to be untrue)—caused it to assume a considerable degree of bitterness. Three relatives of the proscribed, MM. Jerome, Pierre, and Napoleon Bonaparte, had already seats in the assembly, and they argued very earnestly for the restoration of the rights of their cousin. In the course of their speeches, they ridiculed the idea of the revival of the empire, describing it as a mere chimera; asking, who wished for it? and declaring, that it could never be revived. Louis Blanc spoke on the same side of the question; and was opposed by Ledru-Rollin. The decision of the assembly, given on the 13th, was in favour of removing the proscription; but, the day after, the subject was revived by the receipt of a letter from Louis Napoleon, dated the 14th of June; in which he regretted that "his election had been made the pretext for disorders and disastrous errors;" repudiated "all the suspicions of which he had been the object, as he sought not power;" but adding, that "if the people imposed duties upon him, he should know how to fulfil them." These last words were thought to indicate, that the letter-writer was ready to co-operate in an attempt to found a Bonapartean dynasty; and they gave rise to another animated discussion. It was adjourned; but on the day it was resumed, the receipt of a second letter caused the

subject to be dropped. In this missive, Louis Napoleon said, "he desired order, and the maintenance of a republic, wise, grand, and intelligent; and since, involuntarily, he favoured disorder, he begged leave, though not without deep regret, to place his seat in the hands of the assembly. Tranquillity, he trusted, would now be restored, and enable him to return to France as the humblest of her citizens."

Early in June, M. Duclerc, the finance minister, found it necessary to call the attention of his colleagues and the national assembly to the state of the finances. The provisional government had, notwithstanding they increased the direct taxes forty-five per cent., opened extraordinary credits to the amount of 206,183,035f. (£8,247,321). Although the receipts of the direct taxes was considerably increased by the additional per-centage, that of the indirect taxes had fallen off, in the six months, about 80,000,000f. (£3,200,000); and the bank had advanced, since February, the large sum of 245,000,000f. (£8,300,000). The minister not being able to impose new taxes, or to draw more largely on the resources of the bank, proposed a loan of 150,000,000f. (£6,000,000); the sale of lands belonging to the crown, to the extent of 200,000,000f. (£8,000,000); and of wood to that of 25,000,000f. (£1,000,000). These measures receiving the sanction of his colleagues and the executive committee, he commenced carrying them into effect.

A great portion of the pressure upon the finances sprung from the *ateliers nationaux*. There were about 150,000 men in those workshops at the close of May, and the expense was 250,000f. (£10,000) per day. At that time, not more than 2,000 were in actual employment; but every Saturday all received their wages. The number had been gradually augmenting since the opening of the *ateliers* in March; and not merely artisans and mechanics, but artists, designers, correctors of the press, booksellers' clerks, literary men, and actors—as the effects of the revolution caused the means of their employment to fall off—availed themselves of the assistance afforded by the government funds. Although the *ateliers* had only been open three months, and were a new institution, those who availed themselves of the means of support they afforded, began to consider themselves entitled to that support as a right. They also claimed that it should be administered to them in Paris; and when the minister of war gave orders that a certain number must hold themselves in readiness to be incorporated in the army; and the minister of public works ordered several brigades to be formed of the labourers, for the purpose of sending them to work on the canals and railroads in the interior—they considered themselves greatly aggrieved. The mode of payment was, at this time, narrowly scrutinised;

it was found to be full of abuses, which were ordered to be reformed; and Emile Thomas, the director, who had connived at them, was deprived of his office, and sent to Bordeaux, there to remain under the surveillance of the police. A committee of the national assembly, appointed to inquire into the state of the *ateliers*, when these abuses were detected, reported in favour of productive employment; and recommended, that all the workmen receiving relief, who had not been domiciliated in the department of the Seine previous to March, 1848, should be sent to the places they came from. The assembly adopted the report of this committee, and passed decrees for carrying it into effect.

A feeling that they had been ill-treated and oppressed by the above measures, was rife amongst the members of the *ateliers nationaux*, when the socialist leaders, not disheartened by the defeat of the insurrection in May, resolved to set on foot another, which, says the report of the committee already referred to, was designed "nominally to effect the establishment of a democratic and social republic; but, in reality, its object was pillage and murder." The same means were resorted to, through the clubs and the press, to organise this movement, which had been called into action previous to the 15th of May; and "all went on in a greater ratio." The men who contemplated insurrection, "had their manufactories of powder and arms, their military organisation and chiefs; and the police did nothing to impede their movements." Caussidière, who still remained at the head of the police, "gave no orders; his subordinates knew not what to do without his directions;" and the work of the conspirators went on unchecked.* On the 20th of June, M. Leon Faucher, who was president of the committee to whom the subject of the *ateliers nationaux* had been referred for inquiry, reported to the national assembly, that the number of workmen then paid daily was 120,000; that 50,000 more were demanding to be admitted to the *ateliers*; and that, in order to restore anything like soundness and health to the labour-market, a number of the *ouvriers* should be sent into the departments; and that government should advance 150,000,000f. (£6,000,000), for the purpose of promoting public works in the interior of the republic, and once more restoring to life and activity that industry which the effects of the revolution had paralysed. The minister of finance protested against the advance of the sum required, as the state of the exchequer would not justify it; and the workmen objected to removal. Acting under the excitement produced by the clubs, their language was, "we must not go; they are about to destroy the republic."

* Report of the Committee of Inquiry.

The plan of the insurgents was well organised. Many of the rank-and-file who took part in the insurrection, were the workmen of the *ateliers nationaux*, who were so far disciplined by the military organisation introduced into those establishments, that they were readily mustered into one body, their respective leaders obeying one head: this organisation gave an *ensemble* to the movement, which imparted to it most of its effect. The members of the government were not so well informed as to the course intended to be pursued, as they were previous to the 15th of May; but it was known that another outbreak was contemplated; and the war minister was ordered, by the executive committee, to adopt prompt and energetic measures to repress it. He had not a very large force at his disposal; for although, after the 15th of May, orders had been given to increase the number of regular troops in the capital, he had not above 30,000 men under his orders when the insurrection broke out. There were, besides, 15,000 of the *garde mobile*; 2,600 republican guards; 2,850 volunteers, called guardians of Paris; and the national guard numbered 190,000 men: but they were found, when summoned, anything but alert in answering to the call; and not a few, both of this force and the *garde mobile*, were found in the ranks of the insurgents. As to the best means of disposing of the troops, there were two plans suggested—one by the executive committee; the other by general Cavaignac. The committee wished to have them distributed over the capital, and the erection of barricades prevented. If that could have been done, it would have obviated much destruction of property, and loss of life. But the general objected to dividing his men into so many small bodies as would have been required to have occupied every spot where barricades were likely to be thrown up. The insurrections of July and February, he said, “proved the necessity of not spreading the troops through the streets; but of advancing them in compact bodies, and in such numbers, that the insurrection should always be forced to give way before them. In such affairs the least check was fatal to an army.” His plan being sanctioned by his subordinates, generals Lamoricière, Bedeau, Duvivier, and Damesne, he resolved to carry it out; and he did so without disclosing it to the executive committee, who, “in their ignorance of military matters, might have disapproved of it; or if they had sanctioned it, they might have undertaken to act upon it themselves, and perhaps have failed.”

The first signs of disturbance were given in the night of the 22nd of June, when large crowds assembled on the quays from the bridge of Notre-Dame to the Hôtel-de-Ville; and an address “to all Frenchmen” was placarded throughout the faubourgs, calling upon them

to ‘sign a petition to the national assembly, praying for the ‘organisation of labour.’” The same night, a brigade of workmen belonging to the *ateliers nationaux*, who had been sent to Corbeil to be employed on a railroad, returned to Paris, and stationed themselves in the Place de la Bastille, and at the Barrier du Trône, where they uttered seditious cries; “*Vive l’Empereur!*” being one of them. Early the next morning, the erection of barricades commenced; men, women, and children were employed in the works; they laboured with a regularity and effect that gave ample evidence that they had received previous instruction in the art of speedily raising those obstructions to the passage of the troops; and, before noon, a very considerable part of Paris was covered with them. The insurgents, by the positions they took up, and the way in which they defended them, proved that the lessons given them in street-fighting had not been lost. They occupied four main posts—the Clos St. Lazare, a little north of the Porte St. Denis, and the Place de la Bastille, on the north or right bank of the Seine; and the church of St. Severin, and the Panthéon, on the left bank. Supposing a line to run north and south, intersecting the Clos St. Lazare and the Panthéon, and dividing the old island site of Paris, we see the situation of the government forces and the insurgents. All to the west of this line was in the possession of the troops and the national guard; all to the east, except the Hôtel-de-Ville and its precincts, was held by the insurgents, and exhibited a perfect network of barricades. The Clos St. Lazare, a wide and elevated plateau, was, at the time, covered with building materials and houses, some just commenced, others half built, others near completion. An unfinished building, intended for an hospital, occupied the centre; and that the insurgents made their citadel, having outposts at the customs’ warehouses, and the church of St. Vincent de Paule.

The insurgents were also well provided for the contest in other respects. They were mostly well armed; the clubs having again accumulated supplies of guns, pistols, bayonets, &c.; and many of the workmen in the *ateliers* were provided with muskets from the government arsenals, as M. Marie had supposed they might be relied upon to support him and his colleagues. They had an abundance of gunpowder; but, before the fighting was over, bullets fell short; and they took the bodies of those who were killed in the days of July, 1830, and February, 1848, from their coffins, in the vaults where they were deposited at the foot of the column of July; using the lead to make balls. When they could get no more lead, they used copper and zinc. The women carried the ammunition, the signals and the orders, from post to post, not hesitating to expose themselves to the

hottest fire. They knew their husbands, sons, brothers, sweethearts, were in the ranks; that the men so near and dear to them were, as they believed, fighting for existence; and they did not hesitate in sharing their danger.

When general Cavaignac became aware, early on the morning of the 23rd of June, of what was going on, he issued a proclamation, summoning the insurgents to disperse; and stating, that "if, at noon, the barricades were not removed, mortars and howitzers would be brought, by which shells would be thrown, that would explode behind the barricades, and in the houses occupied by the insurgents." The fighting began on that day, and continued till the following Monday; the first overt acts being an attack on the Portes St. Martin and St. Denis, from which the insurgents were repulsed, the loss being great on both sides. On Saturday, the national assembly, by an almost unanimous vote, declared Paris in a state of siege, and conferred the office of dictator on general Cavaignac. At noon, on that day, he sent a flag of truce to the head-quarters of the insurgents, offering them a general and complete amnesty, if, in two hours, they would lay down their arms. The offer was rejected without hesitation. They continued fighting bravely, against odds; the barricades being successively cleared, though not without great loss to the troops. As the insurgents were in possession of the houses, they resorted to them when driven from the barricades; and having opened communications from one to another, through the side walls, they were enabled to use them as covered ways. The troops, to clear the barricades, had frequently to turn them, by breaking passages through the houses; and many of the latter were blown up. The greatest difficulty was found at the Clos St. Lazare, which was defended by the outer boulevards, and the town wall. The insurgents had strongly barricaded the former; the latter was loopholed, and from behind it the insurgent troops kept up an unremitting fire upon the king's troops, being themselves in security. General Lamoricière was kept before this position all Saturday, the 24th; but he carried it on Sunday, having swept the Clos St. Lazare, and nearly cleared it, by the fire of his cannon. The insurgents made their last stand in the Faubourg St. Antoine; and after having offered, on Monday morning, to surrender, on condition of retaining their arms—an offer which general Cavaignac refused to entertain—they were, at one o'clock, reduced to such extremities, that they complied with the general's terms of unconditional surrender.

The loss in this insurrection was great: about 8,000 were killed and wounded on both sides, as was ascertained from official returns. But there were many killed of whom no account could be taken. A great many of the dead were

cast into the Seine, and wounded insurgents crept into the fields, where they died. During the following harvest the reapers found many of their bodies. The government troops took between 13,000 and 14,000 prisoners: soon after they were placed in confinement, the gaol fever broke out amongst them, and more than 1,000 perished. When order was restored, 10,838 were tried. Of these, 6,237 were set at liberty; 4,346 were condemned to transportation, the worst offenders being sent to Senegal, the rest to Algeria; and 255 were remanded, to be tried by courts-martial, by which they were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. It does not appear that any of the leading conspirators were killed; but the government lost generals Negrier and Bréa, killed on the field; and generals Duvivier, Damesne, Korte, Lafontaine, and Fouché, who were mortally wounded. General Bedeau was also wounded, and had to undergo amputation of the thigh. General Lamoricière had two horses shot under him. No death, however, produced such an impression, both in and out of France, as that of the archbishop of Paris, Denis Auguste Affre. He went, on the 24th, attended by his valet and two vicars, to the barricade in the Place de la Bastille, to expostulate with the insurgents, and endeavour to put an end to the insurrection. He had crossed the barricade, and was addressing the insurgents, when a ball from a gun discharged from a window, struck him in the groin. He fell, and was removed, and died on the third day. His valet was also mortally wounded; the two vicars escaped.—During the four days' fighting, the insurgents were guilty of many acts of cruelty; and general Bréa met his death by a gross deception. Having arrived before the barricade at the Barrière de Fontainebleau, at the head of a body of the *garde mobile*, he summoned the defenders to surrender. They invited him behind the barricade to parley; and he unsuspectingly went, accompanied by an aide-de-camp and two other officers. As soon as the general was safe behind the defence, the insurgents seized him and his companions; and announced to colonel Thomas, who commanded the *garde mobile*, that, unless he and his men laid down their arms, the four officers should be shot. The colonel made his situation known to general Cavaignac, and asked for instructions. The reply was, that the barricade was to be taken, as the safety of the country must be preferred to that of individuals. The barricade was attacked; and, after a fierce struggle, carried. The dead bodies of general Bréa and his aide-de-camp were found, greatly mutilated; the other officers were fortunate enough to secrete themselves, and escaped.

During the four days, Lamartine had been most of the time actively engaged with the troops; and his colleagues, except Ledru-Rollin,

had visited the different arrondissements, animating the national guards, and the *garde mobile*, by their example and exhortations. Ledru-Rollin remained at the hall of assembly, to dispatch necessary orders, and to watch over the safety of the deputies. Though subsequently implicated as being connected with the insurrection, as well as with that of May, his colleagues then appear to have had no reason to doubt his loyalty; or, if they did entertain suspicion, they thought it best not to show it. For the first and second days, no one could say what would be the result; the arrival of troops and national guards from the neighbouring towns, at midnight of the 23rd of June, dissipated any fear that might have been entertained of the success of the operations against the conspirators: still the executive committee remained at their posts. There was, however, a party in the national assembly which wanted to get rid of them; and deemed this a good opportunity. General Cavaignac wished to lay down his office of dictator as soon as the insurrection was suppressed; but it was known, that, on the 22nd of June, there had been an outbreak at Marseilles, which was not put down till after a considerable effusion of blood; whilst at Rouen and Bordeaux, it was only the presence of an overwhelming force that enabled the authorities to preserve the peace. When, therefore, on the 26th, the general surrendered his authority, these circumstances were brought forward as reasons why he should still hold it. There was no opposition; and the assembly unanimously agreed to continue the dictatorship in his hands, with unlimited power, civil and military. The executive committee did not object; but, as they were now superseded, Lamartine, on the part of his colleagues and himself, addressed the following letter to the assembly:—"Citizen representatives,—The commission of the executive authority would have been wanting at once in duty and honour had it retired in the face of sedition and public danger. It retires only in obedience to the vote of the assembly. Restoring to you the authority with which you invested it, the commission returns into the ranks of the national assembly, there to unite with you in efforts to avert the common danger, and promote the welfare of the republic."*

Cavaignac, on the 28th of June, formally accepted the renewed powers conferred upon him, which were to continue till a president of the republic was elected, either by the assembly or the citizens. On that day the assembly nominated a committee, with Odillon Barrot for the chairman, to investigate the causes, and detect the instigators, of the insurrections of May and

* Lamartine.

† The celebrated viscount Chateaubriand died in Paris on the 4th of July.

June; the former inquiry into the first not being deemed satisfactory. In the course of the day, the dictator announced, that, reserving the presidency of the council for himself, he had appointed the following as members of his cabinet:—M. Senard, minister of the interior; M. Bastide, of foreign affairs; M. Goudchaux, of finance; M. Bethmont, of justice; general Lamoricière, of war; M. Carnot, of public instruction; M. Turret (d'Allier), of agriculture and commerce; M. Recurt, of public works; admiral Leblanc, of marine. As the admiral refused to act, M. Bastide was transferred to the marine department; and general Bedeau appointed minister for foreign affairs.

Though the insurrection was put down, order was not immediately restored in Paris. Many turbulent and daring fellows were still at large, by whom assassinations were frequently committed. Armed men traversed the streets at night, and the inhabitants illuminated their houses, not as a sign of triumph or rejoicing, but for safety. The first efforts of the new government were devoted to the suppression of these disorders, the re-establishment of authority, the remodelling the armed force, regular and irregular, and the extinction of those elements of disorder, so profusely scattered about by the press and the clubs. The dictator directed his special attention to the *ateliers nationaux*. On the 3rd of July he made an important statement to the assembly, with respect to those establishments. He described them as "presenting a formidable organisation. The idea of their institution," he said, "was good and equitable; but, in the course of time, they had become menacing to liberty and the republic. That fact was obvious before his accession to power, and measures were contemplated for suppressing them. Their organisation was completely distinct, and escaped the surveillance of the administration; and the efforts made to effect their dissolution had been unavailable. He had paid the most serious attention to the matter; and had come to the resolution of suppressing them altogether." The assembly at once assented, and the national workshops ceased to exist.†—Other steps taken by the republican authorities to preserve peace, and suppress insurrectionary movements, were quite as severe and as arbitrary as those adopted under the monarchies. The capital was declared to be in a state of siege till the 20th of October. The garrison was put upon a war footing. Three entire legions of the national guards—the 8th, 9th, and 12th—twenty-seven companies of the other nine legions, and two of the legions of the *banlieue*, were disbanded and disarmed, for not having obeyed the call to arms during the insurrection. Eleven of the Parisian journals were suspended, one of them being *La Presse*, whose editor, Emile Girardin, was arrested by order of general

Cavaignac, on the 24th of June, and was not liberated till the 6th of July. A new law for the regulation of the press was passed, by which journalists were obliged to lodge in the exchequer a considerable sum, as "caution money," to ensure their responsibility. The clubs were also put under rigorous restrictions; some were entirely suppressed; and those that remained, found that their liberty of action and of speech was grievously curtailed.

M. Goudchaux had no sooner entered upon his office as finance minister, than he was made aware of the embarrassments that surrounded him. His predecessor had greatly over-estimated the resources at his command, and the new minister found that he must resort to new taxes, as the produce of the existing ones was quite insufficient to meet the expenses of the state. There was an immense disproportion in the taxes affecting real, and those which fell upon personal property. The land was very heavily taxed, contributing 350,000,000f. (£14,000,000) to the revenue. To balance this large sum, M. Goudchaux proposed a tax of two per cent. upon incomes not derived from land—estimating the gross amount of those incomes at 3,536,000,000f. (£141,440,000).^{*} This would have produced a considerable sum; but it would not have amounted to scarcely more than one-fifth of the amount contributed by the land. The proposal was before the assembly for several weeks, and then was negatived by a large majority; leaving loans and extraordinary credits the only resources, and still further involving the finances of the republic.

In August, the committee of inquiry into the insurrections of May and June, made its report. It implicated the parties we have already mentioned;† saying, that "there was abundant proof, that M. Louis Blanc and M. Caussidière were no strangers to the organisation of the movement of May, with Barbès, Blanqui, and Ledru-Rollin. Though fortunately on that occasion conquered, the cause of anarchy was never discouraged. New assistance came to its aid. Reports of anarchical speeches were sent, free of charge, to the departments; the fury of the clubs was fomented; their organisation improved, and their power enlarged." This report, on the 25th of August, gave rise to a long debate, in which MM. Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc defended themselves from the charges brought against them. The former made by far the most impressive speech; but he was more successful in attacking Thiers and Odillon Barrot, than in defending himself. He described them as "the involuntary authors of the revolution of 1848;" and he established his proposition very satisfactorily to the minds of many who heard and read his speech. At the

^{*} *Moniteur*, August 5th, 1848. † See *ante*, p. 673.

close of the debate, the procureur-general passing over Ledru-Rollin, demanded leave to prosecute Louis Blanc for his share in the insurrection of May; and Caussidière for having participated in those of May and June. The first motion was carried by a majority of 504 to 252; in the case of Caussidière, leave was given as regarded the insurrection of May, by 477 votes to 268; and refused, with respect to that of June, by 458 to 370. Warrants were immediately applied for, to authorise the arrest of the accused: there was some delay in issuing them; and they succeeded in getting out of France; both arriving safely in England—the land, whose glory "it will ever be, that, in the middle of the 19th century, she should have been the only impregnable asylum in Europe for the exile, driven from his country by tyranny or usurpation."[‡]

M. Caussidière was succeeded in his post of prefect of the police by M. Trouve-Chauvel; and M. Proudhon assumed the leadership of the socialists in the place of Louis Blanc. He had distinguished himself by bringing forward, on the 31st of July, a motion for the establishment of the "rights of labour;" declaring that, unless those rights were conceded, there would only remain for the people the "rights of insurrection." This motion was indignantly rejected, the assembly passing to the order of the day by a great majority—designating the proposition as "an odious attack on the principles of public morality, and a flagrant violation of the rights of property."—During the last days of August, and the beginning of September, before the constitution was laid before them for discussion, the majority of the assembly employed themselves in retracing some of the steps taken by the provisional government. They recalled the decree establishing the hours of labour at ten for Paris, and eleven for the provinces, making the day's work twelve hours in both: the *octroi* on butchers' meat was re-established; and imprisonment for debt revived. An important alteration was also made in the manner of selecting juries. Instead of all the inhabitants of twenty-one years being eligible, the age was fixed at thirty; and from the list of those who had attained that age, a committee, composed of the officials of the arrondissement, was authorised to exclude illiterate persons. The provisional government had, by a decree of the 7th of March, ordered that, in criminal cases, nine members of the jury must agree in the verdict; the assembly reduced the number to eight.

In September, Louis Napoleon took his seat as a member of the national assembly. He had refused the seat which the electors of Paris conferred upon him in June. At the close of that month there was a vacancy in the representation of Corsica, which he was chosen to fill.

[‡] Louis Blanc.

He, however, again declined to enter the assembly. Writing to the president on the 8th of July, he said he had been elected without being consulted, and should not accept the seat: he "did not, however, renounce the honour of being one day a representative of the people;" but he "thought it best to wait, until his return to France could not serve, in any way, as a pretext to the enemies of the republic." This "disinterestedness," he trusted, "would prove the sincerity of his patriotism, and be the best reply to those who, erroneously, accused him of ambition."—Only a short time elapsed before there were again vacancies in the assembly. In the month of September, fifty seats had to be filled; three for the department of the Seine. The day appointed for the elections was the 17th of the month; and previously to their taking place, general Piat wrote to Louis Napoleon, who was still in London, to ask, if he were elected again, whether he would "accept the post of representative of the people?" He replied, "unhesitatingly, 'Yes.' Now that it had been demonstrated, beyond contradiction, that his election by five departments, simultaneously, was not the result of intrigue; and also that he had kept himself apart from all political demonstrations, he should," he said, "consider himself wanting in his duty, were he not to respond to the call of his fellow-citizens." He was again elected by five departments, being returned at the head of the poll for each; and he chose to take his seat for that of the Seine, which had elected him twice; having chosen with him M. Fould, the banker, and Raspail, the socialist; the latter being at the time a prisoner in the castle of Vincennes. The government had put forward candidates, but they were all at the bottom of the poll. To the surprise of the Parisians, Louis Napoleon arrived at Paris, and took his seat, very quietly. A great display had been expected. The government had been apprised that some demonstration was to be made, and that there was reason to doubt the fidelity of portions of the troops, and of the *garde mobile*. The suspected regiments and battalions were ordered out of the capital; and there were, at that time, no signs of any unpleasant feelings in any quarter. The prince entered the assembly on the 26th of September; and the president having declared him to be a representative of the people, he read a brief address, in which he said, that as the "republic had been the means of his regaining his country and his rights as a citizen," he begged "the republic to receive his oath of gratitude and devotion." A fortnight after, on the 11th of October, the assembly formally voted the abolition of the "sixth clause of the law of April 10th, 1832, by which the Bonaparte family was banished from France."—On the 20th of that month, as tranquillity con-

tinued to prevail, Paris was relieved from the state of siege.—On the 25th, the assembly came to a decision on the pecuniary affairs of Louis-Philippe and the members of the Orleans family. The question as to the steps which should be taken with regard to the property of that family, had been brought under the consideration of the deputies at an early period. The provisional government had, much to its honour, firmly resisted the proposals, repeatedly made by some of the more violent and ultra-republicans, to confiscate the property of the ex-king, and that of the princes and princesses. On the contrary, they had resolved, that it should be protected; and that, if it were insufficient to maintain them in the position they ought to occupy, additional provision should be made from the public finances. The assembly confirmed the steps taken by the provisional government, and decreed that all the private domains of the Orleans family should be restored to its members.

The draft of the constitution agreed to by the committee appointed on the occasion, was submitted to the assembly towards the close of September; and the discussion upon the various articles occupied the remainder of that month, and all the month of October. It would require a volume to give even an abridged report of the speeches made on this occasion; and we can only allude to what passed with respect to a few of the principal points.

The great "social question" gave rise to a long and angry contest; the socialists and ultras contending for the recognition of the right of "all citizens," whether they were in want or not, to "instruction, work, and assistance." The article adopted, with reference to this subject, was in the spirit of the English poor-law. There was, also, a prolonged discussion on the question, whether there should be one or two chambers? The argument of Lamartine appears to have induced the assembly to decide for one. He contended, that it was necessary to have always at hand the means of appointing a dictator; and that, were there two chambers, one might refuse to sanction what the other had done: the only reasonable hope, therefore, that, at the time for action, the power would be given to the right man, was, to place his nomination in one chamber only. The assembly, after Lamartine's speech, decided, by 530 to 289 votes, against an upper chamber.—Another question that arose was, how the president should be chosen; whether by the assembly or by the people? It was determined, by 602 votes to 211, that the choice should lie with the latter, and be determined by universal suffrage.—At length, all the various questions settled, on the 4th of November the constitution was adopted by 737 to 30 votes. It was proclaimed on Sunday, the 12th of

November, from the front of the Tuileries, amidst the roar of cannon, and a great display of military pomp and ceremony; but the weather was very gloomy, and there was a heavy fall of snow, which greatly damped the popular enthusiasm.

By this document, the republican was declared to be, for the future, the form of government which was to exist in France. For legislative purposes there was to be an assembly; for executive, a president and a council of ministers. The members of the assembly and the president were to be elected by universal suffrage; every citizen of twenty-one years of age, not deprived of his civil rights by crime, to have a vote. The powers of the president were very much restricted. He could not be re-elected till after the next term of four years following the termination of the period for which he was first chosen; nor could any of his relations, "to the sixth degree inclusive," succeed him. He could not make war without the consent of the assembly; treaties, negotiated and concluded by him, must be sanctioned by the assembly before they were valid; he could choose and dismiss his ministers, but his own signature gave no authority to a decree—it must be countersigned by a minister; still he must be responsible for all the acts thus authorised; and though he could summon the assembly to meet at any period during a recess, when once met, he could neither dissolve nor prorogue that body. In the exercise of most of his functions he was controlled by a minister, or the council of state; and, according to the letter of the constitution, it was difficult to imagine an office more encumbered with restrictions.—The members of the assembly had many more immunities than the president. They were exempt from arrest for misdemeanors, except taken in the very act; and from prosecution, except by leave of the assembly. A citizen under arrest, if elected to the assembly, at once obtained his liberty. Its sittings were, in effect, permanent. Elected for a term, the elections were to take place so that the new body was ready to assemble the day after the old one expired. When in session, it could only be adjourned or prorogued by its own vote; and when an adjournment took place, a committee was left to recall the members to their posts, if necessary, before the period fixed for their reassembling had arrived. It was during these recesses that the president had the power of reconvening the assembly, if he thought it desirable.—The constitution also revived the oath, prescribing the form of that which the president was to take on his installation.

The constitution adopted and proclaimed, then came the question—who is to be president? The day of election was fixed for the 10th of

December; and it was evident that there would be a serious struggle for the post of honour. Subsequent to the election of Louis Bonaparte as a member of the assembly, the ultra-republicans and socialists had renewed their agitation. They placed no confidence in his professions of attachment to the republic, believing that the re-establishment of the empire was his real object; and numerous banquets were held in Paris and the provinces, at which the most violent speeches were made, and cries of a highly seditious character were heard. This party, however, made little way, and the number of its adherents was found to be decreasing rather than augmenting. Ledru-Rollin was the favourite of its members, as general Cavaignac was with the moderates. It was soon known, after Louis Napoleon took his seat in the chamber, that he would be brought forward for the presidency; and it was then found, that, with the bulk of the French people, the name he bore was still all-powerful. If the assembly had retained the choice in its own hands, it would undoubtedly have fallen on Cavaignac; who, attacked in that body on the 25th of November, by M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire, for neglect of duty in suffering the barricades to be erected on the 23rd of June, was defended by the speeches and the votes of a large majority. He was supported, also, by the more educated and intelligent of the electors; but with the masses he had no chance.

Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon both issued addresses to the electors. The first dwelt on the necessity of order to the preservation of the republic; the one being essentially linked with the other. He eulogised universal suffrage as "taking away all excuse for insurrection or revolt: for on what pretence could a faction, which was in a minority on a vote, pretend to be in a majority by rebellion?" It was alike impossible for authority to corrupt universal suffrage, which "was, in itself, the entire revolution; every other principle being but an emanation or corollary from it." It placed "power under the action and immediate control of the majority. To forget those principles, which would be a grave fault in any one, was a positive crime in those who, invested with any species of authority, should cease to remember its source and foundation." Louis Napoleon, in his address, said, he "was not so ambitious as to dream sometimes of the empire, sometimes of war, sometimes of the application of subversive theories. Educated in free countries, in the school of misfortune, he should always remain faithful to the duties which the suffrages of the people might impose upon him. If he became president, he would recoil from no danger, no sacrifice, to defend society, so audaciously attacked. He would devote himself, body and soul, without *arrière pensée*, to the consolidation

of a republic, wise by its laws, honourable by its intentions, great and powerful by its actions. He should consider his honour pledged, at the expiration of four years, to leave to his successor power confirmed, liberty intact, real progress accomplished." But, "whatever the result of the election, he would bow to the will of the people." He professed "peace to be the dearest object of his desires" abroad; and at home, "he continually invoked for his country the arrival of the day when it could, with safety, terminate all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of the civil wars." The following "reforms," he said, "appeared to him to be indispensable. To admit every economy, which, without disorganising the public service, might permit an alleviation of the imposts most burdensome to the people; to encourage enterprise, which, by developing the riches of agriculture, might, in France and Algeria, furnish work to the unemployed; to provide for the relief of old age by encouraging foresight amongst labourers; and to introduce into the laws affecting industry, modifications, which, without ruining the rich for the benefit of the poor, might found the well-being of each upon the prosperity of all; to restrain, within just limits, the number of employments which depended on power, and often converted a free people into a nation of beggars; to avoid that fatal tendency which prompted the state to undertake itself what could be better done by private individuals; and finally, to seek to preserve the press from its two dangers—arbitrary oppression, and its own licentiousness." Before this address was issued, it was submitted to two of the most eminent literary men of France at that period—MM. Thiers and Emile de Girardin. The former strongly disapproved of it, especially of the sentence pledging the writer to resign his power to his successor at the end of four years; and he strongly advised Louis Napoleon to enter into no such engagement. M. de Girardin remarked—"Prince, this is serious. Do you really intend to fulfil this pledge? If so, let the sentence remain as it is; if not, efface it." The prince let it remain after this appeal.*

As the day of election drew near, the efforts of the various parties were increased. The press warmly supported three of the candidates; the *Presse*, the *Constitutionnel*, *L'Evénement*, and *La Liberté* espousing the cause of Louis Napoleon; the *National*, the *Siècle*, the *Journal des Débats*, and *L'Ere Nouvelle* (a religious periodical), that of Cavaignac; whilst Lamartine was supported by the *Courrier Français*, and the *Bien Public*. For Ledru-Rollin little was said in public; and for Raspail and Changarnier still less; but the revolutionary clubs worked for the first two. The polling took place on the 10th of December; and though more than seven

million of electors recorded their votes, there was no disturbance. It was soon evident which way the majority inclined. In a few of the large towns, Cavaignac polled the greatest number of votes; but, almost everywhere, the name of Bonaparte was in the ascendant; for it is notorious, that it was not for the individual, Louis Napoleon, the votes were given; but that the electors acted under the influence of that "magic name," which had been their rallying-cry on many occasions. It is difficult to account for this; for if Napoleon Bonaparte had raised France to the highest pinnacle of glory, he had also brought upon her deep disgrace: but the fact is patent; and it is another proof, when the masses of the people become strongly impressed with an idea, however erroneous, of the difficulty there is to divert them from it. The result of the contest was the election of Louis Napoleon by an immense majority. The numbers given to each candidate slightly differ, in the report of the electoral committee of the national assembly, from those given in the statement made by Messrs. Ducos, Richard, and Arnaud d'Ariège, the secretaries of the general committee appointed to examine the votes. We subjoin both lists.

	National Assembly.	General Committee.
Louis Napoleon	5,434,226	5,534,520
Cavaignac	1,448,107	1,448,302
Ledru-Rollin	370,119	371,431
Raspail	34,900	36,964
Lamartine	17,910	17,914
Changarnier	4,790	4,687
Votes lost	12,600	12,434
	7,322,652	7,426,252

The total number of voters in the various departments was 7,449,470; so, whichever statement is correct, a very insignificant few kept back from the poll. The above returns were exclusive of the votes in Algeria, which were given as follows; none being tendered for Changarnier:—

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte	38,314
General Cavaignac	20,854
Ledru-Rollin	5,403
Lamartine	3,024
Raspail	142

After the result of the election was known, the government was informed—whether truly or not will never be ascertained—that a number of the adherents of the Bonaparte family had determined, on the day when the new president was proclaimed, to take him *vi et armis* as he was going to the assembly, convey him to the Tuileries, and there proclaim him emperor. To defeat such an attempt, if it were indeed contemplated, the ministers caused a report to be spread, that the installation of Louis Napoleon in his new office would not take place for some days; while they made every arrangement for carrying it out on the 20th of December, immediately after the report of the electoral committee

* *Early Life of Louis Napoleon.*

was read. It was near 4 P.M. when the preliminary proceedings were gone through: the numbers were declared, and all eyes were anxiously looking for the "chosen of the people" to enter. "It was growing dark; and the immense hall of the assembly having become involved in gloom, the chandeliers were lowered from the ceiling, and candles were placed upon the tribune. The president then gave a signal, and a door on his right opened. A man, in appearance still young, then entered the hall, and rapidly ascended the tribune. He was dressed in black, and wore the badge of the legion of honour on his breast. All eyes were directed towards him. His face was wan and pallid; its long emaciated angles being brought out in prominent relief by the shaded lamps: his nose was large and long; moustachios covered his upper lip; he had dull and small eyes; and his attitude, timid and anxious, bore, in no one respect, a resemblance to the emperor. This man was the citizen, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte."*

After Louis Napoleon ascended the tribune, general Cavaignac—who had, up to that moment, retained the office, and exercised the authority of dictator—rose, and in his name, and that of the ministers whom he had appointed, resigned the power with which they had been invested. The report of the electoral committee, declaring Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to be elected president of the republic by an immense majority of the votes of the people, was, on the motion of M. Armand Marrast, carried by acclamation; and the same deputy proclaimed citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte president of the republic, until the second Sunday in May, 1852. The new president was then called on to take the oath to the republic, which the president of the assembly read as follows:—"In the presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the national assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, and to fulfil all the duties which are imposed upon me by the constitution." The president, raising his right hand, said, with a loud and firm voice, "I swear it." Whilst the artillery at the Invalides proclaimed to the people of Paris that the president of the republic was inaugurated, the president of the assembly said, "We call God and men to witness the oath that has been taken. The national assembly records it, and orders that it shall be transcribed in the proceedings, inserted in the *Moniteur*, and published and promulgated in the form of a legislative act." The president of the republic, in a brief speech, declared that "the suffrages of the people, and the oath he had taken, prescribed his future conduct. His duty was traced out, and he should fulfil it like a man of honour. He should see enemies of his country in all those who might attempt to

change, by illegal means, that which the whole of France had established. The majority he had obtained filled him with gratitude," and "it gave to the new government the moral force without which there was no authority." Animated "by a spirit of conciliation, he would call around him," he said, "men honourable, capable, and devoted to their country." And, in conclusion, he exhorted the assembly "to be united; to be men of the country, not men of a party; and then, by the help of God, if not able to do great things, they would effect many good ones."

The speech was received with great applause; and cries of "*Vive la République!*" rang through the hall. Before they had subsided, the president descended from the tribune, shook hands cordially with general Cavaignac, and then, with Odillon Barrot, proceeded to the Elysée National, where the following ministry was nominated:—M. Odillon Barrot, president of the council, and minister of justice; M. Drouyn de l'Huys, minister of foreign affairs; M. Léon de Malleville, of the interior; M. Hippolyte Passy, of finance; M. Léon Faucher, of public works; M. Bixio, of commerce; general Rulhières, of war; admiral de Tracy, of marine; and M. de Falloux, of public worship and instruction. At the same time, marshal Bugeaud was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the Alps; and general Changarnier, already commander-in-chief of the national guards of the Seine, was entrusted with the command of the army of Paris.

The first care of the president was given to the army; and he ordered that which was placed under marshal Bugeaud to be raised to 72,000 infantry, and 8,000 cavalry. On the 24th of December he assembled the army of Paris, and the national guard of the Seine, in the Champ-de-Mars, where he attended, to review the united regular and irregular troops, and met with a most enthusiastic reception.—On the 26th, M. Odillon Barrot appeared in the assembly, and, in the name of himself and his colleagues, explained the system of politics which they proposed to follow. It was their task, he said, "to support and strengthen authority; to re-establish and maintain order; to restore to the country that security which could alone enable the republic to devote itself to the development of the general weal, morally and politically." That task they would perform: for, as "the election of the 10th of December had placed immense power in the hands of the government, it was their duty to prevent that power from being wasted or wrongfully applied."—Before the year closed, two changes took place in the cabinet so recently appointed. The majority of its members were essentially conservative: M. Bixio was an extreme republican; and he had scarcely joined the ministry before he found that he was out of place. He accordingly retired about the time

* Victor Hugo.

M. Odillon Barrot declared the ministerial policy, and was succeeded by M. Buffet. A serious difference and warm altercation between the president and M. Léon de Malleville, next led to the retirement of that minister. Louis Napoleon had demanded that all the documents relating to the affairs of Strasburg and Boulogne (in which he figured in the years 1836 and 1840, and which were in the custody of the minister of the interior), should be delivered to him. M. Léon de Malleville thought such an act would be a violation of his duty; and, in consequence of the warm language which passed on the occasion, he resigned. M. Léon Faucher was transferred to the interior, from the department of public works; and was succeeded in the latter by M. Lacrosse. The change was announced on the 29th of December.

Whilst the president was engaged in making the acquaintance of his army, and in the dispute with the minister of the interior, the assembly was occupied with the question of

finance. The expenses of the year had been 1,802,000,000f. (£72,080,000); the receipts, 1,383,000,000f. (£55,320,000); leaving a deficiency of 419,000,000f. (£16,760,000). In the face of this enormous deficiency, the revenue was to lose, after the 1st of January, the tax on salt, which the provisional government had, by a decree of the 13th of April, ordered to cease at the end of the year. On the 27th of December, M. Passy, the finance minister, urged the assembly to revoke this decree; forcibly pointing out the deplorable position of the revenue, should an annual sum of 70,000,000f. (£2,800,000) be given up, in the face of such an unprecedented deficiency. The deputies were very reluctant to interfere for the purpose of continuing a most unpopular tax; but, after a long debate, they agreed, by 372 to 363, to retain one-third, and to abolish two-thirds of the impost—a very unsatisfactory arrangement for the finance minister, whose prospects were anything but bright for the opening year.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF PARTIES AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1849; EVENTS IN ITALY DURING THE YEAR 1848; PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; LAW FOR ITS DISSOLUTION; ELECTION OF VICE-PRESIDENT; PROJECT FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CLUBS; EMEUTES IN PARIS; THE CLUBS SUPPRESSED; THE "SOLIDARITE REPUBLICAINE;" ITALIAN AFFAIRS; THE EXPEDITION TO ITALY; TRIALS OF THE STATE PRISONERS, FOR THE EVENTS OF MAY AND JUNE; PRIVATE LIFE OF THE PRESIDENT; THE ELECTIONS; THE FRENCH IN ITALY; MEETING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY; POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS IN PARIS; INSURRECTION IN LYONS; DEATH OF MARSHAL BUGEAUD; THE PRESIDENT IN THE PROVINCES; CAPTURE OF ROME, AND RESTORATION OF THE POPE; CHANGE OF MINISTRY; VARIOUS ACTS OF THE PRESIDENT; RAPID INTERCOURSE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE; FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE immense majority by which the "heir of Napoleon" had been elevated so suddenly to the head of the French republic, must be considered, in the words of a former historian, as "a declaration of France against revolution;" and as bespeaking "the anxious desire of the inhabitants to terminate the disorders it introduced, and return to the occupations of peaceful industry."* That majority greatly strengthened the executive, and curtailed the power of the assembly; but it did not extinguish party. The socialists, the extreme republicans, the Orleanists, and the legitimists, still existed in the legislature and in the country. The leaders of the two former sections of the political world were very unwilling to become the followers of Louis Napoleon. They had struggled for themselves, not to elevate to power one who they felt would be their master; and they were determined not to succumb tamely to the yoke. They kept up the spirit of opposition both in the assembly and the country; and they were, indirectly, encouraged

by the Orleanists, who, wishing for the re-establishment of the monarchy, thought they could direct, to their own purposes, the discontent, under the president's rule, which the parties led by Ledru-Rollin and Proudhon excited. The legitimists—much inferior in number to any of the other three divisions of Louis Napoleon's opponents—were quiet, as they saw no prospect of success for the head of their party, however accident might favour one of the others. Indeed, some of them—the marquis Larochejaquelein, son of the royalist chief of the "hundred days," being one of the number—ranged themselves on the side of the existing administration; probably all influenced by nearly the same motives. "If I am asked," said the marquis, "the reason of the humble support I give to the present government, my answer is very simple. I see before me a strong government, which has rendered real service to my country; and, at this moment, I do not see any other that can possibly succeed to it. The faults that have been committed are so numerous—revolutions have so

* Alison.

exhausted our strength—events have such complete power over us—that I confess my reason forces me to accept the vote of millions of my fellow-citizens.”*

The socialists and extreme republicans—the “Mountain,” as they were soon afterwards called—did not believe in the sincerity of Louis Napoleon’s professions of attachment to the republic. They attributed to him a desire to re-establish the empire, and accused him of taking the oath to the former, with a determination to violate it on the first opportunity. However this may be—and we are very unwilling to impute deliberate perjury to any one—the conduct of the leaders of the Mountain rendered it impossible for the president to maintain his authority, unless their power was utterly extinguished; and they were deprived of the means of disturbing the public peace. With freedom of action, and numerous aids and appliances for operating on public opinion at their command, they were so restless—so determined, if they could not rule themselves, to prevent any one else from doing so, with advantage to the country—that the chief of the republic, whoever he might have been, must either have consented to become a mere automaton in their hands, or have contended with, and subdued them. Louis Napoleon would not be the former. He very early evinced a determination to act for himself, and he did not hesitate to avow it. When he demanded of M. Léon de Malleville the documents relative to the affairs of Strasbourg and Boulogne, he expressed his displeasure that despatches from Italy had not been forwarded to him; intimated that he did not mean the minister of the interior should prepare articles personal to himself; and wound up his letter by remarking, that “he perceived the ministers wished to treat him as if the famous constitution of Sièyes were in vigour; but he would not suffer it.” Whether, if he had met with a less determined opposition, he would have been content to have remained the temporary president of the republic, and would have quietly surrendered his power to a successor elected by the people, is a secret within the recesses of his own impenetrable heart; impenetrable, we mean, as to its thoughts and intentions, when he does not think proper himself to develop them. But the conduct of his opponents did much towards forcing the struggle upon him, in which he triumphed. If from the first he contemplated assuming the empire, he ought to feel deeply grateful to those who, by their vain and impotent attempts at new revolutions, opened out for him the way.

The president commenced the new year, after the fashion of the monarchy and the empire, by receiving the ambassadors of foreign powers at the Tuileries. On that occasion, he especially

* *La France en 1853.*

distinguished the representative of Pius IX.; and told him, that he would soon see his holiness restored to the Vatican. At that time the pope was an exile at Gaëta. During the year 1848, the papal states—indeed the entire Italian peninsula—had been the seat of revolution and change. We have already noticed the liberal measures introduced by the pope when he first assumed the tiara;† he continued in the same course for some time: but reaction commenced; and those who promoted it, ascribed the change to the wild and unreasonable demands of the “liberals,” as the innovating party everywhere term themselves: whilst that party contended, that the abandonment of “reform,” sprung from the natural insincerity and tyranny of their rulers. The reaction produced a revolution throughout Italy, of which Mazzini‡ was the principal agitator. In Rome, on the 1st of January, the carriage of the pope was surrounded by a licentious mob, who waved the tricoloured flag in triumph, and grossly insulted his holiness. But the discontent was not confined to a display in the streets; it penetrated all classes; and as revolution flourished in Lombardy, Venetia, Naples, and Sicily, in March, Pius reconstructed his cabinet, composing it of ten of the laity, and three ecclesiastics; and gave a constitution, on a liberal basis, to his states; declaring, in a proclamation announcing the concession, that “as his neighbours had decided that their people were ripe for representative institutions, not merely consultative, but deliberative, he was unwilling to think less worthily of his own subjects, or to repose less faith in their gratitude.” Soon after, a popular movement in Rome forced his holiness to declare war against Austria; which power had lost Venice—that city having fallen (in March) into the hands of the insurgents—and Lombardy; the successes of the insurrectionary forces having obliged the Austrian army, under Radetzky, to retire beyond the Mincio.

On the 24th of May, Austria proposed to grant independence to Lombardy, and a separate government to Venetia—the public debt of those countries to be equally divided; and a treaty of commerce, mutually advantageous to both states, was concluded. This step was opposed by lord Palmerston, then minister of foreign affairs for England; and the Austrian forces rallied—defeated the insurgents, who were supported by the Piedmontese, under Charles Albert; compelled the allies to recross the Mincio, and abandon Milan; and in August an armistice was concluded between the king and Radetzky; by the terms of which the former agreed to recall all his forces from Parma, Modena, and the Venetian states. These events did not allay, they rather increased, popular excitement in Rome, which was the

† See *ante*, p. 598.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

scene of continued riots. The cardinals were insulted as they passed along the streets; and the weakness of the government—constitutional as it professed to be—was apparent. The count Rossi, a friend of M. Guizot, who had influenced Louis-Philippe to create him a peer of France, was, in February, ambassador from that country to the papacy. He remained there after his ambassadorial functions ceased; and his holiness, who entertained a high opinion of his qualities, intrusted to him, on the 14th of September, the commission of reconstructing his cabinet. The count took himself the office of minister of the interior and finance; cardinal Seglio being president of the council and minister of foreign affairs. Under the administration of Rossi, judicious reforms were proceeding steadily, and, if slowly, yet surely. But he either moved too slowly for the ardent democrats; or, as some say, they “did not wish the correction of abuses, but merely that they might get into power, and profit by them.” At all events, they took every means to bring the administration into disrepute, and to raise a personal prejudice against Rossi, in which they too well succeeded. The chambers—elected under the constitution granted by Pius—were to assemble on the 15th of November: and on that day Rossi was assassinated, just as he had alighted from his carriage in the Cancellaria, to be present at the opening of the session. This crime was not the result of a sudden impulse. It had been planned in the secret societies which existed in Rome; a sculptor, named Constantadini, had been selected as the assassin; and he had trained his hand, so as to be able to strike a sure blow in the artery of the neck, by practising on a block of wood previously prepared.* The minister had been warned of his danger, but he said his duty called him to the chamber, and he would not neglect it. His death dissolved the government. The next morning there was another tumult in Rome. Finding that the people were assembling, all the members of the diplomatic corps who were in the city, repaired to the Vatican, to rally round, and consult with, the pope, who had about a hundred Swiss guards for his defence. The palace was besieged by the people, who were repulsed; but, joined by a large body of the civic guard, they returned to the attack. A prelate being shot in his presence, and finding that all his guards would lose their lives if resistance were continued, the pope yielded to the storm; and under the pressure brought to bear upon him, he reluctantly signed a paper, containing a list of ministers, all of the revolutionary party. From that time Pius IX. was a prisoner in his palace, till, in the night of the 24th of November, he made his escape in the disguise of a

* Constantadini was arrested in May, 1854; these circumstances came out on his trial.

servant, and reached Gaëta in safety. For the remainder of the year anarchy had prevailed in Rome. In December, an attempt made to induce the pope to return having failed, a provisional government of three persons—prince Corsini, one of the Roman nobility, a weak old man; M. Zacchini, the revolutionary leader at Bologna; and M. Macerata, the mayor of Ancona—was appointed; but they were scarcely installed, when the clubs demanded that a constituent assembly should be elected; and when Louis Napoleon met the ambassadors, and told them the pope should soon be restored, it could scarcely be said that any government existed at Rome.

The national assembly still continued its sittings; and, on the 4th of January, 1849, the subject of education being under consideration, commissioners were appointed, with instructions “to prepare laws on primary instruction secondary instruction, and the books to be taught in schools.”—The retirement of M. de Malleville was made the subject of discussion on the 6th of January; but no facts were elicited, except those already known. The late minister said, his retirement had not been produced by any political differences with his colleagues, to whose policy he firmly adhered, and would most resolutely support. But the double responsibility which the assembly had introduced into the constitution, and which placed the chief of the state and the ministers in constant contact, would create difficulties of frequent recurrence. He considered the confidence placed in him had, to a certain degree, been impaired; but the act which wounded his *amour propre* was subsequently most honourably atoned for.

A discussion on foreign affairs was raised on the 8th of January. The republicans were greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of the government, particularly with respect to Italy. On that day, Ledru-Rollin desired to know what course it was intended to pursue. He alluded to the manifesto of the provisional government, which, although in favour of neutrality and peace, repudiated the treaties of 1815, and promised support to people struggling for nationality and liberty; and to a declaration made by the emperor of Russia, that he would defend the treaties rejected in the manifesto with the sword. As he understood that Austria and Naples had entered into a league to restore the pope, he wished to ask, whether France had joined that league? He could not believe she had. He supported the policy laid down in the manifesto of the previous year; and contended, that, if Austria and Naples were preparing to enter the Roman states, France was bound by that manifesto to prevent it.—From the reply of M. Drouyn de l’Huys, it appeared that a combined invasion of Rome between Austria and Naples had not been agreed to; and that negotiations with respect to Sicily—

which had thrown off the government of the king of Naples—were going on.

Another subject which came before the assembly was that of prison labour. The provisional government had abolished the system of working in prisons; the assembly had revived it; and the workmen made very strong remonstrances against that measure. These complaints were referred to a committee, which was instructed to consider the question, whether prison labour should be encouraged, in competition with that of free workmen? It made its report on the 9th of January. In this document, it was recommended that the practice should be continued, but that the produce should be solely employed to supply the soldiers and sailors with clothes and other necessaries. This report was, after some discussion, adopted. A more important question then came before the assembly—whether its session should be continued, or whether it should be immediately dissolved?

It had been summoned to form a constitution—hence its title of the “national constituent assembly,” given to it in formal documents. Having performed that duty, it was contended, that it was not competent to discuss such questions as those we have noticed; but that it should be dissolved, and a legislative assembly elected. Its continued existence caused much dissatisfaction; and numerous petitions were sent in from every part of the kingdom, praying for a dissolution—a measure which many of the members were very unwilling to submit to, as the 25f. per day they received for their services, was the chief—with some the sole—means of subsistence. They endeavoured to get up counter-petitions; but those presented only contained an aggregate of 2,612 signatures—a proof that the public wanted the excitement of another election. M. Râteau undertook to bring the question of dissolution forward in the assembly itself; and this he did on the 12th of January, by moving three resolutions, to the effect, that—1. The legislative assembly should be convoked for the 19th of March, on which day the powers of the national constituent assembly should expire.—2. That the elections for 750 members, to compose the legislative assembly, should take place on the 4th of March; each department to elect the number determined by a table to be prepared and attached to the law.—3. That, until the period fixed for the dissolution, the national assembly should confine itself to frame the electoral law, and a law relative to the council of state.—There was a long debate on these resolutions. The opponents of them maintained that the duties of the assembly were not at an end, as there were several organic laws, especially those on the council of state and the responsibility of ministers, which it was its duty to pass. The

supporters of M. Râteau replied, that the assembly, since the 10th of December, had occupied itself with the government, instead of passing organic laws.—M. Pierre Bonaparte, in reply to a remark that the assembly was hostile to the president, denied the assertion. It was the assembly, he contended, that had admitted prince Louis Napoleon into its ranks when he was chosen a representative of the people; that had recalled his family from exile; and that had proclaimed him president. The alleged hostility was, therefore, a mere democratic susceptibility.—The parties were very narrowly divided; 400 voting for taking the propositions into consideration, and 396 for rejecting them altogether.—On the 29th of January, it was decided, by 416 to 405, that the propositions should be read a second time. The discussion was not resumed till the 6th of February, when M. Râteau withdrew his resolutions, in favour of others moved by M. Lanjuinais; which, after long debates and several divisions, were adopted. They were, in substance, as follow;—The national assembly is immediately to pass the electoral law, and prepare the electoral lists. The elections for the legislative assembly to take place on the first Sunday after the preparation of those lists; and the assembly to meet on the fifteenth day after the elections. Before the dissolution, the national assembly to vote the laws on the council of state and the responsibility of ministers; and the budget.

More than a month had elapsed since the election of the president, and the government had yet to be completed by the election of a vice-president. That officer was to be chosen by the president and assembly conjointly; the former sending in a list of three persons, from which the latter was to select one. The three whose names were laid before the assembly by the president, were M. Boulay (de la Meurthe), a moderate republican, and personal friend of Louis Napoleon; general Baraguay d'Hilliers, a legitimist; and M. Vivien, formerly a member of Cavaignac's administration. The assembly voted only for the first and third, electing M. Boulay (de la Meurthe) by a large majority—417 to 277. It was proposed that his salary should be 60,000f. (£2,400); but the assembly would only agree to 48,000f. (£1,620); and instead of a house, a few of the members wished to allot him a room in the upper part of the hall: the house, however, was ultimately voted.

The attention of the president and his ministers, during the short time they had been in office, had been directed to the proceedings of the clubs, which had for so many years existed in Paris and the departments; in which the opinions and principles of the various political parties were embodied, and through whose agency a continued agitation was kept up. Convinced that the existence, together, of the

club-system and of a firm strong government was incompatible, on the 26th of January, the minister of the interior brought forward a project for the prohibition of those institutions. He entered into some details as to the evils which they caused; stating, that they were the medium for giving expression to doctrines and passions calculated to dissolve society; and that hatred to established order, and rebellion, were preached in them, under every form. They were also the hotbed of secret societies, and the two lent each other mutual support. His project contained four articles. The first interdicted all clubs, whether held periodically or at irregular intervals; every meeting held for the discussion of public affairs being considered a club. By the second, the officers of clubs were to be fined from 100f. to 500f., and deprived of civil rights from three to five years. By the third, parties who permitted such meetings to be held at their houses, were to be subject to a fine of from 100f. to 500f. By the fourth, the law of the 25th of July, 1848, relative to clubs, was abrogated.—The minister contended, that this project was urgent, and should be referred to the *bureaux* without the least possible delay. The assembly appointed a committee to consider the question of urgency; which, on the 30th, reported, that no necessity for undue haste existed; and recommended that the project should be referred, in the usual way, to the standing committees. M. Odillon Barrot earnestly contended that the measure was urgent, and pressed for its being discussed with as little delay as possible.—M. Ledru-Rollin and M. Senard warmly defended the clubs, and as warmly attacked the ministers.—The assembly divided on the report of the committee, which was accepted by 418 votes to 342; being a majority of seventy-six against the government.

The extreme republicans resolved, in consequence of this step on the part of the ministers, to impeach them. They drew up a form of impeachment, setting forth, that the ministry had shown their anti-republican spirit by attacking the right of meeting, which was a natural and political right, written and consecrated in the constitution of the French republic. By presenting the project for the suppression of clubs, they had violated articles 8 and 51 of the constitution; and, being responsible for their acts, their impeachment and trial before the high national court, in conformity with the 91st article of the constitution, was demanded. This document was signed, on the 27th of January, by forty-eight members of the assembly, including Ledru-Rollin, Pierre Leroux, F. Pyat, Clement, Proudhon, Theodore Bac, Raspail, Germain Sarrat, and Lamennais. It was laid on the table of the assembly the same day; and, as the promoters of this proceeding had no hopes of its success, they resolved

to accelerate the design they had formed for an open revolt; other circumstances, just at the time, appearing favourable to the attempt.

The government had resolved to reorganise the *garde mobile*, reducing the number of men, and also the number of battalions. As by this latter step many subaltern officers, as well as some of a higher grade, would lose their commissions—whilst hundreds of the men would be disarmed—it excited great discontent, to which vent was given in the usual manner, and which was encouraged by the socialists and ultra-republicans, who appear, directly after the election of the president, to have been preparing for an insurrection. They organised a conspiracy, with numerous ramifications in the departments. Emissaries were sent to various points, in order to effect diversions in the interior, which might favour the design contemplated at Paris; and to that city a number of determined men repaired from the country clubs. The day after the act of impeachment had been laid on the table of the assembly, upwards of 200 of the *garde mobile* had an interview with general Changarnier—giving vent to threats when they found no encouragement to expect that the measures affecting them would be revoked. The general was firm, but mild, expostulating with them on their unmilitary conduct, and exhorting them to retire to their homes; but they only left his presence to enter into communication with the clubs. Whilst this was going on, another body repaired to the palace of the Elysée, to present to the president a strongly-worded petition. An entire battalion seized on the fort of La Briche, and raised the banner of revolt; others presented themselves, during the night, in a secret *réunion* of the clubbists, and offered to descend into the streets, and erect barricades. That offer was accepted; and, early on the 29th, an immense procession of *ouvriers* and others, in blouses, traversed the Boulevards, down to the Madeleine, led by men wearing the distinctive signs of chiefs of the barricades.

The events of the 28th of January caused the ministers to take the necessary precautions against any attempt that might be made the following day. The military and national guard were ordered to be on duty at an early hour; and, as the men in blouses attempted to congregate near the hall of assembly, the Hôtel-de-Ville, or in the streets, they were immediately dispersed, and had to return to the clubs foiled and dispirited. In the course of the day, general Changarnier addressed an order of the day to the *garde mobile*; in which, alluding to the reports he had received, of their intention to be governed by a pernicious and interested counsel, and to disturb that order they had hitherto so intrepidly defended—he called upon them to “listen to his voice, and repel those excitors to anarchy, who, by leading them to ruin, would

gain compensation for their own disappointment." M. Léon Faucher also issued a proclamation to the citizens of Paris; in which he said, that the ministers had "called out the national guards in defence of social order, once more threatened by men who wished to prevent, at any cost, the establishment of a regular and honest government. All they wanted was perpetual agitation and anarchy; the destruction of all property and of all principles. They accused the ministers of having violated the constitution, and of seeking to destroy the republican government. This was a contemptible calumny, as the republic had no firmer supporters than those who sought to preserve it from revolutionary excesses." These proclamations were followed up by the disarming of the battalions of the *garde mobile* in various places. This was in general done in presence of a superior force of troops of the line; but no disturbance took place.

The committee of justice, to which the proposition for the impeachment of the ministers was referred, reported, on the 3rd of February, against its being taken into consideration; and M. Moirhayé, the reporter of the committee, exhorted the assembly to give its support to the executive power, instead of contesting its rights and liberty.—M. Perrée, editor of the *Siècle*, was not in favour of the impeachment, which would elucidate nothing. He was equally opposed to a vote of confidence in the cabinet, whose conduct aggravated that danger to the republic which he admitted did exist. He moved, therefore, that "the assembly declares the tendency of the ministry is likely to create serious dangers for the republic, but, nevertheless, passes to the order of the day."—M. Odillon Barrot demanded that the assembly should simply pass to the order of the day; but he was defeated, and M. Perrée's resolution carried by a majority of 407 to 387.—Notwithstanding this was equivalent to a vote of no confidence, the ministry declared that it was not their intention to resign.—The assembly then proceeded to consider the projects of law relative to the elections, which occupied them about fourteen days; and with various other matters—although, according to the resolution of M. Lanjuinais, the members were to have confined themselves to those laws, the organic laws, and the budget. In the discussion of the electoral law, it was, very properly, resolved to exclude persons guilty of various crimes, and public functionaries guilty of malversation, from voting; and, by a majority of 286 to 282, all persons convicted of adultery were declared incapable of sitting in the legislative assembly. The number of members was fixed by the law at 750.

Another debate, on the 8th of March, on foreign affairs—in which ministers were again accused of having departed from the manifesto of the provisional government, in their treatment of the Tuscan republic, and their conduct

in Rome—ended in the adoption of the simple order of the day, by 438 votes to 341.—The discussion on the project for the suppression of clubs was then renewed; and, on the 20th, a division took place on the main question, when there were, for the abolition, 378; against it, 359. Most of the extreme republicans immediately retired from the hall, and assembled in the *salon* of the ancient chamber of deputies. There they chose a president, and formally discussed the question, whether they should secede from the assembly, and take no further part in the discussion and divisions on the project? The speakers were MM. Senard, Goudchaux, Crémieux, Lagarde, Lagrange, Pascal, and Louis Perrée. MM. Senard, Goudchaux, and Lagarde were against the secession, which MM. Crémieux and Pascal supported. M. Lagrange told them they were all acting very foolishly, and what was worse, very weakly. "In an assembly chosen by universal suffrage, the minority were not justified in abstaining from taking part in its deliberations. They must return to their places in the assembly, or the alternative was the Hôtel-de-Ville. They must proceed to the balloting urns, or rush to the faubourgs. They must resume the posts they had abandoned, or let the signal be flung abroad for another erection of barricades; and, in that case," said the speaker, casting a fiery glance around, "he did not think he should see many of those whom he had then the pleasure of addressing." After this speech little more was said; the seceding members returned to their seats, and voted upon the different articles of the project, which was passed before the close of the month; the only material amendment adopted being one which provided that all offences against the law should be tried by a jury.

The socialists, prepared for this measure by the previous steps taken in the assembly, organised, with as little delay as possible, a formidable secret society, which extended its branches into every department of the interior. It was entitled the *Solidarité Republicaine*; and its express object was, to propagate the doctrines of social democracy, and establish a government founded upon them. The remotest hamlets were not free from the machinations of this society; which, in many instances, were developed and advanced through charitable, philanthropic, scientific, and literary institutions. The centre society in Paris was aided by another in Lyons; and a constant correspondence was kept up between the two; and by both with the numerous affiliated branches. This society kept no list of members, made no record of its proceedings; and thus it was enabled to elude all attempts at detection. Not one of its leaders has ever been arrested; and if it is not now in existence, it is because the events of the last few years have shown the impossibility of ever accomplishing its objects.

War was now raging again in Italy. The armistice between Austria and Piedmont had, since the previous August, kept the armies of the two powers inactive; but the successes of the Hungarian insurgents, in the first two months of 1849—successes which were exaggerated, by report, in Italy—rendered the Piedmontese, as well as the disaffected in Lombardy, anxious to renew the war. On the 5th of March, the Piedmontese chamber of deputies, and the Italian council (the latter composed of men striving for the regeneration of Italy), presented addresses to the king, urging him to renew hostilities. The French and English ambassadors united in representing to Charles Albert the danger he would run by complying with this request. His majesty was not blind to the risk he must incur, and wished anxiously to prolong the peace: but he could not follow the dictates of his own will. "I must declare war," he said to the ambassadors, "or abdicate the crown, and see a republic established in Piedmont."—His resolution was taken. He sent a message to the chambers on the 10th of March, asking for the necessary credits to carry on the war; which were granted by acclamation; and, on the 12th, it was declared that the armistice was at an end. As his forces, though nearly equal in numbers to those of the Austrians, were inferior in discipline, equipment, and spirit, his prospects were unfavourable; and the campaign ended in his complete defeat, at Novara, on the 23rd of March.

The renewal of the war, and the attitude of the Austrians in Piedmont, caused the committee of foreign affairs of the French national assembly to take the position of Italy, especially of Piedmont, into consideration. On the 30th of March, M. Bixio reported to the assembly a resolution which that committee had adopted, to the effect, that "if—the better to guarantee the integrity of the Piedmontese territory, and to protect the honour and interests of France—the executive power thought it necessary to give force and authority to negotiation, by the partial and temporary occupation of any points in Upper Italy, it would find, in the national assembly, the most sincere and cordial co-operation."—The minister for foreign affairs said, Austria desired peace, and did not covet an inch of Piedmontese territory, not wishing to extend the limits of the empire beyond those assigned by the treaties of 1815. If, however, other facts transpired, and other securities seemed necessary, the government would not hesitate to demand the necessary powers from the assembly. After some further debate, M. Drouyn de l'Huys said, the government accepted the resolution presented by the committee on foreign affairs.—M. Flocon opposed it; and proposed, as an amendment, the following:—"The assembly, persisting in its resolution of the 24th of May,

1848, invites the government to take measures to guarantee the emancipation of Italy."—General Baraguay d'Hilliers, thinking either resolution would involve the country in difficulties, moved the simple order of the day. This was rejected by 442 to 327.—On the 31st, the debate was resumed, and ended in the adoption of the resolution reported by the committee on foreign affairs; the ayes being 444, the noes 329.

Although the minister for foreign affairs had appeared to think that French intervention in Italy would not be necessary, it soon after took place; and that in a quarter and in a mode which was least expected. Subsequently to the flight of the pope from Rome, the greatest anarchy had prevailed in that city, no government being able to preserve order, and exert the necessary authority for the protection of persons and property. On the 8th of February, the constitutional assembly had met, and proclaimed the republic, declaring Pius IX. deprived of his temporal sovereignty, but preserving to him the independent exercise of his spiritual authority. After the battle of Novara, supreme power had been placed in the hands of Mazzini, Annellini, and Saffi, the two latter being Roman citizens. It was expected that the Austrians would advance on that city, which the triumvirate prepared for a vigorous defence; and as the presence of an Austrian force in the states of the church, especially at Rome, would not have been conformable to the views of the French government, or likely to promote French interests, the ministers resolved to send a force to Civita Vecchia, under the command of general Oudinot, to watch the course of events. M. Odillon Barrot communicated this resolution to the assembly on the 16th of April; saying, it was the result of the authority given to the executive to adopt such a measure, if it were thought necessary. "Austria," he said, "would, no doubt, follow up the consequences of her victory. She might take advantage of the rights of war, with regard to the states more or less engaged in the struggle that had arisen between her and Sardinia. The shock of those events had been felt in Central Italy; and the information the government received, announced an imminent crisis in the Roman dominions, to which France could not remain indifferent. The protection of their countrymen, the necessity of maintaining their legitimate influence in Italy, and the desire of contributing to obtain for the Roman population a good government, founded on liberal institutions—all these considerations imposed upon the ministers the duty of acting upon the authority the assembly had granted to them." The minister demanded an extraordinary credit of 1,200,000*f.* (£48,000) to be opened, to enable the minister of war to provide for the additional expenses required for main-

taining, on the war footing, during three months, the expeditionary corps of the Mediterranean; and concluded by stating, that it was extremely urgent, for the success of the expedition, that the discussion and vote should immediately take place. After some observations from one or two members, the vote of credit was agreed to by the assembly.—The troops sailed on the 22nd of April, from Marseilles; and general Oudinot addressed to them, before they embarked, the following order of the day:—"Soldiers!—The president of the republic has entrusted to me the command of the expeditionary corps of the Mediterranean. The honour imposes on me duties of an arduous nature. Your patriotism will aid me in fulfilling them. The government, resolved to maintain in all parts our ancient and legitimate influence, has been unwilling to leave the destinies of the people of Italy at the mercy of a foreign power, or of a party forming only a minority. It confides to us the flag of France, in order that it may be planted on the Roman territory as a marked testimony of our sympathy."

The attention of the public was partly attracted from foreign and other events by the trials of the state prisoners, confined in the castle of Vincennes, for participation in the *émeutes* of May and June in the previous year. Those trials commenced on the 7th of March, and did not end till the 2nd of April. There were thirteen prisoners tried; and the facts detailed in the previous chapter, were given in evidence.—The verdicts were—guilty, against Barbès and Albert; guilty, with extenuating circumstances, against Blanqui, Flotte, Sobrier, Raspail, and Quentin; not guilty, against general Courtais, Degré, Bormès, Thomas, Vilain, and Larget, who were immediately discharged. Barbès and Albert were sentenced to transportation for life. Blanqui to ten years', Sobrier to seven years', Raspail to six years', and Flotte and Quentin to five years' imprisonment. The prisoners were also condemned to pay the costs of their imprisonment; and three months were added to Sobrier's, Raspail's, Flotte's, and Quentin's term for non-payment. At the same time, sentence of banishment was pronounced on Louis Blanc, Caussidière, and five others who had not appeared, and had been condemned *par contumace*.

As the electoral law was published in March, and the electoral lists were made out and printed towards the close of April, the coming elections, on which depended the future destinies of France, naturally attracted the attention of all thoughtful people. The president, of course, was not unmindful of them; but it is admitted that, on this occasion, he employed no government influence to control the public voice. Since his election he had taken up his residence in the palace Elysée Bourbon; where MM. de

Morny, de Persigny, and Magnan—and, after his return from Algeria, general St. Arnaud—were his chief advisers. The old aristocracy of France, who were the courtiers under the elder branch of the Bourbons; and the rich *bourgeoisie*, who flocked round Louis-Philippe—alike kept themselves aloof from the new head of the state, except the few of the latter who were officially connected with his government. He lived magnificently; but the chief frequenters of his court are described as "men of broken fortunes, ready to risk everything to acquire a commanding position in the world." As he indulged in all the pomp and display of royalty, and had an open hand for the necessities of those by whom he was surrounded, Louis Napoleon's expenses were considerable. The income settled upon him by the national assembly, after the election in December, was 600,000*f.* (£24,000) per annum. In March this sum was doubled, but it was found inadequate to the expenses of the head of the republic. It left him nothing to apply illegitimately to influence votes, had he been so inclined; and of all other means and appliances to operate on public opinion, he was nearly destitute. The press and the clubs were alike hostile to him. The former disseminated the addresses of the opposition candidates through the length and breadth of the land, and advocated their cause in violent leading articles. The latter had their ramifications throughout the interior; and their agents zealously promulgated the doctrines of democracy and socialism, which, however, made much less progress in the rural districts than they did amongst the populace of Paris and the large towns.

Louis Napoleon, however, appears to have found friends where he could least have expected them. When the resolution to dissolve the assembly was passed, a central electoral committee was formed in Paris, which was known as the Committee of the Rue de Poitiers, from the place of its meeting. It consisted, according to the marquis de Larochejaquelin, of sixty members—forty-five Orleanists, and fifteen legitimists. When it assembled, the marquis, who had been chosen by the legitimists, as one of their representatives, inquired, why there was this disproportion of numbers? An ex-minister (either Thiers or Guizot) replied, "It was because the party of legitimacy, though no doubt honourable, formed only a very small minority; whilst the Orleanists were, in fact, the nation." Not being of that opinion, and also thinking, that, under the circumstances in which the country was placed, moderate men, and not extreme members of any party, should be elected; and, therefore, that the moderate republicans ought to have been represented in the committee—the marquis refused to act.*

* *La France en 1853.*

It would appear that the noble marquis did not make himself very well acquainted with the aims of this committee. Its leading members—those who took the initiative in the proceedings—were MM. Ferdinand Barrot, Berryer, de Broglie, Chambolle, Duvergier d'Hauranne, Achille Fould, Sauvain-Barthélemy, Léon de Malleville, Molé, de Montalembert, de Noailles, de Perigord, general Piat, de Remusat, and Thiers. They issued a very temperate address to the electors; in which, alluding to their having served, at different times, under various governments, they asked, "If, merely because they had not the same opinions respecting the empire, the restoration, or the revolution of 1830, they were to be interdicted from affording, in common, the same solution to questions of radical interest which had arisen since the 24th of February, 1848?" After avowing sentiments and principles which, in England, would be termed conservative, the committee alluded to the president of the republic in the following terms, from which it is rather remarkable that *some* of the members did not dissent. "The individual whom France has chosen, has comprehended, without hesitation, the intentions which raised him to power. He has known how to work out, from the midst of the councils, and from the proposals or the menaces of all parties, the policy of internal peace, which alone could secure to his constitutional administration a durable hold on the attachment of the people. His fidelity, his firmness, his perseverance, already made manifest by decisive proofs, have become public guarantees of confidence and order. Instead of giving himself up to an exclusive party, he invites around him all sincere parties; and we are convinced that all these parties are capable of forming amongst themselves a salutary alliance, and of sending to the assembly a majority whose concord will be real, and whose union will be salutary."—These Orleanists and legitimists appear, therefore, to have gone to the elections with the view of returning friends and supporters of the president.

The elections took place in the middle of May; and in the new legislative assembly, about 220 deputies belonged to the extreme republican and socialist parties. These men had all signed a declaration, in which it was stated that "the republic was above all majorities. If the constitution were violated, the representatives of the people should be the first to set an example of armed resistance. The employment of the forces of France against any people was a crime, and a violation of the constitution. France was bound to give assistance to every people combating."—Next to this party, the Orleanists were the strongest in the assembly. The weakest section in that body was, undoubtedly, the Bonapartists, "pure and simple." In the elections, one of the most remarkable things was,

that the name of Lamartine did not appear on any list except that of the arrondissement he was returned for. Scarcely ten months previously, he had been elected, at the head of the poll, in ten different departments; but now he was entirely overlooked in nine of them. A more rapid descent from the pinnacle of popularity is nowhere to be met with.

As the Italian campaign formed the subject of one of the earliest debates in the new assembly, it will be desirable, before we advert to the proceedings of that body, briefly to notice the events in which the expedition had a share.—The force under Oudinot disembarked at Civita Vecchia on the 26th of April; and, according to intelligence received by the French government, could it have arrived at Rome on that day, the gates of the city would have been opened for its admission, and that joyfully. But at the same time that the French general was notifying his arrival to the government of Rome, Garibaldi was entering the city, at the head of a band of revolutionists and refugees, collected from almost every quarter of Italy; with some Germans, Poles, and Belgians, who had joined the insurgent Italians. This arrival strengthened the triumvirate, who, on the 29th, sent a deputation to Oudinot, to warn him, that if he attempted to enter the city he would be resisted. The reply of the French general was, "Take care how you oppose me; for I have good troops under my orders." On the 30th, a *corps d'armée* of 6,000 men arrived before the walls. They were received with a discharge of cannon and musketry. Two regiments of cavalry were nearly destroyed by the fire of a masked battery of artillery which was opened upon them; and Garibaldi, with his irregulars, and a body of regular troops, made a sortie, took the French in the rear, and made 200 prisoners. Oudinot was obliged to retreat, with great loss. Of his officers, four were killed, eleven wounded, and eleven made prisoners. Of sub-officers and the rank-and-file, there were 180 killed, 400 wounded, and 560 fell into the hands of the enemy. The entire loss of the defenders of Rome is stated not to have been more than 320. A day or two after the retreat, an armistice was entered into; and, on the 31st of May, a convention was concluded between M. Lesseps (the French envoy) and the Roman government, by which the French troops were prohibited from entering Rome, but were to plant themselves in exterior cantonments; and the French republic was to guarantee the territory its troops occupied against foreign invasion. The French general refused to ratify this convention; the government recalled M. Lesseps, and declared his mission at an end; and ordered Oudinot to attack Rome.*

* The president's message to the legislative assembly; and the speech of the minister for foreign affairs.

The last sitting of the national constituent assembly took place on the 26th of May; and the legislative assembly met on the 28th. A threatening mob surrounded the doors as the members were assembling; their aim evidently being to alarm and intimidate. It was soon dispersed by a squadron of cavalry, without any bloodshed; the soldiers maintaining the greatest good humour, amidst the hisses and yells of the populace; and the members took their seats without any further obstruction. Three days were spent in verifying the returns; and on the 1st of June the president was elected: the voting was as follows:—

M. Dupin, senior . . . 338	M. Grevy 1
M. Ledru-Rollin . . . 182	M. Odillon Barrot . . 1
Gen. de Lamoricière . . 76	A second M. Dupin . . 9
M. Dufaure 4	

M. Dupin was declared president. The six vice-presidents were—M. Baroche, general Bedeau, M. Jules de Lasteyrie, M. Denis Benoit, M. Deseze, and M. de Tocqueville. The following were chosen as secretaries:—M. Arnaud (de l'Ariège), M. Peupin, M. Lacaze, M. Chapot, M. Heckeren, M. Bérard.

The next day the assembly met in the old hall of the chamber of deputies, where the picture behind the president's chair, representing Louis-Philippe taking the oath to the charter, was covered with a curtain. After the president and secretaries had taken their seats, M. Odillon Barrot announced a modification in the ministry; M. Dufaure having taken the place of M. Léon Faucher, as minister of the interior; M. Tocqueville that of M. Drouyn de l'Huys, as minister of foreign affairs;* and M. Lanjuinais, that of minister of agriculture and commerce, in the place of M. Buffet. The message of the president (which he wished to deliver in person, but was overruled by his ministers) was very long, resembling, in that respect, those of the president of the United States. It took an elaborate review of the condition of the republic; and we comprise the most important facts stated in the document in the following brief *résumé*.

With respect to the finances of the republic, the president said, in spite of the additional resources arising from the new taxes, and the loans, there was a deficit, for 1848, of 72,160,000f. (£2,886,400). That for 1849, at first estimated at 25,000,000f. (£1,000,000) would be much larger; and the equilibrium between receipts and expenditure could only be restored by reducing the expenses, and opening out new sources of revenue.—The army consisted of 451,000 men and 93,754 horses; with 5,139 field-pieces, and 11,356 other cannon. The fleet comprised, in sailing vessels, ten ships of the line, eight frigates, eighteen corvettes,

* M. Drouyn de l'Huys was sent to London, as ambassador to the British court.

twenty-four brigs, twelve transports, and twenty-four light vessels; in all, eighty-six. Of steamers, there were fourteen frigates, thirteen corvettes, and thirty-four despatch-boats; total, sixty-one. The advanced ships, and those in ordinary, were ten ships of the line, fifteen sailing frigates, ten steam frigates, six steam corvettes, and six mail steamers; total, forty-seven: making a gross total of the navy of France, at that period, of 194 vessels of all sizes; manned by 950 officers, and 28,500 common seamen.—The year 1848 witnessed a considerable decrease in French commerce; but in the last three months it had steadily increased.—The number of prisons in France was 433; and in January, 1848, 48,042 persons were in confinement, of whom 3,600 were juveniles. At that period there were in France 1,300 public establishments, for the relief of the sick and aged, and for children; the annual income of which exceeded 53,000,000f. There were also 8,000 offices for the distribution of domestic relief, with an ordinary income of 13,500,000f.; and other charitable institutions, in which about 50,000,000f. were expended. "Thus there was no less than 116,500,000f. (£4,660,000) annually expended in public charities, without taking into consideration private benevolence:" yet this relief, "though it might appear immense, was small in comparison with the still greater amount of want."—Much had lately been done to promote public instruction. There were then in France sixty-eight establishments of higher instruction, with 6,269 students; the Normal school, with 115 pupils; and 1,220 secondary establishments, with 106,065 pupils. There were also fifty-six lyceums, 309 communal colleges, and 955 private establishments. The primary schools received 2,176,079 boys, and 1,354,056 girls; in all, 3,530,135 pupils.—With respect to foreign affairs, it was said to "be the destiny of France to shake the world whenever she moved, and to calm it when she became quiet." The late events on the continent were passed in review: with respect to them all, France "had exercised a direct and independent action, by her own spontaneous movement." The expedition to Civita Vecchia was expected to have been pacific, but a train of unhappy circumstances led to a different result. The differences between Denmark and the populace of Schleswig and Holstein; the agitations in Germany; the fearful contest between Austria and Hungary, which had led to the calling in the assistance of Russia by the former; and the diplomatic movements of the various powers, were also noticed.—Having gone at length into all these topics, the message took a general *résumé* of the whole; concluding in the following words:—"I invite under the flag of the republic, and upon the ground of the constitution, all the men who are devoted to the safety of

the country. I count upon their assistance and their intelligence to enlighten me, upon my conscience to guide me, and upon the protection of God, to enable me to accomplish my mission."

The first debate in the new legislative assembly was on Italian affairs. It took place on the 11th of June, and was raised by Ledru-Rollin. The president and his immediate advisers had different views on the subject, and on the object of the expedition to Rome, from those of the more violent republicans. The former thought to establish the influence of France by the restoration of the pope, and to prevent the Austrians from occupying Rome; the latter wished to aid the revolutionists. Many members of the new assembly, and some of the president's ministers, entertained the same views; and but for the defeat of Oudinot, it is probable they might have prevailed. That event, however, being considered humiliating to the French arms, roused all the national fervour of the French people; and they were eager to hear that the troops had entered Rome as conquerors. But the extreme republican and socialist party, in and out of the assembly, deprecated such a step being taken; and, led by Ledru-Rollin, the deputies of that party in the assembly, charged ministers with giving instructions to general Oudinot contrary to the vote of the national assembly. The deputy above-named said, that he had laid on the table a formal act of accusation against the president of the republic and his ministers, which, he demanded, should be immediately taken into consideration, as it was indispensable to stop the effusion of blood at Rome.—M. Odilon Barrot ably defended the policy of the government, which aimed at the restoration of the pope to the Vatican, and his re-establishment there, in the free and independent exercise of his sovereignty. France could not stand by, and suffer Austria and the other Roman catholic powers to effect those objects without her interference.—M. Ledru-Rollin replied, contending that the constitution had been violated by ministers going to war without the consent of the assembly; and he, and those who acted with him, would defend that constitution by every possible means—even, if necessary, by arms.—M. Segur Daynesseau protested against the anarchical doctrines propounded by the last speaker; which, he said, if carried out, would place the constitution at the mercy of the minority; and moved, as an amendment to Ledru-Rollin's proposition, that "The legislative assembly, approving of the explanations given by the ministry, and full of sympathy for the brave soldiers, pass to the order of the day." The amendment was adopted, 361 deputies voting for it; and 203 supporting Ledru-Rollin.—The next day that deputy laid on the table an "act of impeachment," signed by 142 members; in which it was stated, that the president of the

republic could not make war without the consent of the assembly; that he and his ministers were responsible, each in what concerned him, for all the acts of the government and of the administration; and that the Roman expedition was a criminal violation of the provisions of the constitution. The next day the assembly voted upon the question, "Shall the proposition to impeach be considered?" The "left" abstained from the ballot; and the proposition was negatived by 377 to 8. Failing in this step, more violent ones were resolved upon; the clubs and the press supporting the extreme party in the legislature. A speaker in one of the former, held in the Faubourg St. Antoine on the 12th of June, said—"A contest is commencing; and it will be terrible. Treason is consummated; the traitors are about to assassinate the Roman republic. We are entitled to say so to a functionary who has betrayed that republic; and Bonaparte is that functionary. Louis XVI. conspired; and little time elapsed before the return from Varennes and the expiation."—This speech was followed by an article in the *Vrai République* of the evening of that day; in which the writer said—"To-morrow the Mountain will come to the tribune to proclaim the dethronement. High treason has been committed: the right of dethronement has arisen; to oppose it would be to tear in pieces the constitution, destroy the republic, and abdicate, by the very act, the sovereignty of the people." During the night the agents of disorder were actively at work in all parts of Paris; the result of their machinations was seen the next day.

On the 13th of June, a red-republican procession, comprising about 20,000 men, mixed up with whom were many national guards, marched tumultuously by the Boulevards, to the hall of assembly, for the ostensible purpose of presenting a petition. By the skilful disposition of troops made by general Changarnier, they were divided, dispersed, and were unable to approach the hall. Three barricades had been commenced: one opposite the Café de Paris; the second before the passage of the opera; the third at the entrance of the Faubourg Poissonnière: and there were others completed in the Rue Transsionain and the Temple. These were carried by the troops with little difficulty, and destroyed; and from 6,000 to 10,000 men were placed in various parts of the city in strategical posts. That day, by a majority of 394 to 82 votes, the legislative assembly declared Paris, and all the territory comprised in the first military division, to be in a state of siege, authorising the prefects to adopt the same measure in any city where similar events might take place. The assembly also ordered, that the journals which advocated red republican and socialist principles should be suppressed; and

issued a proclamation addressed to the people of France; in which, as "the sovereignty of the people was odiously denied by a factious minority, which made an appeal to force"—that body, as "the guardian of the republic and the constitution," declared its determination to "defend its trust until death;" and called upon the people "to rally round their representatives."—This was accompanied by an address from the president; in which he commented upon his being accused, by factious men, of having violated the constitution, "when he had endured, for six months, without being disturbed by them, their insults, calumnies, and provocations." "It was time," he declared, that "the system of agitation, which maintained uneasiness and mistrust, and engendered misery in the country, should cease;" that "the good should be reassured, and the wicked should tremble;" for "the republic had no enemies more implacable than those men, who, by perpetuating disturbance, rendered it necessary to convert France into a camp; and to substitute, for plans of amelioration and progress, preparations for battle and defence."

Whilst their followers were making the attempt which ended in their confusion, Ledru-Rollin, and other members of the Mountain, assembled at the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, where they were protected by some artillery of the national guard, and declared themselves *en permanence*. They proceeded to organise a government, fully anticipating the overthrow of the existing one; not knowing that troops were collected in their immediate vicinity. Suddenly, whilst they were in the midst of their deliberations, a part of the 24th regiment intruded upon them; and there was a general attempt at flight. Ledru-Rollin, and several others, succeeded in getting away by the windows; but most of those who assembled were made prisoners; and at eight in the evening, the president of the republic rode through the streets of Paris, accompanied by a numerous suite of officers; and was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm.

The following day, June 14th, a requisition was presented from M. Baroche, the procureur-general of the court of appeal, demanding authority to prosecute Ledru-Rollin and Victor Considerant, and sergeants Boichot and Rattier, for conspiring to overturn the government, and excite civil war; Victor Considerant was separately charged with publishing a seditious article, exciting to civil war, and attacking the rights of the legislative assembly in his paper, the *Démocratique Pacifique*; and, with Ledru-Rollin, was further charged with issuing, on the 13th, from the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, an *affiche*, in which the people were declared to be the sole sovereign, and invited to take arms. The names of 120 representatives

were signed to that document; and M. Baroche applied for leave to prosecute all whose signatures were proved to be genuine. Several members, whose names were attached to the *affiche*, denying that they had signed it themselves, or given authority to any one else to sign for them; a committee was appointed to inquire into the facts, and draw up a report on the requisition of the procureur-general. With respect to the deputies arrested at the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, leave was given at once to prosecute them; but Ledru-Rollin succeeded in getting to England, where he was safe from pursuit.

The conspirators did not confine their efforts to Paris; they intended that the movements there should be supported by others in the departments; and, in the night of the 14th of June, a revolt broke out in Lyons. It was commenced by the arrival of several strangers, who went through the streets, proclaiming that "Paris was in a state of insurrection, the assembly dissolved, a convention summoned, and the president and his ministers arrested." The suburbs, especially that of Croix Rouge, were thrown into a state of great excitement by these announcements. Instigated by the socialists and red republicans, the populace threw up barricades on the heights of Croix Rouge, and in several other commanding positions; which were occupied by men well-armed, and supplied with ammunition—a proof that the insurrection had been previously organised. The insurgents also seized the Bernardine convent and the Hôtel-de-Ville, where they made every preparation for defence. But the army remained true and loyal to the executive. The troops in Lyons and the vicinity were collected, and, with the artillery, divided into different corps, by which the barricades, the convent, and hôtel were attacked. All were carried; not, however, till after a most determined resistance, and great slaughter on both sides. The troops took 1,400 of the insurgents prisoners; 600 at the barricades, and 800, with arms in their hands, at the convent and hôtel.—As these *émeutes*, like those which had previously taken place, were attributed to the action of political clubs—which, though forbidden by law, were still held, under various pretences—M. Dufaure, the minister of the interior, on the 23rd of June, sent a circular to the prefects of departments; in which he ordered them to interdict, "absolutely, any clubs or political meetings where public affairs might be discussed." Every encouragement was to be given to "religious, scientific, or literary assemblies;" but those for political purposes were "to be interdicted, prevented, or dispersed by force."

The intelligence of the revolt at Lyons had been brought to Paris on the 15th, and that of its suppression on the 17th, of June, when the

troops and the population were attending the funeral of marshal Bugeaud, who had died a few days previously of cholera. Thirty thousand soldiers were present at the ceremony; and M. Dupin, president of the assembly, marshal Molière, general Changarnier, M. Odillon Barrot, M. Rulhières, and general Cavaignac, were the pall-bearers. Great public regret was expressed at the loss of this gallant officer; which the president of the republic, in a message to the legislative assembly, described as "a national calamity; the illustrious deceased being equally great as a citizen and as a captain."

On the 25th of June, the position of Europe formed the subject of debate in the assembly. M. Mauguin, who introduced it, said, the continent was under arms from the line of the Ural to the Atlantic: and he maintained, that the coalition of 1813 was resuscitated against France, under the influence of Russia. He pointed out the designs of that power upon Turkey; and maintained, that England, occupying either Alexandria or Candia, or some other island in the Mediterranean, would let Russia establish herself at Constantinople, whenever she chose, without opposition. France was the only serious obstacle to the incorporation of Turkey with the Russian empire; and the keys of Constantinople were at Paris. He did not recommend immediate war; but he wished that France should assume a firm and decided attitude, to make a demonstration "useful, energetic, and highly menacing." By so doing, she "would not only ensure peace, but take an important position in Europe. She would secure to Hungary an independent existence; to Turkey the integrity of her territory; and prove herself the general benefactress of the continent." This speech showed what were the views of the members of the Mountain party. They were opposed by M. Tocqueville and general Cavaignac; the former of whom affirmed, that "war would be the peril of France;" and the latter said, "he was and had been a partisan of peace; because he was convinced, that, if all the states of Europe were in insurrection against their governments, they would rather return to their former allegiance than submit to interference by France." The assembly supported the minister, and passed to the order of the day.

The month of July was occupied with the consideration of a project of law for "further restraining the liberty of the press, and imposing fresh penalties upon all journalists and others who should incite the citizens to revolt, or endeavour to dissuade the soldiers from discharging their duty to the government." It gave rise to several stormy debates; but was finally adopted on the 28th.

M. Passy, the minister of finance, made his financial statement on the 11th of August. He said there had been an annually increasing

deficit for the last ten years; and the revolution of February, 1848, had augmented the expenditure of that year 265,000,000f. (£10,600,000); whilst the produce of the indirect taxes had decreased 150,000,000f. (£6,000,000), a sum not covered by the increased per-centage on the direct taxes. He calculated the expenditure for the year at 1,591,332,077f. (£63,653,283), a larger sum than any former minister of finance had applied for; and the revenue at 1,270,953,849f. (£50,838,154): leaving the immense deficiency of 320,378,228f. (£12,815,129). He proposed a loan, and that new imposts and taxes should be imposed to the amount required by the treasury, with some minor arrangements for facilitating collection; to which he obtained the sanction of the assembly.

At this time the cholera was raging violently in Paris. Many of the inhabitants, and several members of the legislative assembly, fell victims to the disease. This caused the deputies to resolve upon an adjournment; but, before they broke up, the affairs of Italy were again brought forward. On the 14th of August, questions were put to M. Tocqueville, respecting the intervention at Rome. The foreign minister replied, that the objects of that intervention were, to maintain for France her just influence; to restore the pope to his former place; to prevent the effects of a violent reaction; and to secure the just reforms necessary for the Roman people. These objects had been partly achieved, and would be fully accomplished. The French troops were masters of Rome; and, beyond doubt, occupied a most lofty position in the minds of the world; and the restoration of the independence of the pope, and the introduction of judicious reforms, would follow. On this occasion—after the ministerial policy had been attacked by their opponents, and defended by themselves and their friends—the assembly passed to the "order of the day, pure and simple," by 428 votes to 176. The prorogation to the 1st of October then took place.

At this time the president of the republic was making a tour in the departments. He had left Paris in July, and had visited more than a dozen of the large cities and towns, at all of which he met a warm, and, apparently, most cordial welcome. At Chartres, he assisted in opening the railway, just completed; and, at every place he visited, he took part in some public demonstration; addressing the people assembled on these occasions, in language at once conciliatory, frank, and patriotic. At Tours, he remarked that, "under all *régimes*, there were, he knew, the oppressors and the oppressed; but, so long as he was president of the republic, no one should complain of oppression." At Elbeuf, where he attended a meeting of *ouvriers*, he said—"You are not mistaken in thinking that my solicitude is excited by the

wants of the labouring classes; it will always be the object of my efforts to ameliorate their position." By this tour he made himself personally known in many quarters, where before, the name of Napoleon, and the memory of the empire, alone led to his popularity; and it may be remarked, that that popularity did not decrease as he became better known. Whether sincere or not, he had the tact of so completely identifying himself with "the people," that he scarcely ever left a mixed assembly without increasing the number of his friends.

During the summer, important events had taken place at Rome. Having refused to recognise the convention concluded by M. Lesseps, and declared the armistice at an end, Oudinot, on the 2nd of June, commenced operations against the city, by sending an advanced corps to occupy the Ponte Molle, which was taken without resistance. The troops then took up cantonments on the Monte Mario, which overlooked the city on the north-west. At the time, there were 20,000 armed men in Rome, 200 cannon, and plenty of ammunition; and the triumvirate issued a proclamation, in which they declared their firm resolve to defend the city to the last. On the 3rd, the villa Pamphili Doria was taken by the French; the loss to the besieged being 200 killed and wounded, and about the same number taken prisoners. The city was then regularly invested and bombarded. On the 14th, breaches were made in the walls, and the triumvirate were summoned to surrender. They refused. "We never betray our engagements," was their reply to general Oudinot. "In the execution of the orders of the assembly, and of the Roman people, we have undertaken the engagement of defending the standard of the republic, the honour of the country, and the capital of the christian world. We will keep our word." Although a brave defence was made, the besiegers constantly gained ground. On the 30th, the government sent a deputation to marshal Oudinot, to treat for a surrender. The terms could not be agreed upon; and, at 3 A.M. on the 1st of July, an advanced bastion was carried by assault; the defenders losing 400 men. The triumvirate issued a bombastic proclamation when they saw the French colours on the bastion. They ascribed the loss of the work to treason; and called upon the people to "arise in their might, destroy the enemy, and fill the breach with the carcasses of those, the accursed of God, who dared touch the sacred walls of Rome." But it was soon found that further defence was impossible. At 4 P.M. a flag of truce was hoisted as a signal of surrender; six hours afterwards, Mazzini, Annellini, Saffi, and Garibaldi, at the head of 5,000 men, chiefly composed of the followers of the latter, left the city; and the next morning the French entered it, hoisting their colours on the ramparts, and displaying

them from the turrets of the castle of St. Angelo. An officer was instantly dispatched to Gaëta with the keys of the city, which he delivered to the pope on the 4th; and, on the 10th, the papal colours replaced those of France. On the 13th, marshal Oudinot proclaimed the re-establishment of the pope's authority. On the 3rd of August he issued a general order, stating, that the administration of affairs was in the hands of Pius IX., who would act, for the present, by his representative; and that the maintenance of public order and tranquillity, and the security of property, were placed under the special guarantee of the French army. On the 4th of September the pope arrived at Portici, from Gaëta, on a visit to the king of Naples. On the 8th, the president of the republic forwarded a despatch to colonel Edgar Ney, who had succeeded M. Lesseps as envoy at Rome; in which he expressed his desire that the pope should grant a general amnesty and a secular administration; adopt the Code Napoleon, and a liberal government. On the 12th, the pope issued a decree, by which he evinced a desire to comply with the president's wishes. He established a council of state to conduct the affairs of government, and confirmed the provincial councils and municipal corporations, recently established, in the exercise of their authority. Further administrative reforms were promised; and, soon after, an amnesty was published.

These events were very displeasing to the Mountain party in France. That party, considering the expedition to Rome a violation of republican principle, would have taken up arms, if they had interfered at all, in defence of the triumvirate, and not of the pope. But they formed a minority on this question, both in the assembly and the nation. The former reassembled on the 1st of October. The finance minister, the next day, applied for a vote of credit, to enable him to defray the cost of the expedition to Rome, which was referred, as usual, to a commission. M. Thiers was the secretary and reporter to this commission; and he brought up the report on the 13th of October, which he read to the deputies. In this document, the interference of France was warmly and elaborately defended. It was contended, that, whilst France could not consent that Austria—which had reconquered Lombardy, and had invaded Piedmont, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and a portion of the Roman states—should establish herself in Rome, it was necessary that the sovereignty of the pope, without which the independence of the pontificate could not be maintained, should be re-established. The intervention was, therefore, "for the interest of France, as restoring the balance of power; of Christendom, as guaranteeing the independence of the pontificate; and of Italian freedom,

as protecting it from the consequences of that natural irritation felt by Austria after her struggle with the Italian people." That "intervention was wisely resolved upon, and resolutely executed:" and France "must cause the holy father to return to his throne, and to liberty—to full and complete liberty—for such was her mission." But she had a right to ask "for measures calculated to appease the legitimate discontent of the people;" to advise reforms, which would produce "an equitable, enlightened government, conformable to the spirit of the times." The first act of the pope was the *motu proprio*, which "guaranteed to the Romans the advantages of a government wisely liberal." "The counsels of France must be directed to make the concessions announced in that document efficacious;" and to procure "the extension of the pope's clemency to all who could be included in an amnesty, without danger to public order." In reply to the question, "How much longer must the expedition remain in Rome?" the report replied—"It is impossible to state the moment when the pope will be able to dispense with our army, in a country which has been the scene of such recent commotions."

Previous to the appointment of this commission, the president of the republic had addressed a note to colonel Edgar Ney, in which he expressed his admiration of the conduct of the French troops, and his warm approval of the policy which led to the expedition being sent to Italy. M. Thiers took no notice of this despatch in his report; and it is thought this annoyed Louis Napoleon. Whether this was the case or not, he expressed himself dissatisfied with what he termed "the reactionary spirit" manifested in that document. He was supported in the cabinet by MM. Odillon Barrot and Dufaure; but M. de Falloux and general Rulhières agreed with M. Thiers. The difference reached such a height, that the two last-named ministers resigned: that event was followed by the entire breaking-up of the ministry; and on the 31st of October the following cabinet was appointed, in a decree which only bore the signature of the president—not being countersigned by any minister. General d'Hautpoul, minister of war; M. Rayneval, of foreign affairs; M. Ferdinand Barrot, of the interior; M. Rouher, of justice; M. Bineau, of public works; M. Parien, of public instruction and worship; M. Dumas, of agriculture and commerce; M. Achille Fould, of finance; rear-admiral Romain Desfosses, of marine.

In a message to M. Dupin, the president of the legislative assembly, Louis Napoleon explained the reasons which induced him to dispense with his late cabinet; a step rendered necessary, because France, uneasy at seeing "old parties elevating their colours, reviving their rivalries, and alarming the country by

disseminating disquietude," sought "the hand, the will, of the elected of the 10th of December." That "will, however, could not be felt, unless there was an entire community of ideas, of views, and of convictions, between the president and his ministers; and unless the assembly itself joined in the thoughts of the nation, as expressed in the election of the executive power."—"To strengthen the republic, and, on all sides, by crushing anarchy, to secure order better than had yet been done, and to preserve to France that high position she had hitherto occupied among nations, they required," continued the message, "men, who, animated by patriotic devotion, are alive to the necessity of a single and firm direction, and of a policy distinctly announced; who are as much impressed with the responsibility of the head of the state, as of their own; and who would be limited alike in action and words." The message proceeded to call on the nation and the assembly to unite with the executive to "restore power without injuring real liberty;" and to "calm apprehension, by boldly extinguishing the bad passions, and giving to all useful instincts a useful direction."—This message from the president was followed by a speech from general d'Hautpoul, the new minister of war; in which he declared the ministerial policy aimed at "the maintenance of the union of all shades in one party—the party of France. They would arrive at that result by a unity of views; by confidence in the strength of the power elected on the 10th of December; and by the imperious sentiment of duty, awakened everywhere in the minds of the functionaries of the state." * * * "Peace abroad, guaranteed by the dignity becoming to France; persevering maintenance of order at home; an administration more than ever vigilant, and economical of the finances of the state—such was the programme, dictated at once by the interests of the country, the confidence of the assembly, and the personal convictions of the chief of the government."

This change in the *personnel* of the president's cabinet created a perfect sensation of wonder and amazement all over the country. The men who were called to the administration of affairs were for the most part unknown, and those who were known were not distinguished in the professions or circles in which they moved. Coupled with the message, it was generally looked upon as the first move made by the president, to realise the idea which his opponents say he held from the first—to centre all power in himself; and finally to change the republic into the empire. In Paris, and in the assembly, the measure was decidedly unpopular; and it tended to unite the various parties in the latter against the executive. In the departments, the general feeling was a desire to support the president. There the tyranny of the clubs was

dreaded and disliked; and the people—regarding with favour the dismissal of the ministry, and the formation of another, composed of men who would act independently, and defy all extraneous influence—rejoiced that the time was approaching when the club-thralldom would cease, and when that of the popular orators in the legislative assembly might be equally contemned.—The majority of that assembly was highly indignant at this attempt to administer public affairs through men who were independent of any of the great parties of the state: but no particular demonstration was made during the remaining part of the session of 1849. The report brought up by M. Thiers, which recommended that the vote of credit should be agreed to, was adopted; and no other business of importance was transacted. It was, however, evident, from various manifestations, that the opponents and enemies of the president were “biding their time;” and were prepared to take decisive action, the first opportunity that presented itself.—Before the year closed the new ministry was modified. As M. Rayneval was not in Paris when it was appointed, general d’Hautpoul took the portfolio of foreign affairs *ad interim*. M. Rayneval declined to act; and the office was given to general Lahitte. M. F. Barrot also resigned the office of minister of the interior, soon after he had accepted it; and was succeeded by M. Baroche.

In November, the trial of the deputies implicated in the insurrection of June, took place before the superior criminal court at Versailles. They were twenty-three in number. M. Baroche ably conducted the case against them, and the evidence of their guilt was conclusive. Assuming to be victims of the reaction, which they averred was going on from liberty to despotism, they refused to make any defence, and were all found guilty. They were sentenced to various terms of banishment and imprisonment; and those condemned to the former were speedily sent out of the country. At the same time, the president ordered 1,341 persons, who were in prison for being connected with the insurgents of June, 1848, to be discharged. This was a humane, but not a popular act: all parties, except that of the Mountain, to which these men belonged, appeared to think that it was an in-

judicious act to let them loose upon society.—Early in this month (November), the president of the republic transmitted, through the French embassy at London, a superb piece of Gobelins tapestry, to the New Army and Navy Club, which he hoped the members would accept, as a testimony of the recollection he preserved of his sojourn in England; and of the pleasant friendship which it had been his happiness to enjoy with many of the officers of the English army and fleet.—In the same month he restored the magistracy all over France—which had remained in abeyance since the fall of Louis-Philippe. He also abolished the practice of giving the children admitted to the primary schools, a “certificate of studies;” which was looked upon as a pledge that they had been brought up in revolutionary principles, which he wished to discourage.

In this year, an effort was made by the directors of the south-eastern railway in England, and those of the Boulogne and Amiens railway, in France, to restore the old route, by Boulogne, from London to Paris—which had, of late years, been abandoned for that by Calais. On the 11th of December, a committee of the French directors left London, at four o’clock A.M., and reached Paris at half-past twelve; and by half-past one copies of the *London Times*, of that morning, were found in every part of Paris. This was the most rapid communication that had taken place between the two capitals.

During the year, France had been very little mixed up with the events which were transpiring in other parts of Europe—except with those in Italy. Peace was the object of the president and his ministers; and they resisted, firmly and perseveringly, the efforts of the leaders of the Mountain party, who were anxious to interfere, everywhere, in behalf of the revolutionists. It is not likely, if that course had been adopted, that a different result would have been produced in Europe; but it would have been decidedly injurious to France, whose ministers, with such an alarming deficiency in her revenue as stated in M. Passy’s budget, found themselves obliged to reduce both army and navy—and to lessen their expenses in every other possible way—instead of going to war.

CHAPTER IV.

PROJECT AGAINST SCHOOLMASTERS; M. LAROCHEJAQUELIN'S PROPOSITION; THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM; MEETING AT THE ELYSEE BOURBON; THE BUDGET; LAW OF TRANSPORTATION; MODIFICATION OF THE ELECTORAL LAW; THE "DOTATION" PROJECT; DEATH OF SIR ROBERT PEEL; LAW OF THE PRESS; ADJOURNMENT OF THE ASSEMBLY; DEATH OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE; MANIFESTO OF THE COUNT DE CHAMBORD; PROPOSED "FUSION" OF THE ROYALISTS; PROVINCIAL TOUR OF THE PRESIDENT; THE REVIEW OF SARTORY; DISMISSAL OF GENERAL NEUMAYER; GENERAL ORDER TO THE ARMY OF PARIS; MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY, 1850-'51; PETITIONS FOR A REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION; AFFAIRS OF ITALY AND GREECE; CHANGE OF MINISTRY; DISMISSAL OF GENERAL CHANGARNIER; ANOTHER MINISTERIAL CRISIS; THE PRESIDENT'S DOTATION; THE THIRD MINISTRY OF 1851; THE LAW ON THE NATIONAL GUARD; PROPOSED REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION; PROCEEDINGS OF PARTIES DURING THE RECESS; SESSION OF 1851-'52; MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT; REFUSAL OF THE LEGISLATURE TO REPEAL THE LAW OF MAY 31ST; PROPOSITIONS OF THE QUESTORS; VIEWS OF THE DIFFERENT PARTIES AS TO THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION; SEDITIOUS PROCEEDINGS IN THE DEPARTMENTS; EVENTS IN ALGERIA; THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON IN PARIS; TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE ESTABLISHED.

THE year 1850 was distinguished by a series of struggles between the French government and its opponents, which commenced on the 2nd of January, by a debate and division upon the question—whether a project of law, introduced by the minister of public instruction, proposing to invest the prefects of departments with power summarily to dismiss all communal schoolmasters, should be declared "urgent?" The necessity of some powerful—and prompt, as well as powerful—means of controlling the schoolmasters, was grounded upon the reports, received from all quarters, of the unprincipled and unbounded licentiousness which prevailed amongst them. "It seemed as though seduction and adultery were the ordinary amusements, and infidelity the creed, of many of those to whom was confided the education of youth."* Upon these reports the ministers defended their project, and contended for its "urgency." When the assembly divided on that question, the numbers were, at first, declared to be equal; but it was subsequently found that 308 voted in the affirmative, and 307 in the negative: the ministers carried their point, therefore, by one vote. The project was violently opposed, in the debate upon its merits, by the republicans and socialists; but the assembly agreed to it, by a majority of 455 votes to 187. As soon as it became law, the minister of public instruction sent copies to the prefects, instructing them to execute it firmly, as, by such means, they would bring those schoolmasters, who had been misled by the influence of the events they had passed through, or by the excitation of causes peculiar to their situation, back to the true line of their duties. This law was followed by another, providing for an equally summary dismissal of mayors and substitutes, when those officials misconducted themselves; which was adopted on the 1st of March.

Early in that month the royalist feeling of the assembly was tested by M. Larochejaquelin, who, through the president, submitted a proposition, to the effect, that, on the first Sunday

in June, the votes of the people should be taken, as to whether they wished for a monarchy or a republic. To show this, he proposed that each elector should be furnished with two bulletins, one inscribed "monarchy;" the other, "republic." They were to deposit, in the balloting-urns, the bulletin, designating the government they approved of; and, if the majority were in favour of a monarchy, a constituent assembly should be elected, on the first Sunday in July, by universal suffrage; the president of the republic to retain his power till that assembly was constituted. As soon as this proposition was read, the previous question was moved, and carried unanimously; but this arose from the president having given his opinion that the motion was unconstitutional, both in form and import. M. Larochejaquelin, who was accidentally absent when the decision was come to, defended his conduct by the fact, that a revision of the constitution was everywhere loudly called for; and he had only done his duty in submitting the proposition to the assembly. On the 10th of the same month, three deputies were elected to supply vacancies in the department of the Seine. Three socialists—Carnot, Vidal, and De Flotte—were at the head of the poll; one of the rejected was general Lahitte, the minister for foreign affairs. Other vacancies had to be filled in different departments; and, in all the large towns, the social element was found to prevail.

The growth of socialism; the extent to which its doctrines had spread; and the evident increase of the influence of its leaders, were the result of the formation of the "Mountain" party, by the union of the followers of Louis Blanc with those of Ledru-Rollin. Convinced, by the results of the various *émeutes* in Paris and elsewhere, that they could effect nothing singly, the two parties had formed a fusion before the close of 1848. In the September of that year, at one of the clubs—*La Reine Blanche*—Ledru-Rollin declared that "he was a socialist, and had been for eighteen years." The other leaders of the red republicans followed in his wake; and such was the effect, that, in the following year, the boast of the

* *Annual Register.*

socialists was, that they had nearly 140,000 men enrolled in their clubs, in Paris alone. Though defeated in their various efforts to establish themselves as the predominant party, they were not disheartened, and frequently evinced signs of a determination to resist authority. Thus, on the 4th of February, previous to the elections of 1850, the police were employed in the St. Martin district of Paris, to cut down a number of dead trees of liberty, planted in 1848, and which disfigured the vacant spaces. They were attacked by a socialist rabble in blouses, and overpowered. General Lamoricière interfered, and narrowly escaped with his life. The riots were renewed the next day; and the troops had to be called out to put them down, which was not done without loss of life. There were similar manifestations on a smaller scale, not only in Paris, but in various parts of France; and they at length reached a height which rendered the proclamation of military law necessary in several departments. These events, with the result of the elections, appear to have alarmed all the classes who were not supporters of the principles so zealously propagated by Proudhon; and a general opinion prevailed, that a union of those classes was desirable to resist the progress of doctrines which struck at all law, and threatened destruction to all property. The president of the republic endeavoured to bring this feeling into action, by summoning a meeting of the leaders of all the parties opposed to the socialists. It was held at the Elysée Bourbon, on the 14th of March; and amongst those present were M. de Broglie, M. Montalembert, M. Molé, and M. Thiers. When they were assembled, the president said—"I have called you together, gentlemen, to assist me, at this crisis, with your intelligence and your patriotism. The question I would submit to you is this—What do you think should be done to avert the dangers which the progress of socialism threatens to bring upon the country?" After a long pause, M. Montalembert commenced the discussion by recommending the president to choose a ministry, composed of the chiefs of those constitutional parties which formed the majority of the assembly. The president declared himself ready to adopt and act upon this advice; and M. Thiers said, that "although it would cost him much to do so, yet, if there were no other means of saving the country, he was ready to marry the republic." M. de Broglie dissented. "The union in one cabinet," he said, "of the chiefs of the legitimist party, and the old ministers of Louis-Philippe, could afford no guarantee either for union, strength, or durability. It would not produce peace; but be fruitful only in discord and strife." The discussion continued some time, the above being the points on which it turned. Most of the leaders present agreed with M. de Broglie; and the president, who had previously enter-

tained the opinion that it was impossible to effect a "fusion" of the parties in the assembly, for the purpose of forming a strong government—but that, to render an administration powerful, it must be constructed independent of them all—left the meeting, with that opinion strengthened and confirmed.

The leaders of the assembly, however, felt it absolutely essential that something should be done; and they turned their attention to the electoral law, which established universal suffrage. They attributed the success of the socialists to this law; and wished to place some restrictions upon the exercise of the franchise. Before anything was decided on this point, M. Fould, on the 4th of April, brought forward his budget. In doing so, he was enabled to take a somewhat more favourable view of the state of the finances than had been laid before the assembly by his predecessors. He estimated the expenditure of the year at 1,283,826,150f. (£51,353,046), and the receipts at 1,292,633,639f. (£51,705,345); leaving a surplus of 8,807,489f. (£352,299); which was much more satisfactory than the large deficiencies the budget had exhibited for so many past years. Reductions had been made, M. Fould said, in the army and navy estimates; and further reductions were promised in the former. Several fiscal ameliorations in favour of the landed interest were enumerated; and new taxes, on shot for fowling, gunpowder, salts for soda, &c., were applied for. The minister stated, that his hopes of realising the surplus, were based on the trust that peace and internal order would be maintained. In the latter part of the past year, the country, he said, had given a marvellous illustration of the effects of confidence and public security. The revenue had improved, the funds had increased in value, the receipts in the savings-banks were augmented, and commerce, for some time greatly depressed, had advanced with a rapidity which had exceeded the most sanguine expectations. "Let us, then," he said, "labour together for the improvement of order, and be certain that our efforts will have effected more for our finances than the most skilful combinations could have done, without that internal order and tranquillity which has prevailed."

The debate on the budget was short; and ended favourably to M. Fould's propositions. It was followed by a discussion upon a proposition brought forward by the minister of justice, to authorise the transportation of criminals. Victor Hugo led the opposition to this measure, which M. Lamartine supported. The debate was very animated; but a large majority was in favour of the project; the first reading being carried by 431 to 217. The valley of Waithau, in the Marquesas islands, was specified as the place of transportation; and by a majority of 365 to 301, a retrospective operation was given to

the law, which enabled the minister of justice to send Barbès and other political convicts, then in prison, to the Marquesas, for the remaining term of their punishment, if such a course were thought to be desirable. The public was not pleased with this measure; but its opposition was diverted by the appointment of a council-general of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; which opened its first session, in the hall of the Luxembourg, on the 7th of April. From the labours of this council great and beneficial effects, in promoting the progress of trade and industry, were expected.

On the 8th of May, M. Baroche, the minister of the interior, laid on the table a project of law, modifying the electoral law passed by the constituent assembly. For the six months' residence—which was all that law required as a qualification to confer the franchise upon adult males not convicted of crime—it was proposed to substitute a residence of three years. A new enumeration, of a more complete character, of the causes which would render a man incapable of exercising the franchise, was also proposed, so that all persons convicted of misdemeanour might be more effectually excluded; and that vagabonds and mendicants should be deprived of the privilege of voting. It further proposed, that no person should be duly elected, on a first ballot, who had not a clear majority of all the votes polled; and one-fourth, at the least, of the entire number on the register, voting for him. Where a second ballot was required, an absolute majority was sufficient, provided one-fourth of the electors voted for the candidate obtaining it; but, if a third ballot were necessary, then an absolute majority to decide the election, whatever the number of electors voting. When the project, and a long preamble, setting forth the reason for its introduction, had been read, M. Baroche demanded that it should be considered a question of urgency. This was opposed, and the previous question moved. On this occasion, however, the legitimists and Orleanists voted with the government; and the amendment was rejected by 453 votes to 197. The question of urgency was then carried by a majority nearly as large. The committee to whom the project was referred, presented their report on the 17th of May. Several amendments were introduced, chiefly of detail; and the proposition with respect to voting was simplified, by making an absolute majority sufficient to elect on the first ballot, provided one-fourth of the electors voted. When the report had been four days before the deputies, the ministers, on the 21st, made its consideration a question of urgency. They carried their point by 461 votes to 239. A discussion then took place on the general merits of the bill; and a division ensued upon the question, whether the assembly should proceed to consider the separate articles? It

was decided, by 462 votes to 227, that it should; and, on the 31st of May, the project was adopted, with few alterations, by a majority of 433 to 241.

This law was expected to have a great effect on future elections. In Paris it would disfranchise many thousand voters. Since the revolution of 1830, that city had been the general resort of the political refugees and conspirators from all countries. Italians, Germans, Belgians, Slavonians, Irish, Poles—all resorted to the spot, where some of the most daring red republicans of the day resided, to concert with them schemes of revolution; the majority of those schemes being directed against rank and property; and their repeated failure not appearing to dishearten the projectors. Few of these men could be considered stationary for three years; but many of them had resided in Paris more than six months; and their votes greatly influenced the last elections. They eagerly joined the French socialists in demonstrations against the propositions of M. Baroche; and the day the report of the committee was presented, a general revolt was threatened. But the commander-in-chief, in concert with the government, took the necessary measures to preserve order. Every day, till the law was finally passed, large bodies of troops, of all arms, traversed the city, whilst select bodies guarded the assembly. As the opponents of the measure, therefore, found that an outbreak must be defeated, they did not attempt one.—The law had, also, an opponent in another quarter. Though brought forward, and supported, by his ministers, the president disapproved of it. The restriction of the franchise—by requiring, as a qualification, a longer residence than is kept up by a large proportion of the population of France—he felt would, in rural districts, be injurious to his interests; and the project being adopted in spite of all the influence he could exert against it, he resolved to get the law repealed at the earliest opportunity.

A question, personal to the president, was brought under the notice of the assembly, as soon as the electoral law was disposed of. On the 5th of June, a "dotation" project was introduced, the object of which was to increase the salary of that official. Originally fixed at 600,000*f.*, it had been raised to 1,200,000*f.* in March, 1849, for that year. There were also allowances for expenses incidental to the president's place of residence, which made the payments amount to 1,550,000*f.* (£62,000) in the past twelve months. By the dotation project, it was proposed—it being contended that the president's expenses unavoidably exceeded his income—to open a supplementary credit to the amount of 2,400,000*f.*, in order to enable payments to be made to him at the rate of 250,000*f.* (£10,000) per month, from the 1st of January, 1850. The committee to whom this project

was referred, rejected it, and proposed, instead, that "an extraordinary credit of 1,600,000f. (£64,000) should be opened for the minister of finance, to enable him to defray any extraordinary expenditure incurred, in 1849 and 1850, with respect to the installation and household of the president." This proposition was opposed; and was carried, on the 24th of June, by a majority of only four votes—308 to 304.—M. Laborde, a friend of the president, immediately moved, that the payment to the members of the assembly should be reduced from 9,000f. to 6,000f. annually. The assembly, however, passed to the previous question on this motion, without a division.—The next day, June 25th, the minister of the interior introduced a project, supplementary to the law, authorising the summary dismissal of mayors and their substitutes. The new proposal was, that the appointment of those officers should be vested in the government, instead of the inhabitants. As this project would have affected the interests of all parties—the mayors being of every shade of political opinion; whereas, if they were appointed by the executive, the probability was, that the selection would be made solely from the friends and supporters of the president—the legitimists and Orleanists joined the "Mountain" in denouncing and opposing it. On the 29th of June it was rejected, only a few votes being recorded in its favour; whilst there was a vast collective mass against it.

The intelligence of the melancholy death of Sir Robert Peel reached Paris on the morning of the 5th of July. When the assembly met on that day, M. Dupin, the president, alluded to it, in terms very complimentary to the deceased. Addressing the deputies, and speaking evidently under the influence of considerable emotion, he said—"At a moment when a neighbouring and friendly nation is expressing its painful sorrow for the loss which it has recently sustained, in the person of one of her most eminent statesmen, I think it would be honourable to the French tribune to proclaim from it our sympathetic regret; thus manifesting our high esteem for that illustrious orator, who during the entire course of his long and glorious career, was always animated with sentiments of justice and kindness towards France, and ever spoke of its government in the most courteous terms." The deputies received these few remarks in a manner which marked their cordial approval; and, after a short pause, M. Dupin said—"In consequence of the adhesion given to my words by the assembly, they shall be inserted in the *procès verbal*"—a declaration which elicited fresh signs of approval.

From the 8th to the 16th of July, the assembly was engaged with fresh regulations for the press, proposed by the minister of justice, because, "in spite of serious fines imposed by the

courts for offences of the press, the guilty party, on the day following his condemnation, was enabled again to attack society, and preach anarchy." An augmentation of the "caution money," required to be deposited before a new paper was published, was therefore proposed, in the hope that it would introduce a better class of persons into the newspaper profession. In the departments of the Seine, Seine and Oise, Seine and Marne, and Rhone, it was proposed, that, for a journal appearing more than three times a week, the caution money, or security, should be 24,000f. (£860); and for those published three times a week, or at more distant intervals, not more than 18,000f. (£720). In the departments containing towns with a population of 50,000 and upwards, the deposit was to be 6,000f. (£240); and in the other departments, 3,600f. (£144) for papers published more than three times a week; and half those sums in the case of papers published at longer periods apart. The debate on this project was of the most stormy description. It was repeatedly interrupted by the exclamations of the members of the "Mountain," which produced retaliatory ones from the "right," and calls to "order" from the president; the latter being utterly disregarded. Several amendments were moved, all of which were negatived by large majorities; and the project was adopted, on the 16th of July, by 392 votes to 265: clauses being added, during the progress of the debate, requiring the writers of articles in the public journals to affix their signatures; raising the stamp duties on existing publications, and extending that duty to some descriptions which had hitherto been exempt.

On the 22nd of July, the ballot for the committee, which was to sit *en permanence* during the prorogation of the assembly, commenced. It consisted of twenty-five members; and the legitimists, Orleanists, and members of the "Mountain," having again combined to embarrass the ministry, it did not comprise more than two or three friends and supporters of the government. The committee chosen, the assembly was prorogued on the 11th of August, to the 12th of November; nearly their last measures being a law to improve and lengthen the Rue de Rivoli; and another to cleanse and purify the unhealthy dwellings of the poor.

On the 26th of August, the ex-king, Louis-Philippe, died at Claremont, in the presence of most of the members of his family. His remains were interred in a private chapel belonging to a Roman catholic lady, at Weybridge. Up to this time, neither the legitimists nor Orleanists had abandoned the pretensions of their respective chiefs. The hopes of the former, however, of a successful result to any movement they might make in favour of the count de Chambord, must have been greatly damped,

if not entirely dissipated, by the appearance of a manifesto from the count, dated "Wiesbaden, August 30th," and addressed to the friends of the house of Bourbon. It was put forward in a circular from the count de Barthélemy, by the authority of his royal highness; who, "reserving to himself the direction of the general policy," and "having designated the men whom he delegated to apply that policy in France," had "formally and absolutely condemned the system of an appeal to the people, as implying the negation of the great national principle of hereditary monarchy. He at once repelled any proposition which, in reproducing that idea, should modify the conditions of stability, which were the essential characteristics of legitimist principle; and which ought to cause that principle to be looked upon as the only means of finally rescuing France from revolutionary convulsions." From this circular, it appeared that the duke de Levis, general St. Priest, M. Berryer, the marquis de Pastoret, and the duke de Cars, were appointed especial agents of the count de Chambord; and they were requested to continue to give the count de Barthélemy "their valuable assistance; and to keep him acquainted with the situation of their departments." The publication of this declaration, on the part of the count, caused both surprise and grief amongst the most able and judicious members of the legitimist party. The marquis de Larochejaquelin, in a letter to one of the public journals, characterised the issuing of the circular as a foolish act; and said, that "he accepted it as his excommunication from the party." In politics, he said, "he could not defend what he could not comprehend;" and although a private individual might "personally show his love, his unbounded devotedness, to an exiled prince," and "bow down before his desires"—the "political man could not accept for himself, or for his friends, the humiliation of that unqualified public manifesto; the consequences of which would be as fatal to the principle of authority as to the principle of liberty."

During the legislative recess, the president and some members both of the Orleanist and legitimist parties, made excursions from Paris, which no doubt had, as their end and aim, political objects. M. Thiers visited the Orleans family at Claremont; M. Berryer, and other legitimists, went to Wiesbaden, where they had interviews with the count de Chambord; and the president of the republic made a tour in the French departments. It was, probably, about this time, that the idea of a "fusion" between the Orleanists and legitimists was first suggested (it is said) by M. Guizot; who, the count de Chambord having no children, desired his royal highness to adopt the count de Paris. Thiers was never friendly to this project of "fusion." He wished to see the Orleans family restored; and

the duchess of Orleans—whose adviser he was, and whose minister he hoped to be—regent. But there were many of both parties who were very desirous of uniting the interests of the two branches of the house of Bourbon; in the hope that, when another presidential election came on, in 1852, if not before, they might, "by a *coup-d'état* on the part of the majority of the national assembly—by a successful rising of the people or the army—or, in fact, by any other means that offered"—overturn the republic, and effect another restoration.* At the same time, members of the Mountain party aimed at a similar triumph for themselves; and the monarchists did not hesitate to make use of them for their own purposes, in the belief, that any movement which caused opposition to the president, and tended to make him unpopular, must promote their views. They were convinced the republic was not popular with the majority of the French people; they thought, that were there another struggle, what they considered the right would triumph; and their language was, that "the promised land would be attained through the Red Sea:" the "promised land" being the royalist restoration, and the "Red Sea" that torrent of massacre and pillage through which that end would have to be achieved.

The president of the republic devoted August and September to his tour through the provinces; visiting Lyons, and several other large towns, where he attended the municipal banquets, and was well received. One of the places he visited was Strasburg, from whence he was once obliged to fly for his life, but which he entered at the head of a brilliant *cortège*: another was Cherbourg, where a magnificent naval spectacle was got up in his honour, which attracted numerous visitors, many English being amongst them. At the numerous public dinners given to him during this progress, the president necessarily made speeches. They were all distinguished by a tone of firmness and moderation, which, contrasting as it did with the violence of the republicans and socialists, won him many friends amongst the lovers of order. He several times took the opportunity of explaining the reasons for his tour. On one occasion, he said—"My object in these journeys is to become acquainted with the populations; to place myself in direct communication with their real organs; and to learn, thoroughly, their wishes and their interests. Religion and family are, with authority and order, the basis of all durable society. The constant object of my efforts is to consolidate these essential elements of the happiness and prosperity of the country."

In the course of the president's progress—which extended through Picardy, Alsatia, Champagne, and Burgundy—wherever large bodies of

* *La France en 1853*; par le marquis Larochejaquelin.

troops could be assembled, they were collected together, and reviewed. On these occasions, sometimes refreshments, sometimes money (twenty-five centimes, or $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per head) were given them; and at others refreshments, by the order, and at the expense, of the president. As soon as the opposition were aware of this practice—which appears to have been uniformly observed—the president was accused of seeking to attach the military to his person, with a view to the re-establishment of the empire—a design that was always attributed to him. That he did endeavour to win the confidence and support of the soldiers, cannot be doubted; and as then, as now, the fate of the French ruler depended upon the French army, we cannot blame him very severely. As to his real designs, from the time he first filled the presidential chair, disinterested persons can only form their opinion from the events which transpired. If there are any documents in existence that develop the views and plans of Louis Napoleon at this period, they will not see the light during his lifetime; of that we may feel well-assured; and if there are not, it is not likely that we shall ever know more on the subject. He, himself, has always professed that he intended to observe his oath, till the machinations of his enemies compelled him, in following the natural instinct of self-preservation, to deviate from it.

The president returned to Paris at the close of September; his position, as far as his popularity was concerned, being considerably improved by the events of his tour. Soon after his return, an occurrence took place, which was the basis of many of the political changes that followed. On the 10th of October, he reviewed, at Sartory, a body of infantry and cavalry, forming the force stationed in the 1st military division, under the command of general Neumayer. The evolutions performed, the troops passed before the president—the infantry in silence; whilst the cavalry, as they trotted past, raised cries of "*Vive Napoléon!*" "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The contrast between the conduct of the two was so marked, that it excited attention, especially as the infantry, on other occasions, had been found quite as enthusiastic for the president as the cavalry. It is said, that the former acted under the orders of general Neumayer, and that this was the true reason of the president's subsequent conduct to him. After the review was over, the men were treated to sausages and champagne; and general d'Hautpoul, the minister of war, took an active part in seeing that the soldiers were properly cared for, and that they had the means of enjoyment supplied to them.

On the 12th, the permanent committee of the legislative assembly, passed a resolution, censuring the minister of war "for not observing the military regulations, and for tampering with

the discipline of the army at the review of Sartory." General d'Hautpoul immediately resigned his office; and the president appointed general Schramm, an officer of the Bonapartist school, to succeed him. The president, a few days after, ordered general Changarnier to dismiss general Neumayer from the command of the 1st military division—the alleged cause being, that several regiments under his command, had, on more than one occasion, uttered seditious cries, of which he had taken no notice, and had not attempted to suppress them. The enemies of the president, however, said, that the dismissal was the consequence of his having prohibited the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" at the Sartory review. The commander-in-chief, for some days, refused to comply with the wishes of the president on this subject; but Louis Napoleon was peremptory; and at length the general gave way. The command of the 14th and 15th military divisions—the head-quarters of which were at Nantes and Rennes—was offered to Neumayer; but he refused to accept it. General Carrelet succeeded him in the command of the 1st military division. As soon as the change was completed, on the 2nd of November, general Changarnier issued the following order of the day to the troops of Paris, and the department of the Seine:—"According to the text of the law, the army is not a deliberative body; according to military rules, it ought to abstain from any demonstrations, and from uttering any cry when under arms. The general-in-chief recalls these provisions to the notice of the troops under his command." This was considered as directed against such cries as were heard at Sartory; and looked upon as a complete defiance of the president. It no sooner appeared, than the general's friends were prepared for his dismissal. Indeed, some of the Paris journals asserted, that the decree dismissing him, was drawn up as soon as the general order appeared, but that its publication was withheld, as the president could not induce any minister to countersign it. However, the president, whatever he had resolved to do finally, for the time did not remove Changarnier.

The national assembly met on the 12th of November. The president again sent another very long message, which was read by the minister of the interior, M. Baroche. From this document we learn, that both the municipal authorities and the national guard had, in various parts of the republic, neglected to act frankly with the executive power. In consequence, 421 mayors and 183 *adjoints* had been dismissed; and the national guard had been dissolved in 153 towns and communes. The tribunals, on the contrary, had "worthily seconded the government;" whilst "the magistracy had displayed great energy in enforcing the execution of the laws, and in punishing

those who violated them." It was stated, that "agitation had been calmed in the country districts, by putting a restraint on the detestable propaganda which were exercised by the primary teachers. Several of those persons had been dismissed; and the schoolmasters were no longer the instruments of disorder."—The financial situation was described as considerably improved; as a consequence public works would be resumed. Agriculture and commerce were also improving; provident institutions had been developed; and in establishing mutual aid societies and pension funds, the government had been supported by all the heads of factories and industrial establishments. "Six thousand convicts, confined in the *bagnes* of Toulon, Brest, and Rochefort, had loaded the budget with an enormous weight; whilst they became more depraved, and menaced society at every moment." As it "appeared possible to render the penalty of hard labour more efficacious and more reforming—less expensive, and, at the same time, more humane—by favouring the progress of French colonisation, a law would be presented on that subject."—The operation of the law of the 15th of March had led to an improvement in the public instruction afforded to the people; and after a tedious negotiation with the holy see, "three colonial bishoprics, for Martinique, Guadeloupe, and the island of La Réunion, had been established; and three new cardinals had been granted to the French church, as an eminent proof of gratitude to the nation, and of esteem for the episcopacy." The army had been reduced to 396,000 men and 87,400 horses. The maritime force comprised 125 ships, and 22,561 men; that having also undergone a reduction. In 1848, it consisted of 235 ships, and 29,231 men.—In the *résumé* of foreign affairs, the occupation of Rome, and the replacing Pius IX. on the throne of St. Peter, were described as "memorable deeds, which the spirit of party would fail to obscure;" and in other quarters, "where French diplomacy had been called on to interfere, it had nobly maintained the dignity of the republic, whose allies had never to demand support in vain."—The desire expressed for a revision of the constitution—by the councils-general, in a great many instances, and by others—was alluded to; and the president said, "as far as he was concerned, the elect of the people, and deriving his powers from the people alone, he should always conform to their wishes, when expressed in a legal manner. If, in the present session, the assembly voted a revision of the constitution, a constituent assembly would meet for the purpose of reconstructing the fundamental laws, and regulating the fate of the executive power. If they did not vote it, the people would, in 1852, solemnly manifest the expression of its new pleasure. But whatever might be the solution of the

future, he hoped they would understand each other, in order that it might never be passion, surprise, or violence, that should decide the fate of the great French nation."—"That which preoccupied him, above all things, they might be persuaded, was not to know who would govern France in 1852, but to employ the time at his disposal in such a manner, that the transition, whatever it might be, might be made without trouble."

Soon after the assembly was organised for business, the differences existing in Germany—arising out of the Schleswig-Holstein question, and the jealousies between Austria and Prussia—led to an application, on the part of the minister of war, for leave to open a credit of 8,460,000*f.* (£338,400), to defray the expenses of calling out 40,000 additional troops, which seemed necessary, in consequence of the threatening state of affairs in that country. The committee to whom this question was referred, agreed, unanimously, to the levy proposed; but declared that, on the questions which divided Germany, the policy of neutrality was the only one that suited France—"a neutrality which, taking its principle in the sentiments of right, justice, and respect for the independence of states, left to each people to regulate as it pleased, and according to its own ideas, its internal affairs and policy; on the condition, however, of respecting the rights and legitimate interests of other nations."—The report of the committee was adopted, on the 5th of December, by a majority of 483 to 211; and the project of law founded on it was passed by 466 to 213.

On the 10th of December, M. de Montalembert read the report of a committee, appointed to examine a proposition made by M. Olivier, for suppressing the practice of following secular pursuits on the sabbath and holydays. The report was quite in favour of a more rigid abstinence from business and amusements, and of a more strict observance of the religious obligations of Sunday. M. Montalembert described the repose of that day as a blessing, as well as a duty; and said, that in no country was it so shamefully violated as in France. The committee called on the assembly to re-establish the public homage due to the majesty of God, and to the conscience of every christian. The demoralising effects of the non-observance of the sabbath, M. de Montalembert ascribed to the extraordinary increase of *cabarets*, of which there were 334,000 in France. "It was full time," he said, "to remedy the evil; and it behoved the assembly to oppose to the right of labour, invented by the socialists, the right of repose; and thus minister both to the material and moral improvement of the labouring classes."—Nothing was done upon the question at the time; and the year closed without any other event of material importance occurring.

There had been two political movements going on in France during the year—that of the socialist, or Mountain party; and that of the royalists, who were eagerly seeking to induce the public to press upon the assembly the necessity for a revision of the constitution. To that measure the president and his friends were not at all averse; they particularly wished to have that article set aside which prevented the re-election of the president, and also, that the term of his office should be extended. During the autumn, many petitions, calling for a revision, were adopted, not only by the people, but by the general councils—bodies of proprietors, nearly resembling our courts of quarter-sessions; not having a political character, but meeting for the purpose of considering and adjusting questions of local finance. Like the corresponding bodies in England, however, they sometimes entertained political questions. The petitions from these bodies—which, in some instances, were carried unanimously; in others by a large majority; and in some by a bare majority over an imposing minority—whilst they all called for revision, were not unanimous on any other point; and only one is mentioned as desiring that France might return to a traditional and hereditary monarchy.—The president, outwardly, kept aloof from any party demonstration. At a banquet given at the Hôtel-de-Ville, on the 10th of December, to celebrate his election, he advocated peace abroad, and a calm public opinion at home, that if any of the called-for modifications were to take place, they might be carried out in peace and security: but he appeared more anxious to “embellish Paris; to ameliorate the position of its inhabitants; to throw open fresh streets; and to purify and render healthy those crowded quarters, requiring increased light and air,” than to effect political changes.—On another occasion—a week later—at a banquet given by M. Dupin, as president of the assembly, in honour of the president of the republic—the latter, regretting that the assembly, which supported him in the storm, drew back in the calm—reminded his hearers, that France must have its dangers, as perils united, whilst security separated, its friends.

During the year, the French troops remained at Rome. The pope returned to the Vatican on the 13th of April; and, in his last message to the assembly, the president described him, as being “unceasing in his demonstrations of solicitude for the prosperity of France, and the comfort of her soldiers.” His holiness had introduced several reforms; but, although a council of state had been established, the work of administrative organisation proceeded slowly. Municipal and provincial councils were being gradually organised; and great efforts were making by the pope and his councillors to create an army, which would, it was expected, hasten

the withdrawal of foreign troops from the papal territories.

Out of Italy, the most important events connected with foreign affairs in 1850, arose out of a dispute between England and the Greek government, in which the mediation of France was offered and accepted. The Greeks had, in several instances, offered insults and injuries to the persons, and seized the property, of British subjects; for which acts, apologies and compensation were demanded. On the 18th of April, a convention was signed at London, between lord Palmerston and M. Drouyn de l’Huys—by which the differences were arranged upon much easier terms for the Greek government, than those demanded, at Athens, by Mr. Wyse. Baron le Gros, the French ambassador at the Greek capital, was duly advised of the terms of this convention; but Mr. Wyse was left in ignorance of them, and, of course, acted up to his previous instructions; which enjoined him, if the terms demanded were not complied with, to order the English squadron to appear before Athens, and enforce them. The Greek government, assenting to the terms of the London convention, refused to yield to those demanded by Mr. Wyse; the British squadron accordingly anchored off the Piræus, and coercive measures were only avoided by the submission of the Greeks. When information of these events reached Paris, the government was highly indignant at what appeared to be a violation of the agreement entered into with M. Drouyn de l’Huys. On the 16th of May, general Lahitte announced, that the ambassador was recalled from London, M. Marescalchi being accredited as *chargé d’affaires*; and for a short time a rupture with England appeared imminent. However, lord Palmerston gave explanations as to the cause of the delay in forwarding the convention of April 18th to Mr. Wyse; and as instructions were immediately sent to that minister to carry out its stipulations, the diplomatic intercourse with England was resumed; and the relations between the two countries assumed their usual character.

The year 1851 opened with a discussion in the assembly upon some alleged orders to the army, given by general Changarnier, and which were published in the *Patrie*. They were eleven in number, and sanctioned the most decisive and cruel measures, with respect to insurgents, on the part of the military; whilst by one of them, the fourth, the army was ordered “not to obey the representatives;” and by another, “every requisition, summoning, or order, on the part of any functionary, civil, political, or judicial, was declared null;” and those from the commander-in-chief only were to be obeyed.—On the 3rd of January, M. N. Bonaparte characterised these orders as worthy of Radetzky or Windischgrätz; and moved, “that the assembly, censuring the instructions given to the

troops, under the commander-in-chief, requests the minister of war to modify them, and passes to the order of the day." The minister of war could give no explanation of the orders, as they did not exist in the office of his department: he wished the question to be adjourned. General Changarnier, however, positively "declared, that no permanent or temporary instructions of the kind published, had ever emanated from the commander-in-chief of the army in Paris. In those he had issued, the constitutional rights of the assembly to order out the troops had never been called in question." After the general sat down, the "order of the day, pure and simple," was loudly called for, and almost unanimously voted.

The next day, in electing the officers for the month, the opponents of the government were chosen; and the ministers, left in a minority, resigned. The president accepted their resignations; and he resolved, at the same time, to rid himself of general Changarnier, with whom he had had several differences, besides that arising out of the general order of the 2nd of November; and who, say Louis Napoleon's friends, had "yielded to the seductions of the legitimists; and, instead of being the president's right hand, had become his overlooker." The president declared, therefore, that he would not accept any ministry but one prepared to dismiss the commander-in-chief. As this was in direct opposition to the vote of the assembly, which, by passing to the order of the day, evinced its approbation of his conduct, there was a difficulty in constituting a cabinet. In the assembly there was a perfect storm of disapprobation, when it was known that Changarnier was to be deprived of his command: some of the more violent of his friends even suggested the raising 50,000 men, placing them under his orders, and authorising him to defy the president. Parties were, however, too much divided to allow such an extreme measure being carried; and on the 8th of January, the president summoned the leaders of all the parties to the Elysée Bourbon. Most of them attended, and he addressed them in a very temperate speech; telling them that he would do everything, give up everything they desired, except "abandon the right which the constitution gave him of dismissing an inferior officer." He had then completed his ministry, in which several of the former cabinet accepted office; and, on the 9th, the list appeared in the *Moniteur*. The minister of the interior was M. Baroche; of finance, M. Fould; of justice, M. Rouher; of instruction, M. Parien; of war, M. St. Jean d'Angely; of foreign affairs, M. Drouyn de l'Huys; of public works, M. Magne; of commerce, M. Bonjeau; of marine, M. Ducos. The same day, general Baraguay d'Hilliers was appointed to the command of the army in Paris, in the place of general Changarnier; and gene-

ral Perrot succeeded the latter in the command of the national guard. From that period Changarnier became, whatever he had been before, both a political and personal enemy of the president of the republic.

On the 10th of January, M. Remusat demanded, that ministers should come forward, and explain why the former administration was withdrawn, and the present one appointed. M. Berryer joined in the demand, and condemned the dismissal of general Changarnier; to whom, he said, it behoved the assembly to give a testimony of its high esteem and confidence.—M. Baroche said, the cabinet had retired after a series of acts which had wounded the feelings and the dignity of the administration. He himself remained in office, in consequence of an appeal addressed to his devotion, and to that of his colleagues, in the name of the general interest.—M. Rouher, the minister of justice, added, it had been determined to deprive general Changarnier of the double command he held, long previous to the 3rd of January.—M. Remusat, dissatisfied with the explanation, moved that the assembly should retire into its *bureau*, and appoint a committee to draw up and submit to the assembly an energetic resolution or proclamation to the people. M. Baroche opposed this motion, not only as a member of the assembly, but as a citizen; but the assembly adopted it by 330 votes to 273. The report of the committee was brought up, and read, on the 14th, by M. Lanjuinais, the secretary and reporter. It was a long and important document. The committee confined the question of responsibility to the ministry, not including the president; but stated, that "it was impossible to shut their eyes to the fact, that there had been, on the part of the executive power, a tendency to place little confidence in the institutions of the country; to consider as transitory the form of government under which they lived; to disseminate among every rank of society doubts as to the future; to cry up the supposed benefits of an absolute government; and to aspire, within an undetermined time, to a sort of imperial restoration." The seditious cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" had been uttered at reviews; and the committee appeared to think, that general Neumayer was dismissed, rather from resisting the impulse so given, than for the reason assigned. The press, it was observed, enjoying the privilege of being sold about the streets, had been full of insult and calumny against the national assembly; and general Changarnier had been dismissed the day after the assembly had given him a testimony of its approbation. The committee attributed this dismissal to a political motive; and, by eight votes to seven, adopted the following resolution:—"The legislative assembly, acknowledging the right of the executive power to dispose of military commands, blames the use

it made of that right, and declares, that the general-in-chief of the army of Paris, preserves the title to the confidence which the assembly testified to him in the sitting of the 3rd inst., and passes to the order of the day."

The debate on this report was very long and animated. The speakers against the government were M. Berryer, M. Lamartine, general Changarnier, and M. Thiers. M. Baroche and M. Flandin defended the ministers. In the course of the debate, several members intimated that the design of the president was to overturn the republic. M. Thiers, declaring that he separated from the supporters of the cabinet with regret, expressed his "affliction, nay, indignation, at the cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' heard on the plain of Sartory, whether they were encouraged or not by the government;" and said, it "was certain that general Neumayer had been superseded in his command because he prohibited those cries."—When the general discussion had closed, twelve amendments were moved upon the resolution of the committee. That which was taken first into consideration, was proposed by M. Bedeau, that "The assembly declares it has no confidence in the ministry, and passes to the order of the day." This was carried, on the 18th of January, by 415 votes to 286; a majority caused by the union of every other party against the ministerialists. The monarchists, moderate and red republicans, and socialists, all combined to overthrow the government. Some of the most eminent men in the assembly stood aloof from this coalition, and voted in the minority. Amongst them were MM. de Broglie, de Montalembert, Daru, Lamartine, de Montemart, Coquerel, d'Albert de Luynes, Lebeuf, and Morel Cornet. The vote, though opposed by such men as these, obliged the ministers to resign; and the president of the republic adopted the resolution to form a cabinet of men who had no seats in the assembly. It was on the 24th of January when the arrangements were completed and announced in the *Moniteur*; the new ministry being composed as follows:—M. Brenier, minister of foreign affairs; M. de Germiny, of finance; M. de Royer, of justice; rear-admiral Vaillant, of marine; general Randon, of war; M. Charles Giraud, of public instruction; M. Magne, of public works; M. Waisse, of the interior; and M. Schneider, of commerce.

The same day, the president sent a message to the assembly, in which he explained his motives for forming his cabinet (which was only provisional) upon a novel principle. In this document, he expressed the want France had of concord between the assembly and the government. He had always respected the rights of the assembly; and had accepted, "after the recent vote, the resignation of a ministry which had given to the country, and to the

cause of order, the most striking guarantees of its devotedness." He "could not, however, find the elements of a cabinet in the majority, formed by circumstances of an exceptional kind;" nor, to his great regret, in the minority. He had, therefore, "resolved to form a ministry of transition, composed of special men, not belonging to any fraction of the assembly, and determined to devote themselves to the business of the country, without reference to party."

On the 27th of January, M. Houyn de Tramhère addressed interpellations, as to their policy, to the ministers, who, by the constitution, were allowed to attend the assembly, to explain their measures and their conduct, but not to vote. They were replied to by M. de Royer, who said, "the cabinet had no definite character; it had been invested with a mission of administration, eminently provisional and temporary:" "neither he nor his colleagues had sought or coveted their position; but, in accepting it, they had accomplished an act of good citizenship, which merited the approval and confidence of the country."

On the 3rd of February, M. de Germiny, the new minister of finance, brought forward another dotation project for the president. "The pressing and numerous obligations," he said, "imposed on the chief of the state by the position he occupied, rendered the required augmentation a matter of necessity. It was, therefore, proposed to open an additional credit of 1,800,000f. (£72,000) for the year 1851;" and that credit must be annually voted; as the sum would be required by the president of the republic, to enable him to carry out, in a proper manner, those duties incidental to the first magistrate of such a country as France.—The committee to whom this proposition was reported, consisted of seven Orleanists, three Montagnards, three legitimists, and two Bonapartists. They were five days employed in deliberation: in the meantime, on the 7th, M. de Germiny presented the estimates for the year. Notwithstanding the favourable statement made by M. Passy, and that contained in the president of the republic's message of the 12th of November, there was a deficit, it appeared, in the revenue of 1850, of 12,000,000f. (£480,000). The results of 1851, the minister said, must be matter for conjecture, all depending on the continuance of public tranquillity. He enumerated the resources of the nation, with their drawbacks; and expressing regret that he must again suspend the action of the sinking-fund, he estimated the expenditure at 1,372,978,928f. (£54,919,157); and the revenue at 1,382,675,607f. (£55,307,024); leaving a surplus of 9,696,679f. (£387,867).

On the 8th of February, M. Piscatory, reporter of the committee to whom the project of dotation was referred, presented the report,

which had been adopted by thirteen votes to two. It was to the effect, that a sum of 1,625,000*f.* (£60,000) being now inscribed on the budget, for the expenditure of every description, which the high station of first magistrate of the republic might require—the committee rejected the project of law laid before it.—This report was taken into consideration on the 10th; when M. de Royer announced, that the government did not intend to take part in the discussion. There were few speakers: M. Dufougerais opposed, and M. Montalembert supported, the dotation; which was negatived by 396 to 294 votes.—The president's friends then opened a subscription to indemnify him for his extraordinary expenses; but he declined to be relieved from difficulties by that medium. He reduced his establishment and his expenditure in various ways; and declaring to his friends, that "he knew the people rendered him justice, and that was sufficient for him, he declined all subscriptions, however spontaneous and national their character might be."—This conduct increased the popularity of the president; and his opponents soon after gave signs of dissension. On the 1st of March, M. Creton moved, that the laws exiling the Bourbons and Orleanists should be repealed. This produced a most violent debate, in which mutual reproaches and personalities were interchanged between the legitimists, Orleanists, and socialists. M. Berryer, finding that the majority so recently obtained, would be broken up, probably, without any chance of reunion, if a division took place on the motion, proposed, that the discussion should be adjourned to the 1st of September, when it was not likely the assembly would be in session. This was agreed to, and, for a time, harmony appeared to be restored amongst the heterogeneous materials of which the majority was composed.

The ministry appointed on the 24th of January, notwithstanding the many difficulties of its position, continued in office till the 11th of April, when it was replaced by the following statesmen:—M. Léon Faucher, who was declared minister of the interior; M. Baroché, of foreign affairs; M. Rouher, of justice; M. Fould, of finance; M. Buffet, of commerce and agriculture; M. Chasseloup-Laubat, of marine; general Randon, of war; M. Magne, of public works; and M. de Crouseilhès, of public instruction. When the new ministers took their seats in the assembly, M. Léon Faucher announced the causes which had led to the formation of the cabinet, and the policy it intended to pursue. He spoke highly of the *ad interim* ministry, which, he said, left behind it honourable reminiscences; and intimated that the present cabinet was formed with a view to unite the parliamentary power with the executive, in order to put down evil passions, and baffle cul-

pable attempts. Its duty and aim would be, "to maintain order; to cause the law to be respected by every one; to fortify the authority, vigilance, and equity of the government; to impart to the administration an impulse of a firm and active character; to give confidence to all interests; and to calm down men's minds—such was the mission of the government. He and his colleagues intended to devote themselves to their task without reserve; and they indulged in the hope of being supported in that attempt."—An effort was made to prevent this ministry from entering upon office; M. de St. Beuve—having first consulted with general Changarnier—moving, as soon as the minister of the interior left the tribune, that "the assembly adhered to its vote of the 18th of January, and declared it had no confidence in the ministry." The simple order of the day was demanded, by the "right," to be put, instead of this amendment; and as that motion had the precedence, it was put, and carried by 327 to 275—giving the ministers a majority of 52.

The remainder of the session was chiefly occupied with disputes between the government and the opposition, which, as the last vote showed, had considerably diminished in numbers, the coalition not being kept together by any strong bond of principle, as every section desired to achieve a distinct object. It was this which conduced so much to the re-establishment of the empire. A project for reorganising the national guard, which had become sadly demoralised, was the first proposed by the new ministry. It was called the "national guard organic law;" and the omission of the preamble caused a very violent debate. In the old law, the preamble read as follows:—"The national guard is instituted to defend the constitution, the republic, and the sovereignty of the people; to maintain obedience to the laws; to preserve or re-establish public peace in the interior; to secure the independence of France, and the integrity of her territory against foreigners."—The president's cousin, M. Napoleon Bonaparte, moved the re-insertion of this preamble; accusing the committee, to whom the project of law had been committed, of a design not to arm the workmen at all; and only such of the *bourgeois* as were supporters of the government; and describing the project as forming part of a general system, which he would combat with the utmost energy, as fatal to the country.—M. Duprat also described the project as adopting precautions to arm the frock-coats to the exclusion of the *blouses*.—M. de Riamey, the reporter of the committee, said, the system of MM. Bonaparte and Duprat would lead to a civil war; and he read some extracts from speeches of Robespierre—asking the "left" if they concurred in those sentiments? It appears they were not aware of their origin, and loud

cries were reiterated of "We do; we do." M. de Riamey then reminded them, that those declarations had excited great indignation in the constituent assembly, which had called for the previous question by an almost unanimous vote. The decision of the assembly on the preamble was then called for; and it was rejected by 416 to 224.

During April and May numerous petitions had been got up in the departments, in favour of a revision of the constitution. Many of them were numerous signed, and they were forwarded to the assembly in considerable numbers. That body, elected in May, 1849, entered upon the third year of its existence in May, 1851; and it could, in conformity with law, at that period, take this question into consideration, provided three-fourths of the members voting were in favour of that course. On the 22nd of May, M. Moulin proposed, that all the petitions received on the subject should be referred to a special committee. On the 5th of June, this proposition was adopted. The committee appointed consisted of fifteen members; and M. de Broglie was chosen president; M. Moulin, secretary; and M. de Tocqueville, reporter. The petitions referred to the committee had been signed by 1,123,625 persons. They were minutely examined, and a report drawn up, which was read by M. de Tocqueville to the assembly on the 8th of July. It appeared, from this document, that a minority of the committee, six in number, were of opinion, that "the painful situation of the country was due, not to the constitution, but to those who, for the last two years, had been putting it in practice, and who were unceasingly aiming at its overthrow." The majority, on the contrary, thought, that, "independently of all the private causes which might be alleged, a great part of the evils which existed must be attributed to the constitution itself." By this majority, the following resolution, proposed by M. de Broglie, was adopted:—"The legislative assembly having considered the 111th article of the constitution, express a wish that that constitution should be revised in totality, in conformity with that article." The debate on this report, which offered very little of interest, did not end till the 19th of July; when, 724 deputies being present, 446 voted for the adoption of the report and resolution; and 278 in the negative. As the majority, though large, was ninety-seven short of that required by the constitution, the motion for revision was lost.—On the 21st, M. de Melun brought the subject again before the assembly, by giving a description of the way in which the petitions were got up. In some of the departments, it was alleged, that the prefects and other functionaries had taken the most improper steps to obtain signatures; and every species of influence had been used to advance the movement.—

M. Bazé moved a special order of the day, censuring the government; which was carried by 333 to 320. The ministers directly went to the Elysée, and tendered their resignations to the president; but he refused to accept them.

The debate on this subject had not been continuous and uninterrupted. The president had been at Lyons and Dijon, where he made speeches, which were brought before the assembly, as deserving of censure. At Lyons, he said, that "petitions for a revision of the constitution were pouring in from one end of France to the other; he expected the manifestations of the country, and the decisions of the assembly, would be solely for the public good; but, if France saw, that, without her concurrence, she was deprived of the right of disposing of herself, she had only to say the word, and his courage and energy should not be wanting. Whatever duties the country might impose upon him, he should be ready to execute: and his hearers might be assured, that France was not destined to perish in his hands." At Dijon, on the 1st of June, the president attended, and inaugurated a new line of railway. On that occasion he said that "what he had seen, convinced him that France neither desired the return of the ancient *régime*, nor the trial of impracticable and Utopian schemes. It was because he was the natural enemy of both that France placed confidence in him. *If his government had been unable to carry out all the ameliorations it had in view, it was owing to the legislative assembly; which he had always found ready to aid him in framing laws of restriction; but whose concurrence had always been found wanting in those of amelioration and progress.*" Several deputies condemned these speeches; and the passage in italics was severely commented upon. That passage had been omitted in the *Moniteur*; and the ministers, without positively denying that it had been uttered, said, the government only acknowledged the speech as it appeared in the official paper. A motion, condemning that part of the speech, and denying the imputations cast upon the assembly, was made; but after the declaration of ministers it was withdrawn. Several speakers, however, declared, that they saw, in the speech, a first step to a *coup d'état*; and as the army was necessary to its success, the question was raised, as to how far the passive obedience, to its officers, required of the army by the constitution, should be carried? Whether, if called upon to act against the people, the soldier was bound to obey? M. Charras and general Foy maintained, that his obedience was conditional in that circumstance, though he was bound implicitly to obey orders when in front of the enemy. General Randon, the minister of war, warmly disputed this doctrine; which, he contended, was framed to favour revolution, and to tie up the hands of the authorities. In all

cases the soldier was required to obey the orders of his military superior, who alone was responsible for them.

These debates produced no result; and on the 10th of August the assembly was prorogued; a committee of superintendence having been first appointed.

Marshal Sebastiani died a few days before the prorogation; and a serious accident—which threatened great loss and destruction—occurred at his funeral, on the 12th of August. Nearly all the general officers in the capital were present; also a great number of the deputies to the assembly, and of the members of the diplomatic corps; and a very large concourse of spectators. The procession had an imposing effect as it passed through the streets to the hospital of the Invalides, where the coffin was placed under a lofty *catafalque*, near the grand altar of the chapel. The service was on the point of commencing, when, the door being opened to admit some persons from the outside, a strong current of air rushed in. A great number of wax tapers were burning round the *catafalque*; their flames were brought in contact with the black drapery; and, in an instant, the whole was one mass of fire. Four engines were soon in attendance, and the flames were subdued without destroying the chapel; but not till numerous flags and other trophies were burned. The coffin was removed outside, where the funeral service had to be performed; and it was then deposited in the vault of the chapel.

During the recess, the various parties were at work to improve their position. The leaders of the legitimists and Orleanists again resorted to Wiesbaden and Claremont, to confer with the heads of their respective parties. We know nothing of what took place between the count de Chambord and his friends: but it was the year of the Great Industrial Exhibition in England; all the surviving members of the family of Louis-Philippe surrounded the ex-queen Amelia at Claremont; and in the month of August, many friends of the family were received. On the 27th, there was what is termed, in the papers of the day, “a grand reception” at Claremont-house. It appears, there was “a chiel amang them takin’ notes;” and from his report, we learn, that M. Guizot, addressing the duke de Nemours, “requested to know if the prince had any instructions to give him, for his friends or himself, with reference to the occurrences that might soon take place in France; perhaps even before he should again have the honour of seeing his royal highness.” The duke had no instructions. The policy of his family, he said, was that of abstention; which policy the parties present thought had been carried too far; and they recommended a more demonstrative attitude. The fusion of the two branches of the Bourbon family was mentioned;

and the duke de Nemours regretted that that movement—which would ensure the return of the Bourbons, the best thing for France—was making such slow progress. He was assured, that the prospects of the “fusion” were most promising; and that the legitimists and Orleanists acted most cordially together in the assembly. Whether in consequence of what passed at these *réunions*, or whether it was a spontaneous thought of some of the Orleanist party in France, we cannot say; but, in the autumn, the name of the prince de Joinville was mentioned as a candidate for the presidency; and, whilst that prince and all the members of his family were indebted to English hospitality for the comforts of home—the lower class of the Orleanist agents, unrebuked by those who moved in higher circles, put forward, as a reason why he was entitled to the support of the people of France, the pamphlet written by him a short time before the revolution of February, 1848; in which he professed to show how England could be best attacked and destroyed.

The socialists were upon the alert, as well as the Orleanists. The secret societies in France, and all the large towns, were in a state of great activity and excitement. The success in the elections to the assembly in the early part of the year, caused them to anticipate success in a more important one. “Yet four months,” we find one of their organs predicting, “and the assembly will have reached the term of its existence. We shall be done with the president, as his re-election is forbidden by law, and victory will remain with the people.”* The great aim appeared to be, to throw Louis Napoleon once more into the shade; all else seemed easy and plain sailing.

As to Louis Napoleon himself—his great object appeared to be, to obtain a repeal of the electoral law of May 31st, 1850; which, although it was brought forward, and carried through the assembly, by his ministers, M. de la Guéronnière tells us, was “made against him: for not only did it suppress one-half of those electors who had voted for him once, and would again have done the same; but it shut the door against the revision of the constitution, and consequently against the constitutional re-election of the president.” A casual observer would have supposed, that, by repealing this law, the president was playing into the hands of the socialists; but it had, according to report, disfranchised 3,000,000 voters, of whom the great majority were his supporters: he determined, therefore, to return to the law of the 15th of March, 1858; and he endeavoured to induce his ministers to bring forward a project for replacing that law in the code, and abolishing the more recent enactment. They, one and all, refused to be parties to any such measure; and, after a cabinet

* *Compte Rendu de la Montagne*, October 10th.

council held on the 14th of October, the discussion in which was more than usually animated, they again tendered their resignations, which were accepted, and the president proceeded to reconstruct his cabinet. There was near a fortnight's *interregnum*; but, on the 27th, the following list of the new ministry appeared in the *Moniteur*. M. Tiburce de Thorigny, minister of the interior; M. Turgot, of foreign affairs; general de St. Arnaud, of war; M. Hippolyte Fortoul, of marine; M. Blondel, of finance; M. Xavier de Casabianca, of agriculture and commerce; M. Lacrosse, of public works; M. Charles Giraud, of public instruction and worship. Of these eight members of the cabinet, only three had seats in the assembly; and from their known sentiments, the ministry was considered more thoroughly Bonapartist than any which had preceded it.

The assembly met on the 4th of November; and the message from the president, communicated by the minister of the interior, was, for several reasons, a very important document. Passing over in silence causes which, in spite of himself, he saw had produced events he regretted, the president announced, that, "with the exception of some partial agitation, the public peace had not, for the last twelve months, been disturbed;" but it appeared to him "imprudent to indulge in flattering illusions on this appearance of tranquillity. A vast demagogical conspiracy was organising in France and Europe. Secret societies were endeavouring to extend their ramifications even into the smallest communes. All the madness and violence of party was brought forth; while the agitators were not agreed on either persons or things: but they were agreed to meet in 1852, not to construct, but to overthrow. But the patriotism and courage of the assembly, with which he would endeavour to keep pace, would, he was sure, save France from the threatened danger." To effect that end, the best means were, "the satisfying legitimate interests on the one hand; and, on the other, the suffocation, at the moment of their appearance, of the slightest symptoms of an attack against religion, morality, and society." The means of satisfying legitimate interests—and by satisfying them, it "would be easier to resort to repressive measures when necessary"—were, in the opinion of the president, "the procuring employment for labour, by granting to companies the great lines of railway; and to give, with the money the state received from those projects, a strong impulse to other works in all the various departments; to encourage those institutions destined to develop agricultural and commercial credit; and to provide, by means of charitable institutions, for the relief of distress." The situation of the finances was described to be "as favourable as could be expected." "The direct taxes were paid with

promptness; the indirect imposts felt the effects of want of confidence; but the loss experienced under some branches of the revenue, was compensated by the amount of the taxes on consumption—a circumstance which established the welfare and employment of the majority." The facilities for education were described as increasing. The number of primary schools was augmented; 806 having been opened since the last message; and the permission granted in the communes, of substituting, in certain cases, free schools for public ones, had not diminished the number of the latter.—On the 1st of October, the general effective land force consisted of 387,519 men, and 84,306 horses; and it was proposed to reduce it to 377,130 of the former; and 83,455 of the latter. The deputies were congratulated on the state of foreign affairs; and in allusion to the English exhibition, the president said—"Prince Albert's vast and liberal idea had contributed to cement the union of nations. The English people had welcomed the French visitors with a noble cordiality; and the competition between the various industries of the world, instead of fomenting jealousies, had only served to heighten the natural respect of the nations." After taking this somewhat favourable review of the domestic and foreign positions—which, "for the past, offered satisfactory results"—the president informed the deputies, that "a state of general uneasiness tended to increase daily. Everywhere labour grew slack, poverty increased, vested interests were alarmed, and anti-social expectations excited in proportion as the enfeebled powers of the state approached their term." He quoted the passage referring to the revision of the constitution, from his last message;* and added, that "the questions remained the same, and his duty was not altered. It was inflexibly to maintain order, and to banish all causes of agitation; so that the resolutions, which were to decide their fate, might be conceived amidst calm, and adopted without contest." He expressed his doubts—"universal suffrage having again raised the social fabric," as to the "wisdom of continuing to narrow its basis;" and his regret at "having to separate from a cabinet which had his confidence and respect, in order to choose another, composed of equally honourable men, whose conservative tendencies were well known; but who had consented to admit the necessity of re-establishing universal suffrage on the widest possible basis." A project would be presented to repeal the law of May 31st, which "had, in its application, gone beyond the objects intended to be attained. No one foresaw the suppression of 3,000,000 electors; two-thirds of whom were peaceful inhabitants of the country. This exclusion had served as a pretext to the anarchical party, who cloaked their detestable designs

* See *ante*, p. 708.

under the mask of contending for a right which had been withdrawn, and ought to be reconquered." At the close of the message, the president said—"It was objected, he was aware, that in taking this course he was inspired by personal interest. His conduct for the last three years ought to repel such an allegation. The welfare of the country would always be the sole moving spring of his conduct. He believed it to be his duty to propose every means of conciliation; and to use every effort to bring about a pacific, regular, and legal solution of a constitutional question, whatever might be the issue to himself. Each day had its appointed task. That of to-day was to re-establish universal suffrage, by which civil war would be deprived of its ensign, and the opposition of its last argument."

The reading of this message was followed by that of a project of law for repealing the electoral law of May 31st, 1850, and re-establishing that of the 18th of March, 1849. M. Thorigny demanded, that this proposition should be considered urgent; but M. Berryer called on the assembly to suspend its vote till the political situation had been fully explained. He moved the appointment of a special committee, to hear the explanations of the ministry, and report to the assembly. The ministers opposed this motion; but the question of urgency being negatived by a great majority, a committee was appointed, not exactly in the terms of M. Berryer's resolution, but "to draw up a report on the question of the repeal of the electoral law." This report was read by M. Daru, on the 7th of November. It was almost as long as the president's message. Defending the law of May 31st, as a "sound political act, and the consecration of a just principle," the assembly was called upon to maintain it; the committee not, however, denying that it might be useful, and even necessary, to modify some of its enactments. But, in their opinion, "such modifications ought to be effected on condition of preserving the principle already established; namely, the residence, which they were resolved to maintain as a condition of the electoral right." This report was read; and the open votes of the assembly appeared to be in its favour. The ministers persisted, nevertheless, in bringing forward a project to repeal the law; which, on the 13th of November, was negatived by 353 votes to 347. This was a very narrow majority: on this occasion, the "Mountain" and the Bonapartists voted together, in favour of the ministerial project; and all the other sections of the assembly united in support of the law of May 31.

Whilst this measure was before the assembly, it was also occupied with another, intended, there can be little doubt, to neutralise the influence the president of the republic was acquiring over the army, by investing the president of the

assembly with the power of directing its movements. This project was introduced by the questors, on the 7th of November, in the following terms:—"The president of the national assembly is charged with the external and internal safety of that body; and is to provide for its defence. He is to exercise, in the name of the assembly, the right conferred on the legislature by the 32nd article of the constitution, to fix the amount of force required for its security, and to appoint the chief to command it. He is authorised, if necessary, to demand the assistance of the armed force; and of all the authorities, whose aid may be required, to support him. His requisitions may be addressed to all officers, superior or inferior, who are all bound to render instant obedience, under the pains and penalties fixed by law. The president may delegate his powers of requisition to the questors or any of them. This law shall be read, as an order of the day, to the army, and placarded in every barracks in the republic."

The course taken by the questors was considered, by the president's friends, as a decided personal attack upon that official, as well as a violation of the constitution, which placed the command of the armed force in the hands of the president of the republic, and not in those of the president of the assembly. It is true, that during the insurrectionary movements of May, 1848, a decree had been published, ordering the army to obey the orders of the assembly. But that decree was only a temporary measure, called for by the urgency of the times. Before bringing forward their proposition, the questors had ordered copies of the decree to be posted in all the barracks; but they had been immediately pulled down, by order of general de St. Arnaud, who expressed great indignation at the attempt made by those officers to place the control of the military force in the hands of civilians. Louis Napoleon considered their conduct as "a declaration of war" against him, and he was not slow in taking up the gauntlet. Two days after the project was introduced, some officers newly arrived in Paris were presented to him by general Magnan. After the usual compliments, he said to them—"If the gravity of circumstances should compel me to make an appeal to your devotedness, I am sure that I shall not be disappointed; because you know that I demand nothing which is not in accord with my right, with military honour, and the interest of the country, while it is recognised by the constitution; because I have placed at your head men who have my entire confidence, and who merit yours; because, if ever the day of danger do arrive, I will not do as the governments preceding me have done—say, 'March, and I will follow you;' but I will say to you, 'I march, follow me.'" This was considered as an indication that he would not submit to the domination

of the assembly; and that if the questors' measure were passed, he would appeal to the army.

The discussion upon the project commenced on the 16th of November. It was animated, and interrupted, as the debates in the assembly had generally been of late, by many personal remarks. In the course of it, general de St. Arnaud avowed, that the decree which the assembly, through its questors, had ordered to be posted in the barracks, was pulled down by his orders. He then spoke decidedly against the project before the assembly; describing it as tending to divide authority, and to introduce deliberation into the ranks, when passive obedience was the absolute essential of discipline; without which no army could exist. After the speech of general de St. Arnaud, and that of the minister of the interior—who, having pointed out the unconstitutional character of the measure, said, "Do what you please; we are prepared"—there was a general conviction that the army would not support the assembly; and many deputies, at first disposed, abstractedly, to approve of the measure, expressed doubts as to the wisdom of its introduction. The questors—indignant at general de St. Arnaud's speech, and at his setting their authority at defiance, by ordering the decree to be taken down, which they had directed to be posted in the barracks—proposed that he should be arrested; but the assembly shrunk from taking that extreme step; and when the deputies separated, on the 16th, that officer went to the Tuileries, and addressed from thence a prohibition to the army, not to obey any orders received from the legislative assembly.—The next day, when the assembly met, it appeared to be pervaded by a general gloom. The moderate men were doubtful whether to support the executive or the questors, thinking that the measures of both would tend to produce a *coup d'état*. The president was at the Elysée, waiting the decision of the assembly; determined, were it in favour of the project, immediately to appeal to the troops. His friends were all in their places; and there was a numerous attendance of his opponents. The discussion was short; and when the vote was taken, there were only 300 ayes to 408 noes. The decision caused great surprise: for although the opinion appeared to be general, that the project would not pass, no one supposed that the majority against it would have been so large. In the division, generals Changarnier, Lamoricière, and Cavaignac, voted for the project; there were twenty-one other military officers in the assembly, and they were all found in the majority.

The result was a great relief; for the impression on the minds both of the friends and foes of the president had been, that the measure, if passed, would have been a prelude to civil war.

Though it was hoped that that calamity was for the present avoided, the opinion that it was necessary to modify the constitution, gained ground. Then the questions arose—first, as a majority of three-fourths of the assembly could not be obtained, *how* the modification should be effected? And secondly, to *what extent* it should be carried? Meetings were held of three different sections of the opposition, headed by M. Thiers, M. Molé, and M. Daru. The first wished to see the term of the presidential office extended to ten years. The second were for two chambers; a repeal of the prohibition against the re-election of the president; and severe laws against socialism. These parties also thought that the change must be effected by a *coup d'état*. The third party was in favour of two chambers, and of declaring the president eligible for re-election; but it was for repealing the clause in the constitution, requiring the consent of three-fourths of the deputies to sanction any change, by a resolution of the assembly; and then to let a simple majority be sufficient for the purpose.

These discussions occupied the attention of the different parties for the remainder of the month of November; an organic law, for determining the responsibility of ministers and of the president of the republic, being before the assembly. Meanwhile, the president and his friends were watching events, and preparing for that violent measure which nothing but its absolute necessity to prevent a civil war could justify or excuse. At this time the republic was in a state far from satisfactory. During the year, whilst the legislature had been engaged in almost continual disputes, agitation had prevailed in various parts of the interior; and that to a degree which, though there was no absolute outbreak, led to the 6th military division, and the department of Ardèche, being declared in a state of siege. In the departments of the Cher and the Marne, a species of *Jacquerie* broke out, which excited the greatest alarm, and called for the utmost vigilance of the authorities. The political refugees were found to be mixed up with these disturbances; and many of them were expelled from France. The municipal officers, in numerous places, were, it was alleged, not sufficiently active in the discharge of their duties, nor in the prevention of disorders; and to such an extent had their *malfaisances* reached, that, the president informed the assembly in his message, he had revoked, on the advice of the council of state, the appointments of 501 elective functionaries, of whom 278 were *maires*, and the remainder *adjoints*. In the same time, 126 municipal councils had also been dissolved; and 125 troops of national guards. Whether these dismissals, &c., had all taken place since the delivery of the message in November, 1850; or whether the numbers given were the aggregate

up to November 12th, 1851, including those enumerated in the previous message, there are no means of ascertaining. In either case, it was a serious consideration, when so many officials had to be dismissed for alleged misconduct.

In the spring of 1851, the war in Africa broke out afresh; the Kabyles having risen against the French domination—violating the engagements of submission and friendship into which they had entered. Between the 11th and 20th of May, there were several deadly skirmishes. The Kabyles blockaded Djijelli, where a French force was stationed; and it was not relieved till the 19th, when the enemy was broken and routed. Their submission was not produced without great loss to the French; but when the struggle ended, it was followed by a general submission of the Arabs. Before the end of the year, out of 1,145 tribes, proved to exist in Algeria, 1,100 had acknowledged the sovereignty of France. Those which still refused to submit, and maintained their independence, are described as being “the most poor, and distantly located.”

Two events connected with England occurred in 1851, and deserve a brief notice.

In September, the municipality of Paris—in consequence of the hospitality which the lord mayor of London had dispensed to the numerous foreigners who visited the British metropolis during the Great Industrial Exhibition of that year—invited his lordship, and the members of the corporation, with the royal commission of the exhibition, the executive council, the jurors, and many other eminent persons, to visit the French capital. The invitation was accepted; and a very numerous party, headed by the civic functionary, and including sixteen aldermen, sailed from Dover to Boulogne, on Friday, the 12th of September. The voyage was short and pleasant. On landing, the party was entertained at a handsome *déjeuner*; and then proceeded to

Paris, where the travellers were received by the prefect of the Seine, the prefect of police, and the president of the municipal chamber. The distinguished guests remained in Paris till the following Friday, and were most courteously and liberally entertained; every public building and institution being thrown open to them. On Monday they were received at St. Cloud, by the president, with whom they partook of a splendid luncheon laid out in the orangery, and on Tuesday were entertained at a *fête* at the British embassy, and a splendid ball at the Hôtel-de-Ville, where the apartments were decorated with unsurpassed magnificence, and prepared for the accommodation of 5,000 guests. Before the party left Paris, the lord mayor publicly returned thanks for the cordial hospitality shown to himself and his countrymen.

In the previous year, a communication between England and France, by means of the electric telegraph, was opened on the 28th of August. The wires were carried from Shakespeare's cliff, at Dover, to the opposite chalk headland of Cape Grisnez, on the French coast, midway between Calais and Boulogne. They were not, however, brought into working operation till the autumn of 1851. On the 13th of October in that year, it was announced, by signals interchanged between Dover and Calais, that the undertaking had met with complete success. The first business message sent, was the price of the funds in London; and the prices of those in Paris were transmitted back: the interchange being made in an hour, during which time double journeys were taken by the messengers from the South-Eastern Railway station, to the company's offices at Dover; and from the Paris Bourse to the Paris offices. The communication, on the 1st of November in the following year, was made direct between Paris and London; and it has been uninterrupted up to the present time—the autumn of 1861.

CHAPTER V.

THE COUP D'ETAT; VIEWS OF THE ENEMIES AND FRIENDS OF THE PRESIDENT ON THAT EVENT; MUTINY OF MILITARY OFFICERS; THE NIGHT OF THE 1ST OF DECEMBER; THE MORNING OF THE 2ND; THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATIONS; PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEPUTIES; EVENTS OF THE 3RD, 4TH, AND 5TH OF DECEMBER; BALLOT ON THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSITIONS; DECREE OF PROSCRIPTION; THE NEW CONSTITUTION; THE COUNCIL OF STATE; DECREES RELATIVE TO THE PROPERTY OF THE ORLEANS FAMILY; NEW ELECTORAL LAW; NEW LAW OF THE PRESS; OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SENATE AND LEGISLATIVE BODY; SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT; DELIVERY OF EAGLES TO THE ARMY; REPORT ON SECRET SOCIETIES; LETTER OF THE COUNT DE CHAMBORD, THE PRESIDENT'S TOUR; POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE EMPIRE; LIBERATION OF ABD-EL-KADER; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE; ARRANGEMENT OF THE SUCCESSION.

WE now come to that phase in the life of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, as connected with the history of France, which has been the subject of the greatest controversy—the event which is known now, and will be known to posterity, as the *coup d'état* of December 2nd, 1851. The

enemies of the emperor—the writers and orators of the monarchical and “Mountain” parties—accuse him of premeditated treachery and deliberate perjury; charging him with never intending to keep the oath he swore to the republic, but, from the first moment of his taking possession of the presidential chair, intriguing to subvert it. They charge him with bribing and seducing both civilians and the army; and with carrying his deeply-laid plans into execution, as soon as he had assured himself of the fidelity of the latter.—His friends, on the contrary, say, that the step taken by the president was forced upon him by the political intrigues and cabals of the various sections of the political world of France. They assert, that the law of May 31st, 1850, “made him the prisoner of the majority;” which majority “commissioned the friends of the count de Chambord, and the partisans of the count de Paris, to watch over the republic and the constitution;” whilst the leaders went to Wiesbaden and Claremont to do honour to royalty.* They tell us, that those leaders of the Orleanist and legitimist parties were actively engaged in plans for the subversion of the government; and that “the Jacobin clubs were also at their work—plot and intrigue existing everywhere.”† That, in the month of November, whilst the assembly was, ostensibly, discussing the law for regulating the responsibility of the president of the republic and his ministers, the leaders of the opposition, including the two monarchical, the moderate republican, and the “Mountain” parties, were agreed upon a forcible dissolution of the government, by deposing the president, sending him to Vincennes, and finally expelling him from the French territory. Those officials, military or civil, who refused their support to the assembly, were to be declared guilty of high treason, and punished accordingly; and general Changarnier was to be made military dictator. It is affirmed, that the chiefs of the four parties were all agreed as to the details of this conspiracy, the management of which was left to a committee of fifteen members; and that it was to be carried into execution before the year expired.‡

It is impossible to decide which of these different reports is true; or whether they are not, all of them, exaggerations and misrepresentations of real events. But this much is certain: that there was a strong antagonism between the assembly and the president; and that, whether the leaders of the former had resolved to depose the president or not, that he was determined to deprive them of their power. He “made three men his confidants—M. de St. Arnaud, minister of war; M. de Morny, representative of the people; and M. de Maupas, prefect of police.”§

* M. de Guérinonnière.

† Napoleon III. ; by a British officer.

He explained to them the design he had formed to put down the opposition made to him personally, and to his acts, and they promised him their co-operation. He also secured the firm support of the military. On the 26th of November (on which day marshal Soult died), all the generals in Paris, twenty-one in number, were summoned by general Magnan, to meet him at his residence. They all assembled, and the commander-in-chief called their attention to the intrigues which were going on around them; and to the dangers which threatened the republic, from the licentiousness of a wild democracy, on the one hand, and the coalition of the supporters of despotism, on the other; and informed them, that the man who, by the choice of the people, was the president of the republic, meant to appeal to them to assist him in his attempt to deliver the country from the difficulties into which it was about to be plunged. General Reybell said, he and his colleagues were determined, one and all, to support the president; and every officer present joined with him in making a solemn pledge to that effect. General Magnan then proposed, that “they should all swear, that, come what might, no one should ever reveal what had then taken place.” The oath was taken; and for five years it appears to have been religiously kept. But when M. Garnier de Cassagnac published his work on the events of December, he had the consent of all the officers present to reveal it.

The execution of the president’s plans was not hurried. For a fortnight, he and his three councillors before named were in constant consultation, arranging the details of the *coup-d’état*. “The simultaneity of the various steps to be taken was the first condition of success; and the principal measures resolved upon were the four following:—1. The arrest of such persons as were considered culpable or dangerous. 2. The publication of decrees and proclamations developing the president’s intentions to the army and the people. 3. The dissolution of the assembly, and the occupation of its palace by troops. 4. The distribution of troops on the various points judged necessary.”|| The plan was admirably arranged; and it was as well carried out.

On the 1st of December, the assembly was engaged in discussing the project of the Lyons railroad; and separated, apparently unconscious of any approaching evil. In the evening, M. de Morny accompanied general Changarnier to the Opera Comique; and afterwards both repaired to the Elysée, where the president held a grand reception; the honours of which he performed in his usual affable and conciliatory manner. When his guests retired, the minister of war, M. de Morny, and M. de Maupas, with M. de

‡ Lesseps, ii., 351, 352 : *Constitutionnel*, Nov. 23, 1851.
§ M. Garnier de Cassagnac. || *Ibid.*

Boville, colonel of the *Etat-majeur*, accompanied the president to his private chamber. There a printer, M. de St. Georges, attended; to whom had been entrusted the printing of the documents which were to be issued the next morning; and final instructions were given him. General de St. Arnaud and M. de Morny then remained with the president; and the prefect of the police went to the prefecture, where he had summoned 800 *sergents de ville* and the brigades of surety to attend him; on the pretence, that the presence, in Paris, of the refugees from London, required caution, and that they should be on the alert. The commissaries of police, and the police themselves, not on duty, were summoned from their own houses at three o'clock, and at four they arrived at the prefecture, where they were placed in small groups in separate rooms, in order to avoid questioning among themselves. At that hour, general de St. Arnaud wrote to his mother a letter, which contained the following passage:—"In two hours' time we shall be in the midst of a revolution. The insane, the blind, the factious assembly will be dissolved. Paris will wake in the morning, and find the revolution accomplished. Some hundred arrests or so, the doors of the assembly closed, and all's done. I am waiting for the commander of the troops, to give him my last orders. All is ready. The ministry is changed; I am a member of the new cabinet. The entire course of action, the regulation of the material force, depend on me."

The new ministry was composed as follows:—M. de Morny, interior; M. Fould, finance; M. Rouher, justice; M. Magne, public works; M. La Roche, marine; M. Casabianca, commerce; general de St. Arnaud, war; M. Fortoul, public instruction; M. Turgot, foreign affairs. As minister of the interior, M. de Morny signed the warrants of arrest, and that for dissolving the assembly. The persons included in the former were seventy-eight in number; eighteen being deputies, who, it was alleged, were more or less engaged in the conspiracy against the president; and sixty were chiefs of secret societies, and men who had been known in former insurrections to have been commanders of barricades, always ready to obey the orders of the factions. "Both of these classes were narrowly watched, and almost guarded *à vue* for a fortnight before, by invisible agents; and not one of these agents suspected the object of his mission, each having received a different motive for it."*

The arrests were most punctually carried out. Carriages were provided beforehand, and stationed on the quays, in the neighbourhood of the prefecture of police; but not so as to excite attention. The commissaries of police were all called, one by one, into the prefect's room, at five o'clock; their orders were given them, and

* De Cassagnac.

† *Ibid.*

they were, with a sufficient number of assistants, to be at the doors of the persons to be arrested, five minutes before six; at six the arrests were to be made. These instructions were executed with the most marvellous punctuality, and no arrest occupied more than twenty minutes.† Some of the most distinguished men of France were thus taken from their beds, forced into carriages, and conveyed, at first to the prison Mazas, in Paris. Amongst those arrested, were generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Bedeau; colonel Charras; MM. Le Flos and Bazé, the questors of the assembly; MM. Roger (du Nord), Thiers, Lagrange, and Greppe: all of whom, except the three last, were, in the course of the day, sent to the prison of Ham. Just after the arrests were made, at half-past six precisely, M. de Morny "took possession of the hôtel of the interior, accompanied by 250 chasseurs de Vincennes. He handed to M. de Thorigny a letter, in which the president thanked him for his good services, and informed him of the decisive act on which he had resolved." At the same time, the hall of the assembly was surrounded by troops.

When the citizens of Paris left their houses at an early hour of the 2nd of December, they found the streets full of soldiers, and every wall covered with proclamations. One read thus:—"Decree in the name of the French people. The president of the republic has decreed—1st. That the national assembly is dissolved.—2nd. Universal suffrage is re-established, and the law of May 31st abrogated.—3rd. The French nation is convoked in committee, from the 14th to the 21st of December.—4th. The state of siege is decreed in the space occupied by the 1st military division.—5th. The council of state is dissolved.—6th. The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.—Given at the palace of L'Elysée, December 2nd, 1851.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"Minister of the Interior, DE MORNÏ."

The second proclamation was addressed to the French people; and in it the president put forth a justification of his conduct, and an exposition of his views. "The present position of things," he said, "can last no longer. Every day that passes aggravates the country's danger. The assembly, which ought to be a firm supporter of order, is become a hotbed of plots and dissensions. The patriotism of 300 of its members has not been able to arrest its fatal tendencies. Instead of making laws to promote the general interests of the country, it forges arms for a civil war. It attacks the power which I hold directly from the people; it encourages every bad passion; and it compromises the repose of France. I have dissolved the assembly; and I leave the nation to judge between me and that body. The constitution, as you know, was made

beforehand, with the object of weakening the power which you were about to confide in me. Six millions of votes formed a startling protestation against it, and yet I faithfully observed its laws. Provocations, calumnies, and outrages have found me unmoved. But now that the original compact is no longer respected, even by those who unceasingly invoke it, and the men who have already overturned two monarchies wish to tie my hands, preparatory to overthrowing the republic, my duty is to baffle their nefarious projects, to maintain the republic, and to save the country by invoking the solemn judgment of the only sovereign whom I recognise in France—the people! I, therefore, make a loyal appeal to the entire nation; saying—‘If you wish this state of confusion, which degrades and compromises our future, to continue, choose another in my place, since I will no longer hold a power which is powerless for good, whilst it renders me responsible for acts which I cannot hinder, and chains me to the helm, even when I can see the vessel hurrying towards the abyss. If, on the contrary, you have confidence in me, give me the means of accomplishing the great mission which I hold from you. This mission consists in closing the area of revolution, in satisfying the legitimate wants of the people, and in protecting them against destructive passions. It, above all, consists in creating institutions that will survive us, and will form a basis on which to rest something durable. Persuaded that the instability of power, and the preponderance of a single assembly, are the permanent causes of trouble and discord, I submit to your ideas the fundamental basis of a constitution, which the assemblies will afterwards more fully develop.—1st. A responsible chief, elected for ten years.—2nd. A ministry appointed by, and dependent on, him alone.—3rd. A council of state, consisting of the most eminent and distinguished men, who are to prepare the laws which are to be introduced, and support them before the legislative body.—4th. A legislative body, for the discussion of the laws, elected by universal suffrage.—5th. A second assembly, formed of all the most eminent men in the country, to act as guardians of the fundamental compact, and of the public liberties.’—This system, created by the first consul at the beginning of the century, has already given France peace and prosperity, and will be a guarantee for her obtaining those blessings again. Such is my profound conviction. If you share it, declare it by your suffrages. If, on the contrary, you prefer a government without strength, either monarchical or republican, borrowed from I know not what chimerical past or future, reply in the negative.” * * * “If I do not obtain the majority of your suffrages, then I will convoke another assembly, and remit to it the mandate I receive from you.”

A third proclamation was addressed to the army. “Soldiers!” it said, “be proud of your mission. You will be the saviours of your country; for I depend upon you, not to violate the laws, but to cause the first law of the country, the national sovereignty, of which I am the legitimate representative, to be respected.” * * * “The assembly endeavoured to possess itself of the authority which I hold by the will of the entire nation, and it has ceased to exist. I now make a loyal appeal to the people and the army, and say to them—‘Either give me the means of assuring your prosperity, or choose another in my place.’ Vote, then, freely, as citizens; but, as soldiers, do not forget, that a passive obedience to the head of the government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general down to the private. It is for me, responsible as I am for my actions both to the people and to posterity, to take those measures which seem to me indispensable for the public good.”

On every public wall in Paris, along the Boulevards, and wherever the people passed, the two first proclamations were placarded; the third was posted in the barracks, and distributed amongst the soldiers; and all were sent off into the interior, to be distributed there. In Paris, “groups collected round the spots where these documents were seen, and read them in silence; and then quietly dispersed, and were succeeded by others. Business was suspended. All shops were closed. The Champs Elysées, the Place Madeleine, and every avenue leading to the Palais Bourbon and the residence of Louis Napoleon, were filled with dense masses of troops in fighting order. More than 50,000 men were under arms. They, too, were awaiting they knew not what; but were ready, at the order of their chiefs, to rise and slay.”* In some parts of the city, “certain streets were closed; those who had homes therein, found no little difficulty in reaching them.” From early morn, during the entire day, the people seemed stunned by the event. No one was prepared for it; and as they became, by degrees, aware of the stringent measures of the president, and began to discuss the events of the night, the first sentiments were those of admiration at the cleverness with which they had been effected.† To an observer, the character of the Parisians, people usually so active and voluble, seemed entirely changed—they were stern and quiet: they “appeared as if stunned by a violent blow. Men held their breath. It was not the settled composure with which the seaman looks upon the coming storm, but the anxiety and terror with which an expected earthquake is awaited.”‡

When the deputies heard, on the morning of the 2nd of December, of the arrests which had

* *Parisian Scenes*: by Peter Parley (Mr. Goodrich); who was in Paris at the time

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

been made an hour or two previous, it appears, that the impulse of many of them was, to go to the hall of meeting, which they found guarded by the chasseurs de Vincennes. They were prevented from entering; three of them, MM. Talhouet, Etienne, and Dupare, were slightly wounded; several others had their clothes torn; and it was found necessary to retire. Still they determined to meet if possible; and they repaired to the hall of the *mairie* of the 10th arrondissement. There 230 deputies were collected, out of the 750 who composed the assembly. MM. Vitet and Benoist d'Azy, two of the vice-presidents, presided; two secretaries, MM. Moulin and Chapot, were present; and also the short-hand writer, who preserved a record of the proceedings. The members present declared their sitting *en permanence*, and then adopted a decree drawn up by M. Berryer; in which the dissolution of the assembly by the president of the republic, was pronounced, in pursuance of Art. 68 of the constitution, an act of high treason. The commission of that act, it was declared, had deprived Louis Napoleon of all authority; the citizens were enjoined to withhold their obedience; and the executive power having passed to the assembly, it called upon the judges of the high court of justice to meet immediately, under pain of forfeiture, and to proceed to the judgment of the president and his accomplices.—All the deputies present signed this decree; and another, constituting general Oudinot commander of the public forces, and M. Tamisier chief of the staff. Thus far had the deputies proceeded, when the appearance of a body of troops prevented their further progress. M. Benoist d'Azy read the two decrees to these men, and ordered them to retire. Both officers and privates appeared uncertain how to act; but two commissaries of police entered the room, and summoned the deputies to disperse. They refused; the commissaries seized the two vice-presidents by the collar, to compel them to leave the hall; then the rest followed in couples, the soldiers guarding them. In that order they were taken to the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay, where they were detained.

"Night was coming on, and it was wet and cold. Yet the assembly was left two hours in the open air, as if the government did not deign to remember its existence. The representatives made their last roll-call, in the presence of their short-hand writer, who had followed them. The number present was 218; to whom were added about twenty more, in the course of the evening, consisting of members who had voluntarily caused themselves to be arrested. Almost all the men known to France and to Europe, who formed the majority of the legislative assembly, were gathered together in that place. Few were wanting, except those who, like M. Molè, had not been suffered to

meet their colleagues. There were present, among others, M. de Broglie, who had come, though ill: the father of the house, the venerable Keratry, whose physical strength was inferior to his moral courage, and whom it was necessary to seat on a straw chair in the barrack-yard: Odillon Barrot, Dufaure, Berryer, Remusat, Duvergier d'Hauranne, Gustave de Beaumont, de Tocqueville, de Falloux, Lanjuinais, de Luynes, de Montebello: admirals Lainé and Cécille, generals Oudinot and Lauriston. There were twelve ex-ministers, nine of whom had served under Louis Napoleon himself; eight members of the Institute; all men who had struggled for three years to defend society, and to resist the demagogic faction." Ultimately, these men were placed in the barrack-rooms for the night: the next morning some were conveyed to the fortress of Mont Valerien; others to the prison Mazas; and a third division to Vincennes. The greater number were released on the 5th; but some were kept much longer in custody.*

On the 2nd, M. Hardouin, president; M. Pataille, M. Moreau, M. de la Palme, and M. Couchy, judges of the high court of justice, met in the tribunal, and drew up a decree or judgment, declaring, that the dissolution of the assembly by the president of the republic, fell under the case provided for in the 68th article of the constitution, and "rendered the convocation of the high court of justice imperative." The court was, therefore, declared constituted; and M. Renouard, councillor of the high court of cassation, was named to discharge the duties of public accuser. The court then adjourned to the next day, at noon, when their meeting was prevented.

On that day, the 3rd, general de St. Arnaud addressed a circular to the army, demanding that the votes of the soldiers should be taken, *aye* or *no*, upon the following *plebiscite*:—"The French people wishes the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and intrust him with the powers necessary to frame a constitution, on the basis named in his proclamation of the 2nd instant."—The president also—having first ordered the *Salle Provisoire*, built for the national assembly in 1848, to be pulled down—issued a decree convoking the people to assemble in their districts, to vote on the same *plebiscite*. All Frenchmen aged twenty-one, and enjoying their civil rights, were called upon to vote; and the ballot was ordered to be opened on the 20th and 21st of December, in the capital of each commune. The same day a consultative commission was formed, to replace the council of state, abolished by the presidential decree; and a list of the members was published in the *Moniteur* of the

* M. Léon Faucher (one of the imprisoned deputies) in a letter to the *Times*.

4th. It included the names of MM. Molé and Léon Faucher, who indignantly refused to act; as did several others—who declined, with M. Faucher, to “participate, directly or indirectly, in the violation of the laws.”

The 3rd of December was distinguished by an excitement amongst the populace, as if expecting and preparing for some great event. There was an evident uneasiness pervading the masses—a restlessness which could not be subdued. In several parts of Paris, members of the “Mountain” party of the late assembly addressed the people who gathered round them, till they were dispersed by the police. Several barricades were erected, which were immediately attacked, and carried by the troops; and as the day advanced, fresh proclamations were issued, forbidding the people to assemble, or carriages to appear in the streets; and decreeing death to all taken near barricades, with arms in their hands. Crowds—among whom were seen a few deputies, wearing their scarfs—collected, notwithstanding; especially on the Boulevards and the quays; they were repeatedly charged and dispersed by the police, and as quickly reassembled, defying their assailants. The night was spent by some in doubt and fear; by others in preparing for resistance. In the morning of the 4th, it was rumoured that barricades were being erected on the Boulevard, near the Porte St. Denis. This was true. A great many *ouvriers* had collected there, who were tearing down the staging from unfinished houses, and the cross-railings from the magnificent gateway—dragging together omnibuses, carts, and carriages of all descriptions; and tearing up the pavement in every direction. Whilst one portion of the mob was busily employed in throwing up the defences, another broke into the nearest guard-house, carried away the arms, and placed the flag which had floated over it, on one of the barricades. The movements were directed by men in blouses, armed with cutlasses, muskets, and pistols. They led men to houses and shops, to search for arms; and when they were freely given, the words “arms given” were placed on the door, as was done in the days of February, 1848. While the barricades were erecting, a few deputies of the “Mountain” party, wearing their scarfs of office, laboured earnestly to induce the people to rise against the president. A number of them signed a proclamation, drawn up by Victor Hugo, denouncing Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as a traitor, who had violated the constitution, and placed himself without the pale of the law; and calling upon the people to do their duty—the republican representatives marching at their head. Two young men undertook to get this document printed; but it never appeared.*

During the day, the city was patrolled by

* Schoelcher.

bodies of the military; but that did not prevent the erection of the barricade in the Rue St. Denis, which was of the most formidable description. The next morning, the Boulevards Montmartre, Poissonnière, and des Italiens, were lined with infantry and cavalry; and a strong column of infantry and artillery was placed opposite the barricade. A furious fire was opened upon it; which the defenders returned as furiously, killing many of the troops. The defenders could not stand long, however, against the showers of shot from the cannon: they were beaten down; the insurgents fled; and there was no further resistance. Then the soldiers, either from a wanton, sanguinary impulse—or from a panic, for which there was not the slightest cause—or on account of a stray shot being fired from one of the houses lining the Boulevards, as was alleged—commenced a discharge of musketry, and even cannon, at the windows of the houses, by which great damage was effected; and although the inhabitants fled to the cellars or any other place where they could find shelter, many were killed. An Englishman, captain Jesse, who, with his wife, was then in Paris, and occupied apartments in the Boulevard Montmartre, was, with Mrs. Jesse, observing the *mêlée* from his window, and had a narrow escape. By dashing his wife on the floor, that lady avoided a shot aimed at them; but “a volley came against the whole front of the house, the balcony, and windows; one shot broke the mirror over the chimney-piece, another the shade of the clock; every pane of glass but one was smashed; the curtains and window-frames cut; the room, in short, was riddled.” Nearly every house in the Boulevard suffered in the same way; the troops “firing volley upon volley, for more than a quarter of an hour, without any return. They shot down many of the unhappy individuals who remained on the Boulevard, and could not obtain an entrance into any house: the soldiers also entered houses whence no shots ever came;”† and the entire transaction appears to have been unprovoked and utterly indefensible. It was, as it has been designated, “a murderous outrage,” for which those who committed it never were made to atone; but were, on the contrary, thanked, as having discharged a military duty!

On the evening of the 4th, all appearance of resistance having vanished, general de St. Arnaud issued an “order of the day to the troops,” in the following terms:—“Soldiers!—You have to-day accomplished a great act of your military life. You have preserved the country from anarchy and pillage, and saved the republic. You have shown yourselves what you will always be—brave, devoted, and indefatigable. France admires you, and thanks you. The president of the republic will never forget your devotedness.

† Letter of captain Jesse.

Victory could not be doubtful. The true people, all honest men, are with you. In all the garrisons of France your companions-in-arms are proud of you, and will, when called upon, follow your example." The same evening, M. de Maupas, the prefect of police, addressed a circular to the commissaries of Paris; in which he told them, that "the *émeute* was suppressed;" but "the excitement to revolt continued. Ardent demagogues mixed with the groups, to excite to agitation, and to circulate false news." The "Mountain ex-representatives" were described as anxious "to turn to account the last remnants of their old *prestige*;" and "furnished lodging-houses, *cafés*, and suspected houses," were said to have "become the refuge of conspirators and insurgents. Arms, ammunition, and incendiary writings were concealed there;" and "all the causes of agitation must be suppressed, by practising, upon a large scale, a system of search and arrests."

This system was pursued to some extent on the two following days; and on the 7th of December, the 5th legion of the national guard was disbanded by a decree of the president; it being stated, that members of the corps, during the insurrection, had written on their doors, "*armes données*." On the 8th, the president addressed a proclamation "to the French people;" telling them, that "disturbances had disappeared; and that, whatever might be their decision, the country was saved." Thus, "the first part of his task was accomplished;" and "why," he asked, "should the people rise against him? If he had not their confidence—if their ideas were changed, there was no necessity to shed precious blood. They had only to deposit in the urn a contrary vote. He would always respect the decision of the nation; but, till the nation had spoken, he should not hesitate, at any sacrifice, to baffle the attempts of the factions." Those attempts were continued in the departments some time after their repression in Paris; but prompt measures were at once taken. Wherever insurrection appeared, the department was declared in a state of siege; and as the military implicitly obeyed the orders of the president, and as the objects of the insurgents appeared to be rather the plunder of property than political liberty, and obtained no sympathy from the nation at large—order was soon restored, after some lives were lost, and numerous prisoners made.

As the time approached for the ballot upon the *plebiscite*, great excitement was displayed, and interest evinced, though few doubted the result. To conciliate the priests, and at all events neutralise their influence, if he could not make them active friends, the president issued a decree restoring the Panthéon to public worship, "conformably to the intention of its founder, under the invocation of St. Geneviève, the

patron of Paris." This step had, doubtless, some effect. Perhaps a letter of M. de Montalembert, which appeared in *L'Univers*, had more. He declared that he should vote in favour of the president, for three reasons:—First, because to declare against him, would be to declare in favour of the socialist revolution, the only thing which could succeed the existing government. Secondly, because to abstain would be to act against all the antecedent conduct of the legitimists; as it would be an abdication of the mission of honest men, at the very moment when the mission was most imperative, and the most likely to be fruitful. Thirdly, because to vote for Louis Napoleon was not to approve of all he had done, but to choose between him and the total ruin of France. "It was not to say that his government was that which they preferred to every other; but simply to declare, that they preferred a prince who had given such proofs of resolution and cleverness, to those persons who were showing their principles of murder and pillage." Probably these reasons had weight with others besides the writer. At all events, when the *plebiscite* was put to the vote, there were 7,439,219 "ayes," to 640,737 "noes."

On the evening of the 31st of December, the consultative commission was received by the president; and M. Baroche, its vice-president, announced the above numbers to him, in a complimentary speech. The president, in reply, said, "France had responded to the loyal appeal he made to her. She comprehended that he departed from legality only to return to right. Upwards of seven million votes had absolved him, by justifying an act which had no other object than to save France, and perhaps Europe, from years of trouble and anarchy." Thanking the people for their confidence, he said, "he understood all the grandeur of his new mission, and did not deceive himself as to its difficulties. But, if they would assist him with their intelligence and patriotism, he had no doubt of success;" or of "giving satisfaction to the exigencies of the moment, by creating a system which would reconstitute authority without wounding the feelings of equality; and without closing any path of improvement, would lay the foundation of the only edifices capable of supporting a wise and beneficent liberty." Since the 1st of December, up to that period, there had been a reign of terror, rather than of liberty. The arrests had been numerous; and nothing could be more despotic than the manner in which the parties were arrested. Hundreds were banished to Cayenne, Algeria, and other places, without trial, and forbidden to return to France; whilst some were retained in prison. On the 9th of December, the president, by a decree, authorised the transportation, for six or ten years, of all persons who, being placed under the surveillance

of the police, broke their bounds, or joined secret societies; and before the 20th of December, thirty-four departments were placed in a state of siege. For a time, all law and justice were suspended; and, very *apropos* to this state of things, orders were issued to the inhabitants, by the prefects of departments, acting by authority, to remove, immediately, from the fronts of public edifices and dwellings, "every political inscription, without exception; and in particular, the words 'liberty,' 'equality,' 'fraternity.'" All trees of liberty were also ordered to be cut down, except those which had grown up luxuriantly, and become an ornament to the commune.

In the *Moniteur* of January 1st, 1852, the number of votes given for and against the *plebiscite* were published; and also a decree, re-establishing the imperial eagle as the French ensign; and ordering it to be placed on the cross of the legion of honour. The day was observed as a general holiday in the French capital. In the morning, Louis Napoleon was installed, at the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, as president for ten years; and after hearing a thanksgiving sermon, he took up his official residence at the Tuileries, where he received the diplomatic body; but L'Elysée was still his domestic retreat. From the Tuileries, a decree was issued on the 4th of January, ordaining, that all French coin hereafter to be circulated, should bear the effigy of prince Louis Napoleon. On the 10th and 11th three more important decrees were promulgated. By one of those, which appeared on the 10th, MM. Marc Dufraise, Greppo, Miat, Mathè, and Richardet—five ex-deputies who were active in the Rue St. Denis on the 3rd and 4th of December—were banished to French Guiana, for taking part in what was called "the recent insurrection." By the other, sixty-seven ex-representatives—including those celebrated members of the French literary world, Victor Hugo and Eugene Sue—"whose residence in France," said the document, "would be calculated to foment civil war," were, "as a measure of general safety," banished from the territory of France, whether in Europe or elsewhere; and 575 persons, who had "offered resistance to the authorities," were ordered to be sent to Cayenne. Generals Changarnier, Lamoricière, and Bedeau, colonel Charras, MM. Le Flos and Bazé, M. Thiers, E. Girardin, and ten other deputies, were conducted to the Belgian frontier, and set at liberty; but ordered not to return to France without leave. General Cavaignac, who was not included amongst the exiled, was, at his own request, placed on the retired list, and the banished generals were allowed to draw their half-pay. To defray the expenses attendant upon sending so many persons out of the country, a credit of 3,587,000*f.* (£143,485) was opened for the minister of marine.—By the decree of the 11th of January,

the national guard was reorganised upon an entirely new footing. Whilst all Frenchmen, from twenty-five to fifty years of age, were liable to serve, the government was empowered to fix the number for each locality, and to name the communes in which it was necessary the guard should be organised. The president of the republic was to nominate all the superior officers; and the guard, when enrolled, was placed under the authority of the *maires*, prefects, sub-prefects, and the minister of the interior.

On the 14th of January the new constitution was promulgated to the people of France. It was prefaced by a long address from "the president to Frenchmen;" in which Louis Napoleon professed "not to substitute a personal theory for the experience of centuries;" but to have "given a preference to the precepts of genius over the specious doctrines of men of abstract ideas." He had taken as his models, the political institutions of the consulate and the empire, "which, instead of vanishing at the first breath of popular agitation, were only overturned by the might of all Europe, coalesced against France." The various social institutions of the old *régime* were vanished. "The revolution had applied a thorough reform to them, but it founded nothing definite in their place. The first consul alone re-established unity, hierarchy, and the true principles of government. They were still in vigour." "It might be affirmed, that the frame of their social edifice was the work of the emperor; it had stood firm, resisting his fall, and the shock of three revolutions: why, since they had the same origin, should not his political institutions have the same chance of duration?" Those institutions were embodied in the new constitution.

That document consisted of eight chapters, and fifty-eight articles. The first chapter and article "recognised, confirmed, and guaranteed the great principles proclaimed in 1789, as the bases of the public rights of the French." By Chapter 2, the executive government of the republic was vested in a president, prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, elected for ten years, who was to govern by means of ministers, a council of state, a senate, and a legislative body; the legislative power to be exercised by the two latter and the president.—Chapter 3 defined the powers of the president; who, "responsible to the French people, to whom he had, at all times, the right to make an appeal," was to be chief of the state; to command the army and navy; to declare war and make peace; to conclude all treaties; to nominate to all appointments; and to make and issue the regulations and decrees necessary for the administration of the laws. Justice was to be administered in his name; he alone was to have the initiative of laws, and the right of granting pardon; was to sanction and promulgate the laws, and the *senatus consulta*; and to

have the right of declaring one or several departments in a state of siege, on condition of consulting the senate, with the least possible delay. The ministers to depend on the chief of the state; to be only individually, not jointly responsible; and to be impeached only by the senate. All members of the government and legislature, and every *employé*, civil, judicial, and military, to "swear obedience to the constitution, and fidelity to the president." In the event of the death of the president before the expiration of his term of office, the senate was to convoke the nation to proceed to a fresh election; the president of the senate, and the ministers, to administer the government *ad interim*. The president to have the right, by a secret act, deposited in the archives of the senate, to point out to the people the person he considered most entitled to their suffrages, as his successor. The last article of this chapter provided, that the salary of the president should be fixed by a *senatus consultum*.—Chapter 4 defined the duties of the senate; and Chapter 5 those of the legislative body. The former, to consist at first of eighty, was not to exceed 150 members; to be composed of cardinals, marshals, admirals, and citizens, named by the president; to whom he might grant, "on account of services rendered, or their position with regard to fortune, a personal dotation, not to exceed 30,000*f*. (£1,200) per annum. The legislative body to comprise one deputy for every 35,000 electors; the deputies to be elected for six years, by universal suffrage, and to receive no salaries, except the president. The ministers not to be members of the legislative body.—Chapter 6 declared, that the council of state should consist of from forty to fifty members, to be appointed and removed by the president, and presided over by him. The salary of each councillor to be 25,000*f*. (£1,000) per annum. The ministers to have the right of sitting, and a deliberative voice, in the council.—By Chapter 7, a high court of justice was appointed, to be convened by a decree of the president; for the purpose of judging, without appeal, all persons charged with crimes against the state.—The 8th chapter referred to general and transitory provisions; all such, not contrary to the constitution, to remain in force till legally abrogated; and all the decrees issued by the president since the 1st of December, to have the force of law.—Looking at the power given to the council of state, the legislative body, and the senate, it appears, that laws were to be drawn up by the first, under the direction of the president; then discussed by the second, which could make no amendments without the sanction of the council; and, finally, submitted to, and promulgated by, the third. Thus, in reality, the legislation was in the hands of the president and his ministers, as no law could be originated in any other quarter.

The decree constituting the council of state, deviated from the letter of the constitution in extending the number of its members. It was provided, as already stated, that the council should consist of from forty to fifty members. The words of the decree were—"The council of state is composed—1st. Of a vice-president, named by the president of the republic.—2nd. Of from forty to fifty councillors of state on ordinary service.—3rd. Of councillors of state on ordinary service, unattached to any particular section; the number of whom cannot exceed fifteen.—4th. Of councillors of state on extraordinary service; the number not to exceed twenty.—5th. Of forty masters of requests.—6th. Of forty auditors, to be divided into two classes of twenty each.—A secretary-general, with the rank of a master of requests, to be attached to the council."—By a decree of the 21st of January, the ex-representatives, not included in the decrees of banishment, were authorised to return to their homes. On the 22nd, another decree appeared, establishing an office called that of minister of state, to which M. de Casabianca was appointed; and who was to have the care of the correspondence of the president with the different ministries; to countersign all the president's decrees; to draw up the minutes of the councils of ministers; to superintend the official part of the *Moniteur*; and to administer the national palaces and manufactures. A second decree, of the same date, instituted the office of minister of police, which was conferred upon M. Maupas. A third reconstituted the ministry. M. Abbattucci was named keeper of the seals and minister of justice; M. de Persigny, of the interior, of agriculture, and of commerce; M. Bineau, of finance; general de St. Arnaud, of war; M. Ducos, of marine; M. Turgot, of foreign affairs; M. Fortoul, of public instruction; and M. Lefebvre Dumflè, of public works.

On the 23rd of January, two decrees were issued, relating to the property of the Orleans family. The first set forth, that "all the governments which had succeeded each other, had judged it indispensable to oblige the family which ceased to reign to sell the real and personal property it possessed in France; Louis XVIII. having, on the 12th of January, 1816, constrained the family of the emperor Napoleon to sell their personal property within six months; and, on the 10th of April, 1832, Louis-Philippe having acted in the same manner towards the princes of the elder branch of the Bourbons:" therefore, it was decreed, "that the members of the Orleans family, their husbands, wives, and descendants, cannot possess any real or personal property in France;" but must "sell, in a definitive manner, all the property belonging to them in the republic." A year was allowed to effect the sale; and, if it were not completed in the time, then the administration of domains

was to proceed in the matter, as prescribed by the law of April 10th, 1832. The second decree was introduced by a very long preamble. It stated, in substance, that, by "the ancient public law of France, maintained by the decree of the 21st of September, 1790, and by the law of the 8th of November, 1814, all the property that belonged to the princes on their accession to the throne, was, of full right, and at the very instant, united to the domain of the crown;" and that this "principle ascended to very distant times of the monarchy." That it was not revoked by any legislative act, when Louis-Philippe accepted the throne on the 9th of August, 1830; that the dotation, subject to a life interest, made of his property, on the 7th of August, to the younger children, to the exclusion of the eldest son, "had only for its object to prevent the union, to the domain of the state, of the large estates possessed by the prince called to the throne;" and that, at the time, he "was not a private person, as the two chambers had declared him king of the French on the sole condition of taking the oath to the charter." On these grounds it was decreed, that the real and personal property, which was the object of the dotation made on the 7th of August, 1830, by king Louis-Philippe, was restored to the domain of the state; the state remaining charged with the payment of the debts of the civil-list of the late reign, and with the dowry of 300,000*f.* (£12,000) to the duchess d'Orleans. This property was to be sold, and distributed as follows:—To the *Sociétés des Secours Mutuels*, established July 15th, 1830—10,000,000*f.* (£400,000). Similar sums to be employed in ameliorating the dwellings of workmen, in the great manufacturing towns; and in the establishment of institutions for making loans on mortgages; 5,000,000*f.* to be employed in establishing a retiring pension-fund, for the poorest assistant clergy; and the remainder to be united to the dotation of the legion of honour. From that dotation, thus increased, pensions were to be paid of 250*f.*, to simple members of the legion; 500*f.* to officers; 1,000*f.* to commanders; 2,000*f.* to grand officers; and 3,000*f.* to grand crosses. A military medal was created, giving the right to 100*f.* of life-rent to those on whom it was bestowed. A national château was to be appropriated as a school for the indigent daughters or orphans of those who obtained that medal; and the château of Saverne to be repaired and finished, as an asylum for the widows of high functionaries, civil or military, dying in the service of the state. In consideration of these arrangements, the president of the republic abandoned all demands arising out of the confiscations pronounced, in 1814 and 1815, against the Bonaparte family.

These decrees (which were followed by a third, on the 25th of January, restoring the

titles of the nobility) created a great sensation, and called forth many expressions of disapprobation. In consequence of them, M. de Montalembert resigned his office as a member of the consultative commission; and M. Dupin (who was appointed executor, under the will of Louis-Philippe) withdrew from that of procureur-general to the court of cassation. In the letter in which he sent his resignation to the president, he pointed out, that the right of the Orleans family to the property in question, had been recognised by the laws of the 2nd of March, 1832; by the decree of the constituent assembly, of the 25th of October, 1848; and by the law of the legislative assembly, of the 4th of February, 1850. The duke de Nemours and the prince de Joinville addressed a manly and temperate letter to M. Dupin, and the other testamentary executors of Louis-Philippe, after the appearance of the letter of the former; in which they intimated their intention to treat the imputations cast upon their father by "a disdainful silence;" pointing out, that they were made by one "who, on two different occasions, received proofs of the magnanimity of king Louis-Philippe, and whose family never received anything from him but benefits."—They appealed to the law, before the civil tribunal of the Seine; and the matter came also before the *Section Contentieuse* of the council of state; as the prefect of the Seine objected, that the tribunal had no jurisdiction in the matter. The judges decided that the court was competent to entertain the case; but the councillors of state came to a contrary decision, except as regarded the property acquired by Louis-Philippe, after his accession to the throne: all that was included in the dotation of August 7th, 1830, was declared to be beyond the jurisdiction of the courts, being irrevocably attached to the state.

The new electoral law, settled by the president and the council of state, was published on the 3rd of February. The number of deputies was fixed at 261; each department returning one for every 35,000 electors: and those departments which had more than 60,000, but did not reach 70,000, still were to return two representatives. The departments to be divided into as many electoral districts as they returned deputies—each district to return one deputy; the division to be revised every five years. The suffrage to be direct and universal; the votes to be taken by secret ballot, and the electoral districts to be divided into sections, to suit the convenience of the electors. Most of the details of this law were taken from that of May 31st, 1850: the great difference between the two being, that the law of May—excluding entirely from the franchise, persons convicted of certain crimes and misdemeanours—required a residence of three years, in addition to a good character,

and the age of twenty-one years; while in that of February 3rd, the term of residence was reduced to six months.

During the time the elections were in progress, on the 16th of February, a new law on the press, compiled by the president and his council, was published. By Article 1 of this decree, the previous authorisation of government was made essential to the establishment of any periodical; and that authorisation was only to be given to a French subject, in the enjoyment of his civil and political rights. When established, a similar authorisation was made necessary, before any change in the *personnel* of the paper could take place. Foreign journals were prohibited, except under a similar authorisation. Caution-money, in cash, was to be paid into the treasury, before the first number of a paper appeared, to the amount of 50,000f., in the departments of the Seine, the Seine-et-Oise, the Seine-et-Marne, and the Rhone, if the journal appeared oftener than three days a-week; if three days a-week, or less, 30,000f.: in other departments, the deposit was to be 25,000f., or 15,000f. A stamp-duty was imposed upon journals and pamphlets, of six cents. per sheet, in the departments of the Seine and Seine-et-Oise, and of three cents. in the other departments. The sittings of the senate, the private sittings of the council of state, and trials for press offences, were prohibited from being reported; the courts of law had also power given them to prohibit the publication of reports of any proceedings before them; but the judgments, in all cases, might be published: the publication of articles treating of political matters, written by persons condemned to a *peine afflictive et infamante*, or *infamante* only, was also prohibited: and for the publication of drawings, engravings, &c., the previous authorisation of the minister of police, of Paris, or of the prefects in the departments, must be obtained. Prosecutions were to take place before the tribunals of correctional police; and appeals to be heard before the correctional chamber of the court of appeals. Heavy punishments were affixed to violations of this law; the fines varying from 100f. to 500f., and the imprisonment from one month to two years. By the last article of this tyrannical and oppressive decree, power was given to the executive to "warn" journalists, if they were considered to be offending propriety, or endangering the state; and after two warnings, given in a period of two months, the offending journal might be suspended by a ministerial decree. After the condemnation of the responsible editor of a journal, the power of suspension for two months was vested in the government. Two condemnations, or contraventions of the law, within the period of two years, might be followed by the suppression of the journal; and, "as a measure

of general safety," a journal might be suppressed, after a judicial or administrative suspension, "by a special decree of the president of the republic, published in the *Bulletin des Lois*."

Thus the complete control of the press—the power to prohibit the publication of anything the least unpleasant to the president and his ministry—was placed in the hands of the executive. Still further to suppress manifestations of public opinion, before the legislature met, another decree appeared, on the 17th of February, prohibiting all *fêtes*, except the celebration of the 15th of August. The reason given for ordering other holidays to be discontinued was, that, "they recalled the remembrance of civil discords;" the *fête* of August was retained, because "it tended to unite all minds in the common sentiment of national glory."

On the 28th of February, all the departments of France which had been subjected to a state of siege, were relieved from the pressure of martial law; and on the 29th the legislature met at the Tuileries. The two chambers assembled together; the senate being entirely composed of men who had, in various ways, distinguished themselves in support of Louis Napoleon; whose uncle, prince Jerome Bonaparte, was appointed president. The president of the republic was present; and after the senators and deputies had taken the oath to the constitution—standing in front of his chair, he read a long speech; and those parts of that document which allege the causes that justified the *coup-d'état*, it is only fair to give in his own words.

After declaring that the dictatorship, with which he had been entrusted, ceased from that day—the president said—"It is with a feeling of real satisfaction, that I come to proclaim here the realisation of the constitution; for my constant anxiety has been, not only to establish order, but to render it lasting, by giving to France institutions suited to her wants. You remember, gentlemen, that only some months ago, the more I limited myself to the strict circle of my functions, the more was it attempted to confine me, in order to attempt to deprive me of motion and of action. Often discouraged, I avow that I thought of abandoning an authority which was so disputed. What prevented me was, that I foresaw the occurrence of one thing—anarchy. In fact, on all sides destructive passions became more exalted, and authority became incapable of founding anything. Nowhere was there an institution to which, or an individual to whom, to attach oneself. Nowhere was there a right that was not disputed; nowhere was there an organisation of any kind—a system capable of realisation.—When, thanks to the assistance of some courageous men—thanks, especially, to the energetic attitude of the army—every danger was banished in a few

hours, my first care was to demand institutions for the people. For a long time society resembled a pyramid, attempted to be turned upside-down, and set on its summit. I have replaced it on its base. Universal suffrage, the only source of right in such conjunctures, was immediately re-established, and authority regained its ascendancy. France adopting the principal provisions of the constitution I submitted to it, I was allowed to create the political bodies whose influence and weight will be all the greater as their functions will have been wisely regulated. Among political institutions, those are, in fact, the only ones that can endure, which fix in an equitable manner the limits where each power ought to stop. There is no other way to arrive at a useful and beneficial application of liberty. Why, in 1814, was the commencement of a parliamentary *régime*, in spite of all our reverses, seen with satisfaction? It was because the emperor—let us not fear to avow it—had been, by the prevalence of war, led into the too absolute exercise of power. Why, on the contrary, in 1851, did France applaud the fall of that same parliamentary *régime*? Because the chamber had abused the influence that had been given to it; and, wishing to reign over all, it had endangered the general equilibrium. In fine, why does France remain unmoved at the restrictions on the liberty of the press, and of individuals? Because the one had degenerated into license; and in the exercise of the other, numbers were found, who, in place of being satisfied with the regulated right of each, had, by odious excesses, menaced the right of all.” * * * “The French nation has (perhaps for the first time) given to the world the imposing spectacle of a great people, with the utmost freedom, voting the form of its government. Thus the chief, whom you see before you, truly represents the expression of the popular will. And before me, what do I see? Two chambers—the one elected in virtue of the most liberal law existing in the world; the other named by me, it is true, but also independent, because it is irremovable. Around me you see men of known patriotism and merit, always ready to support me with their counsels, and to enlighten me as to the necessities of the country. This constitution, then, which from this day forward is to be put in execution, is not the work of a vain theory and despotism; it is the work of experience and reason: you will aid me, gentlemen, to extend, to consolidate, to ameliorate it.”—In conclusion—alluding to what had been repeatedly affirmed, that, “in seeking to re-establish the institutions and recollections of the empire, he sought to re-establish the empire itself”—the president said—“When I borrow examples from the consulate

* Armand Marrast, the principal editor of the *National*, and one of the leaders of the revolution of Feb-

and the empire, it is because I find them there especially stamped with nationality and grandeur. Being determined, now as before, to do everything for France, and nothing for myself, I should accept no modification of the present state of things, unless I was forced to do so by evident necessity. Whence can that necessity arise? Solely from the conduct of parties. If they resign themselves, nothing shall be changed. But if, by underhand intrigues, they endeavour to sap the bases of my government; if, in their blindness, they venture to contest the legitimacy of popular election; if, finally, they endanger, by their incessant attacks, the future prospects of the country—then, and only then, it may be reasonable to demand from the people, in the name of the repose of France, a new title, which will irrevocably fix in my hand the power with which the people has invested me. But let us not preoccupy ourselves with difficulties, which, most likely, have no probability. Let us maintain the republic. It menaces none, and may reassure all. Under its banner I wish to inaugurate a new era of oblivion and conciliation; and I call, without distinction, on all those who wish to co-operate with me, to aid me in furthering the public good.”

The session of the chambers was then formally opened by speeches from marshal Jerome Bonaparte, president of the senate; and M. Billault, president of the legislative body. Both addresses were in the spirit of the president's speech, and were highly complimentary to that individual.—The two bodies did not immediately proceed to business; for it was not till the 22nd of March,* that the decree defining the relations of the senate and legislative body to the council of state, and prescribing rules for securing the harmonious action of the three, was issued.—The chambers continued sitting till June 28th; but no important measures came before them—if we except M. Bineau's plan for converting the five per cents. It was simple. He proposed to reduce the interest to four-and-a-half per cent., and to pay off the *rentes* held by those who refused to accept the lesser rate. Those who did, were to receive a guarantee that no further reduction would be proposed for ten years. The sinking-fund, attached to the five per cents., it was proposed to transfer to the new four-and-a-half per cents. This measure was adopted, and carried out with little trouble. The budget was something less in amount than that of the preceding year; and amongst the financial votes of the session, were 2,800,000f. (£112,000) for improving the navigation of a portion of the river Seine; 1,500,000f. (£60,000) for similar objects on the course of the river Rhone, running between Arles and the sea; 300,000f. (£12,000) for improvements in the

ruary, 1848, died on the 10th; and the widow of marshal Soult on the 12th of March.

port of Boulogne; a similar grant for Selles, in the district of La Vendée; 500,000f. (£20,000) towards the works of defence on the Point La Grace; 470,000f. (£18,800) for building, and other public works. These sums were obtained by the president to encourage industry; and the legislature, we are told by one of his eulogists, taking its impulse from him, adopted decisive measures to promote great public undertakings, which were thwarted by the late assembly; and thus "vigour, energy, and consistency of action, took the place of inertness, distraction, and discord;" to the great advantage of the people.

The president closed the session as he opened it, with a message, which was read by M. Billaud. He thanked the senators and deputies for their loyal co-operation, and the support they had given to the new institutions; and promised, during the interval of the recess, to endeavour to ascertain the wants of the country; and to prepare the projects which would permit him to diminish the burdens of the state, without detriment to the public service.

While the chambers were sitting, on the 10th of May, a grand military *fête*, arranged by the president and general de St. Arnaud, took place in the Champ-de-Mars. It had been resolved, as already noticed, to revive the eagle, as the ensign of the French nation; and the new insignia were to be delivered to the troops on that day. The entire army was represented by detachments from each regiment; the whole amounting to between 70,000 and 80,000 men. A splendid *fauteuil* was erected for the president, covered with crimson velvet, fringed with gold; the eagle, surmounted by flags, scaring up behind. There were, also, a *fauteuil* for prince Jerome; a tribune for the members of the diplomatic body; and galleries for the ministers, the councillors of state, the members of the senate and legislative body, the judges, and other officials, the national guard, and for distinguished foreigners; who were invited for the occasion, to the number of 1,500. Two sides of the Champ-de-Mars were enclosed with pavilions for the people—over which floated numerous tricoloured flags; and in front of the president's *fauteuil* was an altar, enclosed in veils of crimson velvet and gold. The deputations from the army were arranged *en échelon*, on platforms, rising one above the other, in the order and number of their respective regiments. The banners, which were to be distributed, were placed on pyramidal stands, in the space to the rear of the president. The minister of war and the commander-in-chief stood by these stands; and by those personages were the eagles delivered to the president for presentation: the chief of each corps advanced in rotation, and received its ensign, and then resumed his place. When all were delivered, the president thus addressed the deputations:—

"Soldiers!—The history of nations is, in a great measure, the history of armies: on their success, or reverses, depends the fate of civilisation, and of the country. If conquered, the result is invasion or anarchy; if victorious, it is glory and order. Thus nations, like armies, entertain a religious veneration for those emblems of military honour, which sum up, in themselves, a history of past struggles and trials. The Roman eagle, adopted by the emperor Napoleon at the commencement of this century, was the most striking signification of the grandeur and regeneration of France. It disappeared in our misfortunes; it ought to return, when France, recovered from her defeats, and mistress of herself, seems no longer to repudiate her own glory. Soldiers! resume, then, these eagles! Not as a menace against foreign powers, but as the symbol of our independence, as the *souvenir* of an heroic epoch, and as a sign of the nobleness of each regiment. Take again these eagles, which have so often led our fathers to victory; and swear to die, if necessary, in their defence!"

Loud cries of "*Vive Napoléon!*" followed this speech; and there were also cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" but they were neither very animated nor very numerous, and passed over without observation. The ceremony concluded with a prayer offered up at the altar by the archbishop of Paris; and the vast assembly dispersed, amidst cries of "*Vive Napoléon!*" and cheers for the army. The event was celebrated by several banquets, and by an illumination in the evening. This demonstration was followed by a conciliatory act on the part of the president; who, on the 12th of May, granted permission to M. Arago to remain at the head of the observatory, without taking the oath to the constitution.

With the army the president was evidently extremely popular, and he could not have taken a step more grateful to the troops than the restoration of the eagles. There was little or no doubt that he could implicitly rely upon their support; and the great masses of the people were animated by the same feeling. But there was a current of disaffection still circulating in the body politic, which the adherents of the "Mountain" were endeavouring to direct in their favour. These efforts produced disturbing manifestations in several departments; and, to subdue them, after the state of siege was raised, mixed commissions, composed of civil and military officials, were sent into the departments, to try and punish offenders. The parties brought before these commissions were numerous; and in all their spheres of action, several thousand individuals were sent to prison; and others were condemned to exile. At the close of March, a decree was issued by the president, providing for the removal of the latter

from the country, and ordering severe punishments to be inflicted on those who returned without leave. Soon after, in consequence of complaints from some of the parties sentenced, of the severity with which they were visited, the president appointed a special commission, to revise the judgments of the mixed tribunals. This commission made its report at the end of April; and it was stated, in that document, that the parties complained of, instead of being too severe, "had, in many departments, erred from an excess of indulgence." It appeared, from this report, that the secret societies were still numerous, and threatened danger. In the Lot-et-Garonne, the Pyrenees Orientales, and the Herault, "the number of affiliated members in those societies, was known to exceed 30,000 in each of the two former departments; and 60,000 in the last. They were organised by tens and hundreds, and ready to rise at the first signal." It was further stated, that "the entire party of anarchists had raised their heads. Those of the accused who were still in the hands of justice, had, in some cases, retracted the confessions they had made to the authorities of the plans and organisation of the secret societies:" but they were confirmed from other sources. And such was the result of the state of those societies, connected with the conduct of the members who had been arrested and sentenced, that the commissioners declared, that after careful inquiry, which was aided by the *gendarmerie*, the municipal authorities, and the clergy; and "taking into account the applications for pardon, and the written proofs of repentance," only "100 commutations of sentences, and 200 full pardons, could be pronounced, out of nearly 4,000 convictions." The report represented the inhabitants, generally, as hostile to an amnesty, and as appreciating, everywhere, the great services rendered by the new government; and amongst those services, the most valued was said to be, "the having relieved society from the dangerous elements which threatened to dissolve it."

About the time this report was issued, the count de Chambord's name was again brought before the public, by a letter which he addressed, on the 27th of April, from Venice, to his friends in France. In this letter the count described the legitimist principle, which he represented, as "the principle which could alone secure to France her repose, her happiness, and her liberties;" and he pointed out the conduct which those who embraced it should, under the circumstances, adopt. Their "first duty was, to do no act, to enter into no engagement, in opposition to their political faith." Thus, "whatever advantage might be obtained by filling places and offices which brought them in relative and habitual contact with the people, they must not hesitate to refuse them, if engagements or pro-

mises were required from them contrary to their principles, and which would not permit them to do, in all circumstances, what their convictions imposed on them." They were "to continue to reside, as much as possible, in the midst of the population, on whom they could exercise influence; and to try, by rendering themselves useful, to acquire, every day, still greater claims to the gratitude and confidence of the people. They might, also, aid the government in the struggle it carried on against anarchical and socialist doctrines; and if a new crisis should arise, they ought still (as they had already done) show themselves the most zealous and the most courageous defenders of social order." The count was of opinion, and "everything strengthened the belief," that "an attempt would soon be made to effect a considerable change in the form of government." His friends were advised "not to oppose, by violence, that new experiment;" but to "protest formally, and by every means in their power of a pacific kind, against a change, which could only have fatal consequences, by endangering the destinies of France, and exposing it once more to catastrophes and to perils, from which the legitimate monarchy alone could save it." The advice of the count de Chambord, to his friends, to abstain from public appointments, was not acceptable to all the legitimists. One of them remonstrated with his royal highness on the subject. By following his advice, he said, "they would leave the field to their enemies. The population, fascinated by the name of Napoleon, would withdraw from them: they (the legitimists) ought, by following the stream, to endeavour to direct it, unless they wished to be no longer counted for anything in the country." This correspondent was of opinion, that the oath might be taken to Napoleon, as it was to Louis-Philippe; but this was not the general opinion of his party. Generals Changarnier and Lamoricière had been elected members of the legislative body. It was reported, before the *coup d'état*, that they had joined the legitimist party; and after the letter from the count de Chambord was known, the former, on the 10th of May, from Malines, and the latter, on the 14th, from Brussels, wrote to the minister of state, refusing to take the oath to the constitution and the president, and resigning their seats.

After the prorogation of the legislature, the president determined, as he had done on the two previous years, to make a tour in the departments. He left Paris on the 16th of July, going first to Strasburg, where he arrived on the 18th;* having received addresses from the inhabitants of the towns he passed through on the route. From Strasburg he went to Baden; his object being, it was understood, to form a

* General Gourgaud, formerly aide-de-camp to the emperor Napoleon I., died at Paris on the 23rd of July.

matrimonial alliance with the princess Caroline Stephanie de Vasa, a grand-daughter of the grand-duchess of Baden, and daughter of prince Gustavus de Vasa, the son of the last king of Sweden, of the legitimate dynasty. There is little doubt of the wishes of the president: what passed at Baden, on the subject, however, is not known; but he returned to Paris as he left it, after having reviewed the troops of Baden at Kehl: the princess was, soon after, married to one of the petty German princes. He remained at Paris till after the *fête* of the 15th of August, which he prepared for by issuing, on the 8th, a decree authorising the return of M. Thiers, and the other deputies who were exiled with him on the 10th of January, to the soil of France. Previous to the 15th, resolutions, highly approving of the "services rendered to France by prince Napoleon," were passed by most of the councils of arrondissements and municipal councils, and forwarded to the minister of state, to be presented on the 15th. Most of these bodies, in their resolutions, called for "the re-establishment of the hereditary empire in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, president of the French republic." The memory of the empire was revived, amongst the people, by the celebration of the "*fête* of the first emperor," when there was a military review, a naval review on the Seine, and fireworks at night. The *Moniteur* of the day announced the intention of the president to grant a partial amnesty for political and other offences: in the course of the following week, about 1,200 persons were pardoned and liberated—an act which tended to increase the president's popularity.

On the 14th of September Louis Napoleon again left Paris, to make a tour in the south of France; his object being, no doubt, to ascertain whether the opinion of the people corresponded with that of the councils as to the restoration of the empire. On leaving Paris he passed through Bourges, Nevers, Moulins, and St. Etienne, to Lyons, where he was present at the inauguration of an equestrian statue of his uncle; on which occasion he reminded the assembled people, that, when Napoleon returned from Elba, they were amongst the first, in 1815, again to salute him as emperor. In the present day, he added, "as soon as the people saw themselves at liberty to make their choice, they cast their eyes on the heir of Napoleon; and, for the same reason, from Paris to Lyons, on every point of his passage, a unanimous cry of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' had been raised. But, in his eyes, that cry was more a *souvenir* which touched his heart, than a hope which flattered his pride."—From Lyons, the official route was through Grenoble to Avignon; and thence to Marseilles. At all these places, the popular feeling appeared to be decidedly in favour of the substitution of the empire for the republic; and an additional

impulse was given to that feeling, by the seizure, on the 23rd of September, of an "infernal machine," in a house on the road from Aix to Marseilles, which the president had to pass; and a report that a secret society had resolved to make an attempt on his life. Particulars were published in the *Moniteur*; and it was stated, in that paper, that the minister of police had, for some time, been upon the trace of the society; that one of the conspirators was in the house in which the infernal machine was found; and that the police were assured of the presence of others. None, however, were apprehended; or, if they were, they were never brought to trial; and great doubts have always been entertained as to the reality of the plot. The report of it, however, increased the enthusiasm, great as it was previously, with which the president was received.

He continued his tour from Marseilles to Toulon, Aix, Nismes, Montpellier, and Toulouse. At all these places we find he was greeted with the same demonstrations; and "everywhere," it is stated, in an account of his progress written at the time, "imperial inscriptions and emblems were seen; and cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' were uttered by the crowd, as loudly as if the empire had already been proclaimed." At Toulouse a grand dinner was given to the president by the chamber of commerce; and, after the banquet, he addressed those present in terms which left little doubt of his wishes and intentions; founded, as he represented, upon the desires of the people. "The object of his tour," he said, "was to make himself acquainted with the beautiful provinces of the south, and to ascertain their real wants. That tour had led, however, to a more important result." He had found, that "the people had, at last, learned to value, at their proper price, the false hopes with which they had been cajoled." They had "opened their eyes to the vanity of absurd theories;" and "had acquired the conviction that the pretended reformers were mere visionaries." Hence "the nation surrounded him with its sympathies, because he did not belong to the family of the idealogists. To promote the welfare of the country, it was not necessary to apply new systems; the chief point was, to produce confidence in the present, and security for the future. For these reasons, it seemed, France desired a return to the empire. There was one objection," he added, "to which he must reply. Certain minds seemed to entertain a dread of war; certain persons said, the empire is only war. But he said, the empire was peace, for France desired it; and, when France was satisfied, the world was tranquil." He then stated his objects—"to conquer all hostile parties by conciliation; to restore to religion, morality, and opulence, that still numerous part of the population, which, though in the bosom of the most fertile country in the world, could scarcely obtain the common necessities of life." He

wished to promote industry at home, trade and commerce abroad. "This was the sense which he attached to the empire, if the empire was to be restored. Such were the conquests he contemplated; and all who surrounded him, and who, like him, desired their country's welfare, were his soldiers."

On his route from Toulouse, the president stopped (on the 16th of October) at the château d'Amboise, where Abd-el-Kader had resided since his arrival in France—a prisoner, though not harshly treated. When Louis Napoleon was chosen president, the marquis of Londonderry had made an appeal to him to carry out the provisions of the treaty under which the emir had surrendered. In reply, he promised that, sooner or later, he would liberate the gallant Arab, and he now performed his promise. He had an interview with the African chief; in which he informed him that he was free, and that he was to be taken to Broussa, in the states of the sultan, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made. There he would receive, from the French government, an allowance worthy of his former rank; and he was convinced, the president said, that his residence in Turkey would not prove injurious to the tranquillity of the French possessions in Africa, which would never be given up. "You have been," added the president, "the enemy of France; but I am not the less willing to render justice to your courage, to your character, and to your resignation in misfortune. That is the reason why I consider it a point of honour to put an end to your captivity, having full confidence in your word." Abd-el-Kader was deeply moved by these expressions of confidence; to which he replied in terms expressive of great devotion and gratitude; and swore, on the Koran, that "he would never attempt to disturb French rule in Africa; but would submit, without any ulterior design, to the will of France." Subsequently, the Arab chief visited Paris, where he and the Parisians were equally gratified: the exile, by the friendly demonstrations with which he was received; the Parisians, by the courtesy of his whole demeanour, and the noble sentences which flowed from his lips with singular eloquence and propriety.*

As the president's tour had been one continued ovation, so his return to Paris was celebrated by a magnificent display of popular enthusiasm; in which the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were hearty and long-sustained; and the prefect of the Seine, in congratulating the prince on his return, earnestly urged him to conclude his mission by re-establishing the empire. If the tour had been undertaken for the purpose of eliciting those popular manifestations for the restoration of the empire, it was eminently successful; for they were, to all appearances, most

cordially made; and the president, soon after he had again taken up his residence at the Elysée, resolved to give form and substance to the idea and the wishes, which seemed to be so prevalent. On the 19th of October, he issued a decree, convoking the senate to meet, on the 4th of November, to frame a *senatus consultum* on the subject of the empire. This decree called forth a protest from the count de Chambord, dated "Frohsdorf, the 25th of October"—in which he declared his adherence to his own rights, and his determination, "faithful to the laws of the kingdom, and the tradition of his ancestors, religiously to preserve, to his last breath, the deposit of the hereditary monarchy which Providence had entrusted to his care; and which was the only port of refuge, where France, the object of Frenchmen's love, might, after so many storms, at length find rest and happiness."

This protest did not prevent the senate from meeting, and had not the slightest effect upon its proceedings. The sitting was opened by a message from Louis Napoleon; stating, that "the nation had loudly manifested its wish for the re-establishment of the empire. Confiding in the patriotism and intelligence of the senators, he had convoked them to deliberate legally on the grave question, and to entrust to them the care of regulating the new order of things. If the empire were restored, they would think, no doubt, as he did, that the constitution of 1852 ought to be maintained; and, therefore, any modifications which might be indispensable would not affect its fundamental bases."—The message having been read, prince Jerome, the president, briefly addressed the senators; warmly supporting the re-establishment of the empire, which had been called for with such extraordinary enthusiasm by the population. From personal motives, he withdrew himself from any share in the deliberations; and M. Mesnard was chosen president, *ad interim*. There was little discussion. A committee was appointed to consider the president's message, of which M. Troplong was named reporter. On the 6th of November, he brought up their report, which declared "the imperial dynasty to be re-established;" and that "Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was emperor of the French, under the name of Napoleon III." A *senatus consultum* was drawn up, embodying this declaration; and it further decreed the dignity to be hereditary in the direct descendants of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; and failing his issue, he might adopt a successor from the male descendants of the brothers of Napoleon I.; females being expressly excluded from the throne. The members of the family of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, called by circumstances within the line of succession, were to form part of the imperial family; their position to be regulated by a *senatus consultum*, and their marriage to be prohibited without the consent of

* *Moniteur*.

the emperor. The constitution of January 15th, 1852, to be maintained in all the particulars in which it was not contrary to this *senatus consultum*; and the following proposition was to be submitted to the people for their acceptance:—"The people desire the re-establishment of the imperial dignity, in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; with the succession in his direct descendants, natural and legitimate, or adopted; and give him the right to regulate the order of succession to the throne in the Bonaparte family, as provided for by the *senatus consultum* of November 2nd, 1852."

These propositions, included in eight articles, were agreed to on the 7th of November; and the senators, headed by M. Mesnard, and escorted by a body of cavalry, proceeded to St. Cloud, to lay them before the president. He thanked them in a brief speech; assuring the senators that, what "most affected his heart at that moment, was, the thought that the spirit of the emperor was with him; that his ideas guided him; that his shade protected him. It was not necessary for him to say, that his constant anxiety would be, to labour with them to promote the grandeur and prosperity of France."—The voting for the empire commenced on Sunday, the 21st of November. It continued for several days; and on the 1st of December, the senate and legislative body met, to receive the returns. The numbers were declared to be—"ayes," 7,824,189; "noes," 253,145. The two chambers immediately proceeded to St. Cloud; where M. Billault, president of the legislative body, announced to Louis Napoleon, "that he had been elected emperor of France."—On the 2nd, the new emperor made his entry into Paris, took possession of the Tuileries as his future residence, and issued a decree, declaring the *senatus consultum* of November 7th the law of the state. The same day, the re-establishment of the empire was solemnly proclaimed from the Hôtel-de-Ville; and it was ordered, by an official *ordonnance*, that all coins should, for the future, bear on one side the effigy of the emperor, and the words "*Napoleon III., Empereur*;" and on the other, "*Empire Français*."

The next day, the senate appointed a committee to examine the question of the civil-list and dotation of the crown. That committee reported on the 5th. They proposed, that the civil-list should be fixed at the sum of 25,000,000*f.* (£1,000,000) per annum; that a dotation of 1,500,000*f.* (£60,000) per annum, should be appropriated to the princes and princesses of the imperial family, leaving to the emperor the care of dividing it as he might think fit; and that all the private property which the emperor possessed in the territory of the empire, at the period of his accession to the supreme power, should devolve to the public domain.—The senate, without hesitation, agreed

to this report, which was embodied in another *senatus consultum* on the 6th of December; on which day an official notification was received, that the empire was recognised by the British government.—On the 12th, the empire was proclaimed at Algiers.

On the 18th of December, an imperial decree appeared, determining the succession to the throne, in case the emperor did not leave any direct heir, legitimate or adopted, in prince Jerome Bonaparte, and his descendants by his marriage with the princess Catherine of Würtemberg.—On the 23rd, the constitution of January 15th was modified by another decree; one article of which gave the title of princes and princesses to the members of the imperial family and their descendants; and of imperial prince to the eldest son of the emperor. Another declared, that French princes became members of the senate and council of state, on attaining the age of eighteen; but they could only sit there by consent of the emperor. An annual dotation of 30,000*f.* was appropriated to the dignity of a senator; and 2,500*f.* per month to the members of the legislative body, during the continuance of each ordinary and extraordinary session.

Thus, at the end of 1852—just four years after his election to the office of president of the republic—Louis Napoleon Bonaparte became emperor of the French; a dignity which it is known he asserted, soon after the revolution of February, 1848, that he should live to enjoy. We have impartially narrated the events of those four years: the accusations and charges of the enemies of Louis Napoleon, and the defence of his friends, have been placed before the reader, who must draw his own conclusion as to which is right. For ourselves, we think that there can be little doubt that Louis Napoleon, from the first, aimed at possessing himself of the imperial throne; but whatever opinion may be formed of the emperor's original intentions, it is evident that the conduct of his opponents afforded him a fair pretence to carry out his design, by proposing to France a more settled and a stronger government than she could enjoy under the constitution of that year; and that he took every opportunity to avail himself of their acts for his own advantage. In carrying out the *coup-d'état* of December, 1851—which was his first step, by prolonging his term of office, to render it hereditary—he ordered and sanctioned many acts that cannot be defended, even if there were a plot against him, of which there is no evidence, though all the papers of the arrested deputies were seized; and no one was ever brought to trial on the charge. But the French populace were undoubtedly in favour of the change. They sanctioned all the proposals of the "nephew and heir of Napoleon," by overwhelming majorities; and, however indefensible may be the means by which he obtained power,



Drawn & Engraved by D. J. Pound.

THE EMPRESS EUGENIE.

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NAPOLÉON III,
EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY
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he has certainly exercised that power to promote the glory and prosperity of France; which have been materially augmented since the empire was

proclaimed. But in the exercise, as in the acquisition, the means adopted cannot always be praised, as our succeeding pages will show.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EMPIRE; RECOGNITION OF THE EMPEROR; HIS MARRIAGE; MEETING OF THE LEGISLATURE; LAW ON POLITICAL OFFENCES; THE BUDGET; THE WILL OF NAPOLEON I.; DEPUTATIONS FROM ENGLAND; MEASURES OF THE EMPEROR TO AMELIORATE THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE; CONSPIRACIES, ARRESTS, AND TRIALS; THE 15TH OF AUGUST; THE IMPERIAL TOUR; MEASURES CAUSED BY THE HIGH PRICE OF PROVISIONS; INCREASE OF THE ARMY AND NAVY; M. DE MIREX; MEETING OF THE COUNTESS DE CHAMBOREAU AND THE DUKE DE NEMOURS; STATUE OF MARSHAL NEY; OPENING OF THE BOULEVARD DE STRASBOURG; AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA.

THE empire re-established—the history of France becomes from that period, for several years, less that of the country, than of the man who guides her destinies. Surrounded by his ministers, and by a nominal legislature, the will of Napoleon III. really is the spring that sets the political machine in motion, and directs its course. He appears to keep two objects constantly in view—to maintain his own power, and to increase the greatness and glory of France. Hitherto he has been successful in both; and while he exercises an authority nearly despotic and dictatorial, France never occupied a prouder position in Europe than she does at the present moment—the close of 1861.

When the French people had agreed again to change the form of their government, and had elected Louis Napoleon their emperor—then came the question—will the European powers recognise the “successor of Napoleon I.?” There was not much hesitation, on that point, in any quarter; in England, none at all. Earl Cowley, the ambassador from London, at Paris, was instructed at once to acknowledge Napoleon III.; and count Walewski, who, at that time, was the French minister to the English court, was officially received by queen Victoria. The other powers followed in the wake of Great Britain; the only point on which there was any demur, being—as to how the emperor should be addressed. “*Monsieur mon Frère*” (“Sir, my brother”) is the usual phrase used when sovereigns write to each other. This was the form adopted by all the European monarchs, in their letters of recognition, except the czar; who, in his brief note, used the words “*Mon cher ami*,” (“My dear friend.”) This was taken, by some of Napoleon’s councillors, to convey an implied insult—as it appeared to ignore his right to be admitted into the “brotherhood” of emperors and kings. The emperor himself, knowing the uncertainty of his position at that moment, had no wish to quarrel on a mere point of etiquette.

He accepted, and replied to, the letter of Nicholas; and received M. de Kisseleff at the Tuileries with marked distinction.

As soon as he mounted the throne as emperor, Napoleon seems to have resolved to place an empress by his side; the not unnatural wish, in his position, to be the founder of a dynasty—to leave a son of his own to succeed him—influencing him, very probably, much more strongly than even the desire of domestic happiness. It is known that he had made overtures to several of the royal houses of Europe, which had been either coldly received, or promptly rejected: and speculation was busy as to what course his majesty would pursue. It was soon disclosed. At that time, a lady was moving in the first circles of Parisian society, who had been known and esteemed in the same circles in the British metropolis. Mademoiselle Eugénie de Montijo, countess of Téba, was the daughter of count de Montijo, an officer of rank in the Spanish army. Her mother was the daughter of Mr. Fitzpatrick, who, in the early part of the 18th century, was British consul at Malaga, where the count made his acquaintance, and won the affections of his child, whom he married. The count’s family was of considerable antiquity, and of some importance in the annals of Spain. The house of Guzman, to which he belonged, carries its origin back to the earliest times of the Spanish monarchy; and several historians say, it was the issue of the royal blood. All its branches have played a distinguished part in history. The dukes of Medina, of Las Torres, of Medina-Sidonia, and of Olivares, belonged to it: as did the counts of Montijo, of Téba, and of Villaverde; and the marquises de Ardales and de la Algara—all grandees of Spain. The Montijos descend from the last-named branch. They bear the same arms as the dukes of Medina-Sidonia, and the same name, De Guzman.*

This lady attracted the notice, and won the

* *Records of the Herald’s College*: Paris.

affections of the emperor; who, foiled and disappointed in his previous matrimonial offers, asked Eugénie de Montijo to accept his hand, and share his fortunes. The lady assented: and on the 22nd of January, 1853, the emperor announced to the senate his intention to take a partner to his throne. In his message, he said the alliance he was about to contract, was not in accordance with the traditions of ancient policy: and he glanced at some previous matrimonial contracts of the occupants of the French throne. He then—politically ignoring his attempts to form a more distinguished alliance, and their failure—proceeded:—"When, in the presence of Europe, a man is borne on, by the force of a principle, to a level with ancient dynasties, it is not by giving an ancient character to his escutcheon, or by seeking to introduce himself at any cost into a family, that he is accepted. It is rather by ever remembering his origin, by preserving his own character, and by adopting frankly, in presence of Europe, the position of *parvenu*—a glorious title, when one obtains it by the voluntary suffrages of a great people. Thus, departing from the precedents followed up to this time, my marriage became a private affair, and there remained only the choice of the person. She who has been the object of my preference is of princely descent. French in heart, by education, and the recollection of the blood shed by her father in the cause of the empire, she has, as a Spaniard, the advantage of not having in France a family to whom it might be necessary to give honours and fortune. Endowed with all the qualities of the mind, she will be the ornament of the throne. In the day of danger, she will be one of its courageous supporters. A catholic, she will address to heaven the same prayers with me for the happiness of France. In fine, by her grace and her goodness, she will, I firmly hope, endeavour to revive, in the same position, the virtues of the empress Josephine."

One week after the communication to the legislature, on the 29th of January, the civil marriage of the emperor and the countess of Téba was celebrated at the Tuileries, in the presence of the countess-dowager de Montijo, the duke de Cambacérès, the Spanish minister (the marquis de Valdegamas), M. Fould, the minister of state, the officers of the imperial household, and a select assemblage of distinguished persons. The countess and her mother were escorted from the Elysée to the Tuileries, by a detachment of *uirassiers*. The duke de Bassano, and the grand functionaries of state, received them in the Pavilion of Flora, from whence they were conducted to the family hall, where the emperor warmly welcomed them. A procession was then formed to the Hall of Marshals, at the upper end of which two chairs of state were placed. In those the emperor and the future empress took their seats. After a short pause, M. Fould

advanced towards that part of the hall, and pronounced, in a loud voice, the words—"In the name of the emperor." Napoleon and Eugénie both rose; and the brief interchange of pledges, which the law requires, having taken place, M. Fould stepped forward, and proclaimed—"In the name of the emperor, of the constitution, and of the law, I declare that his majesty, Napoleon III., emperor of the French, by the grace of God, and the national will, and her excellency mademoiselle Eugénie de Montijo, countess of Téba, are united in marriage." The imperial pair then received the congratulations of the parties present; a *cantata* was performed in the theatre; after which the empress was conducted in state to the Elysée. The remainder of the day was spent in the society of a few intimate friends of each party. The next day the religious ceremony was performed, in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, by the archbishop of Paris. The church was fitted up with extraordinary splendour for the occasion. There was a brilliant procession to the cathedral, which was filled by a vast concourse of persons admitted by tickets. The five cardinals were seated on the right of the altar; and, further down, the French marshals, in full costume, holding their *batons*. It was a gorgeous spectacle; the marriage rites being performed with all the pomp and ceremony of the church of Rome. In the afternoon, the imperial pair left Paris for St. Cloud. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated; and a series of *fêtes* were given by the ministers at their *hôtels*, in honour of the occasion. There were, also, general rejoicings throughout the country; and they are described as being "essentially national. The heart of all France was stirred, and gave vent to its emotions in that variety of manifestation characteristic of her people; for they felt that a great thing had been effected for them." These rejoicings, and the popularity of the emperor, were increased by the appearance, in the *Moniteur* of February 4th, of a decree, granting pardons to 4,312 persons, who had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for political offences.

After his marriage, the emperor seldom resided at the Tuileries, except when his presence was required on public occasions, and at state ceremonies. The seclusion and tranquillity of St. Cloud were preferred, both by Napoleon and Eugénie; and the emperor purchased the chateau of Beauregard, in the vicinity of St. Cloud, as being even more private and retired. The Trianon at Versailles, the favourite residence of Marie Antoinette, was also fitted up for Eugénie. But neither his majesty, nor his young and beautiful bride, kept aloof from the Parisians, who appeared, to the casual observer, during the summer of 1853, to have regained all their vivacious buoyancy of spirits; and, in the ceaseless pursuits of pleasure, to have consigned to

oblivion those apprehensive fears which must have visited them continually during the preceding eighteen months. The empress soon became a great and universal favourite; and Eugénie is, indeed, a woman to be admired. She is a Spanish *blonde*, and presents a distinctive type of female beauty, of the most refined and attractive cast. She is extremely fair, with gentle blue eyes, a charming natural colour, and a most expressive mouth. Whilst her whole appearance is, most unmistakably, that of a high-born lady, her urbanity and courtesousness give her inexpressible attractions. It has been remarked, by those who have been introduced to her, whether as countess de Montijo or as empress of France, that, although she never loses her dignity, her inferiors never feel annoyed or oppressed by it; and that she is, as one of the popular historians of the time remarked, courteous and kind, without that air of condescension which is often so offensive to the sensitive mind. Fond of retirement as both Napoleon and Eugénie were, when at Paris, they enforced, at the Tuileries, the observance of great ceremony. As time progressed, it was remarked, that the number of persons composing the court was continually increasing; and the regulations as to the etiquette to be observed, became more and more stringent. The first title the emperor bestowed was upon M. Charles Thèlin, his first *valet de chambre*. After creating him a chevalier of the legion of honour, he authorised him to assume the title of baron.

The senate and the legislative body assembled in their respective chambers on the 14th of February, and proceeded to the Tuileries. They were received by the emperor in the Hall of the Marshals, where his majesty read to them a long speech, which he had prepared for the occasion. It commenced with the following brief *résumé* of the state of France:—"Since I called you together, senators and deputies, a year ago, to inaugurate the constitution, promulgated in virtue of the powers which the people had conferred on me, tranquillity has not been disturbed. The law, in resuming its sway, has allowed the majority of the men who were made the subjects of necessary severity, to return to their homes. The riches of the nation have increased to such a point, that that portion of our floating capital, the value of which can be estimated, amounts to about two milliards. The activity of labour develops itself in every branch of industry. The same progress is being realised in Africa, where our army has just distinguished itself by heroic successes. The form of the government has been changed, without any shock, by the free suffrages of the people. Great works have been undertaken, without the creation of any new tax, and without a loan. Peace has been maintained without servility. All the powers have recognised the new government. France

has now institutions which can defend themselves, and the stability of which does not depend upon the life of one man." The intrigues of the different parties were then alluded to; which, the emperor said, served no purpose but to show their weakness. "The government, instead of being disturbed at them, only thinks of governing France, and tranquillising Europe. For this double object, it has the firm determination to diminish the expenses and the armaments, and to devote to useful purposes all the resources of the country; to keep up, with good faith, international relations, in order to prove to the most incredulous, that, when France expresses her formal intention to remain at peace, she may be believed; for she is strong enough not to deceive any one." The financial position was described as being better than it had been for the last twenty years; and the public revenue had increased beyond all anticipation. Still, the effective force of the army had been reduced, in 1852, by 30,000 men; and it would be immediately reduced by 20,000 more.

The only measures that attracted much public interest during the legislative session—which, originally intended to end on the 13th of May, was prolonged to the 28th of that month—were the budget, and a measure proposed to the legislative body by M. Billault, minister of the interior, for re-establishing the punishment of death for certain political crimes: viz., attempts against the life and person of the emperor, or any member of the imperial family; or any attempt to overturn or change the government; to alter the order of succession to the throne; or to excite the people to take up arms against the imperial authority. This *projet de loi* passed; the assassination of the emperor being declared to be "parricide." The budget excited great attention. M. Bineau brought it forward early in April; and the committee to whom it was referred, declared it, in their report, to "be the most eloquent commentary that could be given upon that memorable phrase, which has been echoed through Europe—'The empire is peace.'" Reductions were proposed of 700,000*f.* in the military estimates; of 300,000*f.* on the public colleges, and of 1,000,000*f.* on public works. The expenditure, notwithstanding these reductions, was estimated at 1,516,820,459*f.* (£60,672,818); but the receipts were calculated at 1,520,288,089*f.* (£60,811,523); leaving a surplus of 3,467,630*f.* (£138,705). The public expenditure, it will be seen, continued to increase—a circumstance which will cease to astonish, when the increase in the number of functionaries, paid by the state, is known. In 1831, the number was 138,830; in 1848, 174,261; and, in 1853, 230,000: there were, besides, 29,727 persons receiving pensions for civil services: making about one in twenty-five of the male population, from twenty-one to sixty years of age, who were quartered upon the budget.

There were, also, scattered over France, 12,000 old veterans of the imperial army, who had been inscribed for pensions during life; and 10,000 more, after the declaration of the empire, petitioned for a similar favour; to satisfy whose demands, 2,700,000*f.* (£108,000) were appropriated.

Before the legislature adjourned, the legislative body adopted, without discussion, and by a majority of 202 to 1, a project of law, for establishing an electric submarine telegraph between France and Algeria, passing through Corsica and Sardinia. Mr. Brett was allowed two years to complete the line. The day after the adjournment, prince Jerome Bonaparte, president of the senate, resigned the governorship of the Invalides, which was conferred on general d'Ornano.

One of the first acts of the emperor, after he assumed the imperial title, had been to make an application, through his ambassador, to the government of Great Britain, for the will of his uncle, which was deposited in the Prerogative Court of the archbishop of Canterbury. The foreign secretary, lord John Russell, offered no objection; but, on the contrary, promised every facility on the part of the government: and on the 17th of February, an application was made to the court, for its delivery out of the registry. An affidavit was read from lord John Russell; stating, that such an application had been made, and that the government considered it advisable, on the grounds of public policy, that it should be complied with. The learned judge held, that it must be shown, that the step proposed to be taken was conformable to law, as well as convenient for purposes of public policy; and he held that it was, as Napoleon, though a prisoner at St. Helena at the time of his death, must still be considered as a domiciled Frenchman. The order to deliver up the will was accordingly made. It was transmitted to France; and a commission appointed to examine its contents, with directions to report to the emperor the best means of carrying out the intentions of the deceased—a task which was not brought to a conclusion till the following year.—His majesty ordered the will, after it had been carefully examined, to be deposited in the national archives.

The proceedings in the Prerogative Court, and the wish expressed by the emperor to be upon the most friendly terms with England, appear to have prompted some gentlemen of the British metropolis to make a response from this country. They, therefore, drew up an address, expressive of a strong desire, on the part of themselves and their fellow-citizens, for a continued friendship with France. This address received the signatures of 4,000 merchants; and it was presented to the emperor by a deputation, headed by Sir J. Duke, alderman, and one of the representa-

tives of the city of London, on the 28th of March. The next day, another deputation from England, headed by Sir Charles Fox, had an audience of the emperor, to lay before him the views of the Darien Ship Canal Company; formed to construct a canal across the isthmus of Darien, to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, for the purposes of commerce. His majesty received both deputations very graciously; and promised all the support in his power to advance the projects of the company.

On the 4th of May, solemn funeral services were performed for the soul of Napoleon I., in the chapel of the Tuileries, and at the church of the Invalides. His tomb, at that church, was also opened to the public, who visited it in great numbers.—In that month, the emperor sent four commissioners extraordinary, on a special mission, into the departments, with instructions to place themselves in relation with all local functionaries of note, with all persons of a certain standing in each department, and with the principal manufacturers and traders; to inquire into the moral and political situation of the country, in order to ascertain what evils existed; what dangers might threaten the government; and what ameliorations were possible.—Another measure was, about the same time, undertaken by his majesty, which had a great effect on the social comfort of the Parisians. The improvements made of late years, had occasioned the demolition of a great many lodging-houses; and the rent of a poor man's domicile had been increased from three or four to ten sous per night. The operatives employed in repairing the Louvre, petitioned the emperor on the subject. He promised to pay early attention to their case; and, soon after, gave instructions to an architect, named Visconti, to build, on government ground, lodgings for 6,000 workmen, to be let at four sous per night.—Building societies were also formed, under the patronage of the emperor, on the plan of those established in England; which enable their members to become, after no long lapse of time, the owners of a comfortable dwelling-house at an easy expenditure of money.

Soon after the imperial marriage, the empress was seized with indisposition, which confined her to her room, and for some days to her bed. It was the middle of May before she appeared again in public, when her beauty and grace were the theme of all who beheld her. On the 31st of that month, a grand ball was given at St. Cloud, in honour of the duke of Genoa, brother to the king of Sardinia, who had arrived some days previously on a visit to the emperor. There was a large party present, including all the members of the *corps diplomatique*, for whom a sumptuous supper was served in the Orangerie. Daylight surprised the dancers.

At this period, notwithstanding the popularity

of the emperor and empress, the apparently tranquil state of France, as described by the emperor in his speech to the legislature, and the general support and approbation given to the government, there was much secret disaffection, both in Paris and the departments. Sedition dared not show its face in the streets or on the Boulevards; but the red republicans and socialists still met in private, and under false pretences; and the legitimists were not idle. These parties were too much awed by the presence of a large military force, to make any public demonstrations. Paris and its environs were crowded with troops; and "*les pantalons rouge*" could always be depended upon, by the authorities, to suppress disorder. But the government was constantly receiving information of secret plots, which led to arrests. The first, in 1853, were made on Sunday, the 6th of February; when the men taken into custody were chiefly members of the legitimist party. Some were the correspondents of foreign journals. In the nights of the 14th and 15th of May, additional arrests of twenty-eight members of the legitimist party were made in Paris. Early in June, more prisoners were captured, chiefly of the operative class; and about 180 were conveyed to the prison Mazas. The information which led to these arrests, was to the effect, that there was a conspiracy against the life of the emperor. Since the restoration of the health of the empress Eugénie, the imperial couple had frequently been at places of amusement; and a night in June was fixed for their going to the Hippodrome. On that night Napoleon was to be assassinated; thirty individuals undertaking to attend the theatre, armed with two pistols each, which were to be discharged at the emperor's box. An insurrection was then to have been proclaimed, of which the 1st, 3rd, and 10th arrondissements were to have been the chief seats. Legitimists and republicans were said to be concerned in this plot; but the visit to the Hippodrome not taking place, the attempt could not be made.

Just when "a conspiracy" began to be talked about, from the number of arrests which had taken place, the Parisian public were surprised, on the 22nd of June, by the appearance of an imperial decree, abolishing the ministry of general police, on the pretence, "that the calm and security which existed in the empire of France, permitted the suppression of a ministry, the institution of which was caused by circumstances exceptional and temporary." Although this was the reason assigned, the real cause for the step was thought to be, the failure of M. de Maupas, the minister of police, to discover the conspiracy, which was made known to the government by members of a secret police, not under his orders. By the decree, the charge of the police was added to the duties of the minister of the interior, at whose office a direction of general

surety was established, comprehending the correspondence, the press, the printing, and library departments of the police; a separate and special *bureau* being appointed for the affairs of the press. M. de Maupas was made a senator, and, subsequently, appointed ambassador to Naples.

That the conspiracy was not a fable, was proved on the 5th of July. The Opera Comique opened on that evening; the emperor and empress, accompanied by the duke and duchess d'Alba (the latter, sister to Eugénie), and all the ministers, attended; and it was thought that this would afford a good opportunity for carrying out the designs of the conspirators. The police received hints of what was intended: they were, accordingly, prepared; and, at the entrance of the theatre, fourteen persons were apprehended, who had loaded pistols and daggers concealed on their persons. One of the arrested, according to the Paris papers, confessed that he was a member of a secret society, composed of from sixty to eighty persons, who had sworn to assassinate the emperor. The subsequent inquiries of the police, it is reported, elicited the facts, that the chief conspirators were most of them Germans or Belgians; that, when the expected opportunity was not presented at the Hippodrome, it was resolved to make the attempt at the Opera Comique; that the assassination of the emperor was to be the signal for groups of insurgents to rise at various points; to the cry, "*Aux armes!*" those groups were to throw up barricades, put to death all public functionaries who fell into their hands, and to proclaim the red republic.

Before the 20th of July, the number of persons arrested exceeded 200. On that day, twelve of them, and five refugees, were put on their trial, before the tribunal of correctional police. The charge was, that they were members of a society, called the *Commune Revolutionnaire*, which was headed by the refugees—Felix Pyat, Caussidière, Boichot, and others. The trials were carried on with closed doors, and continued through four days. The evidence, and the direct charges, were never made public; but the sentences were, that the refugees—Felix Pyat, Boichot, L. Avril, Caussidière, and Rougée—tried in their absence, *par contumace*, be condemned to ten years' imprisonment, 6,000f. fine, and ten years' surveillance. Four prisoners, named Bardot, Bravard, Berlier Genin, and Gravier, were sentenced to be imprisoned five years, fined 5,000f. each, and to be under surveillance for five years. Four others, three of whom were females, were condemned to fines and imprisonments for distributing seditious papers: one was condemned for fraud, and three were acquitted.—Just after these trials were concluded, the prefect of police for the Seine published a curious *ordonnance*. It required all servants, residing in Paris, to take out, within three months, a *livret* (workman's

certificate); and those who omitted to provide themselves with one, were to be imprisoned for a term not less than eight days, nor more than three months, and then expelled from Paris.

These trials did not end the conspiracies. More arrests were made in October; and, in November, thirty-three prisoners were arraigned before the tribunal of correctional police, for being concerned in what was called the "conspiracy of the Opera Comique, against the safety of the state, and the life of the emperor." The trials commenced on the 7th, and ended on the 15th of that month. All were convicted; ten being condemned to transportation for life; and the remainder sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and detention, varying from ten to three years. Shortly after, a number of other persons were tried, on a charge of being members of a legitimist secret society, called *La Ligue Fédérale*. They were found guilty, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The heaviest punishment was inflicted upon a M. Dubuisson, who was sentenced to be imprisoned for four years, to pay a fine of 1,000f., and to be deprived of his civil rights for ten years after his liberation.

Whatever was really thought, the government made light of these seditious movements; the emperor displayed no fear; and on the evening of the 6th of July, he and the empress drove up and down the Champs Elysées, mixing with the crowd of promenaders and the general company, without any restraint. But it was soon found, that the police of the capital were unusually vigilant; and probably to procure a more active discharge of their duties in the interior, a decree was issued, on the 26th of July, dividing the departments into nine districts, over which councillors of state were appointed as inspectors of the administrative services of the prefectures.

Before July closed, the preparations for the "*fête* Napoleon," on the 15th of August—which, it was resolved, should be celebrated with great splendour—were commenced.—On the 14th, there was a grand military inspection and review, preliminary to the proceedings of the next day. The troops were collected in the Place de la Concorde. The emperor took a commanding position, in front of the centre pavilion of the Tuileries, a little before two o'clock; and 85,000 regular soldiers, of all arms—cavalry, foot, and artillery—and 25,000 national guards, deployed before him, occupying three hours in the movement. The duke d'Alba, general Narvaez (who had been for some time in Paris), and two English officers, were present; and the empress, with some members of the imperial family, and persons favoured by especial invitation, witnessed the spectacle from the balcony of the palace. In the evening, the emperor and empress went to the Theatre François; where they were unex-

pected, and were received with warm applause. One who was present, says—"The emperor was in plain clothes, without star or decoration, and looked thoughtful, like a man who had the cares of government in his head. The empress looked pale and ill. She had rather a melancholy aspect, and was not, at that moment, calculated to confirm, on those who saw her for the first time, the favourable impression made by her portraits."

The next day, the 15th, the "*fête* of Saint Napoleon," as it was termed, was celebrated. The emperor held a reception at the Tuileries, at which all the members of the diplomatic corps were present, and offered their congratulations to his majesty, through the papal nuncio: but the great interest of the day centered in the amusements prepared for the populace of Paris. Sports and spectacles were arranged for the entire day, which was a very fine and propitious one, as far as the weather was concerned. At daybreak, the citizens who had not already left their beds, were roused by the repeated salutes from the artillery in front of the Invalides. Breakfast was scarcely over, before it appeared as if the entire population of the capital had turned into the streets. There were boat-races on the Seine, commencing at an early hour; and many of those games and sports which, in England, are confined to the country, and which a Londoner would despise—such as climbing greased poles, and jumping in sacks for prizes—were eagerly joined in by the Parisians. At noon, the poor were feasted in all the different quarters of Paris. At 2 p.m., the theatres were opened gratuitously; and the performances continued till five. At six, a balloon ascended; and, in the Champ-de-Mars, a representation of the Field of the Cloth of Gold was given by Franconi's equestrian troop, and the riders engaged at the Hippodrome. The day was closed with a display of fireworks and illuminations, of the most splendid and attractive kind. "The entire extent of the Tuileries," writes an eyewitness, "along the Champs Elysées, to the arch at the Barrière de l'Etoile, a distance, in a direct line, exceeding a mile and a-half, was entirely covered with millions of variegated lamps, forming a succession of Moorish palaces and castles, designed in an endless variety of elegant and fantastic forms. All had been many days in preparation, but was suddenly lit up, as if by magic, in less than half-an-hour—the hands by which it was done being invisible. The circular basin, in the centre, was covered with a celestial globe, surmounted by a colossal eagle. The *coup d'œil*, from this point, was a thing to dream of for a month." This display terminated with the "Apotheosis of Napoleon." A figure of the emperor, sixty feet high, resting upon a globe, was displayed, amidst the columns of a pyrotechnic temple of immortality.

The *Moniteur*, of the next day, announced a great many promotions in the army, navy, and public departments; and several members of the literary profession were decorated with the *cordon* of the legion of honour; M. de la Guéronnière being promoted to be an officer of the legion, to the surprise of his older brothers of the press, as he had been admitted to the lowest grade of the order only twelve months before. This was the first indication of that confidential connection between the emperor and the *littérateur*, which has since become manifest.

On the 20th of August, the emperor and empress left Paris for a tour in the interior. The first place where they made any stay was Dieppe. The Hôtel-de-Ville was prepared for their reception; and before they left, the authorities offered that building as a free gift to his majesty, with the ground in front sloping to the sea, and a separate bathing establishment for the empress. The offer was graciously declined, as "the civil-list," the emperor said, "would not permit him to incur the expense of any more imperial residences." Lord and lady Cowley were amongst those who accompanied, or followed, the imperial pair to the pleasant Norman seaport. The memory of their visit was perpetuated by the removal of all the obstructions to the fine marine view from the shore. The hillocks of sand or rock, the old sheds and miserable huts, between the town and the shore, were all removed; and the fine extensive marine parade, which the people and visitors of Dieppe now enjoy, was formed. Works were also commenced for the improvement of the harbour, to be completed in three years, at an expense of 2,200,000*f.* (£88,000).*

Arras, Lille—the camps which had been formed at Helfaut and St. Omer—the ports of Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, and the city of Amiens, were visited. At every place the imperial party was received with great rejoicings; which, at St. Omer especially, were upon the most magnificent scale. At Lille, on the 24th of September, the prince de Chimay met the travellers; being commissioned by the king of the Belgians to compliment Napoleon III. on his arrival near the Belgian frontiers. At the camp of Helfaut, on the 25th, the earl of Lucan, the marquis of Worcester, lord Bingham, and colonel Dupuis, were in waiting, to convey a similar greeting from queen Victoria. At Boulogne, the English inhabitants presented an address to their majesties; and at all the towns there were *fêtes*, balls, official receptions, reviews of troops, and an inspection of public works. At Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, plans, dating

from the time of Napoleon I., for the improvement of the harbours, and the defence of the ports, were examined, modified, and ordered to be carried out. The presence of the English officers afforded the emperor opportunities, of which he appeared eagerly to avail himself, to testify the respect he entertained for their nation, and the value he attached to the English alliance. On the 29th of September, the imperial pair returned to Paris; and subsequently visited Versailles, and then Compiègne and Fontainebleau. At these places, hunting and sporting parties were frequent, which the empress attended in a *char-a-banc*. Lord Cowley, general Narvaez, and baron de Rothschild, were, it was observed, always of the emperor's party.†

Whilst the emperor and empress were enjoying themselves on their tour, there was great excitement in the capital and in the departments, caused by the high price of provisions; the result of an unfavourable season, and an unpropitious harvest. In a country town, in the department of Ardennes, a riot took place between the peasantry and the workpeople of the place; the latter having attempted to pillage a waggon laden with corn. In other parts there were similar disturbances; and the people of Paris—apparently free from political disquietude—were apprehensive of suffering from famine. The municipal council of the Seine met the difficulty in a very questionable manner. By a decree issued on the 15th of September, it was ordered, that the price of flour and bread, in the metropolis, should remain stationary; the municipality guaranteeing to the bakers recompense for any losses they might incur. By an imperial decree, all vessels, laden with grain or vegetables, were authorised to navigate the rivers and canals free from navigation dues, from September till the 31st of December. Inducements were also held out to the railway companies, to lower their tariff, for the remainder of the year, for grain, bread-stuffs, and potatoes; and, by a decree of September 15th, the duties on the importation of cattle and meat were considerably reduced—a measure which led to a corresponding reduction in price.

Few events of historical importance are found mentioned in the annals of France, as occurring in the last months of 1853, except those connected with the Crimean war of the following year. The negotiations connected with that war extended over the entire twelve months; and we shall give a *résumé* of them, and of the progress of the war, in a subsequent chapter. In September, we find, that an imperial decree

* General Montholon, who was one of the most faithful followers of Napoleon I., and shared his captivity at St. Helena, died at Paris, in August. He was upwards of seventy years of age, and left a widow and son: the latter was appointed, immediately after the death

of his father, consul-general and *chargé d'affaires* at Lima.

† The celebrated M. Francis Arago died in the last week in September; and received a public funeral at Père la Chaise, on the 5th of October.

was issued, calling out 40,000 men of the 80,000 of the class of 1852;—7,188 for the navy, and 32,812 for the army. It was announced, that this was not a measure in anticipation of war; but only what was done every year, to fill up the vacancies caused by the retirement of those whose term of service was drawing to a close. Nevertheless, the public attributed it to a conviction in the minds of the government, that the prospect of hostilities was imminent, and a determination to be prepared for the event.—On the 20th of October, another imperial decree appeared, granting an extraordinary credit to the minister of marine; and also the ministerial report, which gave rise to the decree. In this report, M. Ducos stated, that the steam line-of-battle ship *Napoleon* having been so much approved of, six new steam-ships, on the same model, had been put upon the stocks, and would be ready by the end of 1854. Nine more mixed vessels would be ready at the same period; and there were, at that time, two squadrons of fourteen men-of-war afloat, without counting frigates and steamers. The French navy then comprised 161 vessels, manned by 33,625 sailors, gunners, and marines. There had been a saving of 10,000,000f. on the expenditure of 1852; of which the minister required 5,000,000f. to meet his increased demands for 1853; the remaining 5,000,000f., he stated, might be refunded to the public account.

This year, we meet with the first mention of M. Mirès, who, eight years later, created so much excitement from the numerous frauds attributed to him. The Paris papers of September inform us, that, having realised, in two years, a large fortune by successful speculations on the Bourse, he bought the two ministerial papers, the *Constitutionnel* and the *Pays*; and proposed to establish a new society, called the Credit Foncier of Nevers, as a rival to the Credit Foncier of France—attacking the latter violently in both his papers. The government appointed a commission to inquire into the merits of M. Mirès' society; whose report required him to withdraw his proposals. He did so, repaying those who had become shareholders, all the money they had advanced; but announcing in his journals, that a new society, of which the government approved, would soon be brought forward.

This year advances were made towards a more complete fusion of the two branches of the Bourbon family. Some preliminary negotiations took place; and, on the 17th of November, the duke de Nemours went to Frohsdorf, where the duke de Bordeaux had resided since his marriage, under the title of the count de Chambord. The relatives being introduced to each other by a mutual friend, a formal reconciliation took place; the duke de Nemours saying to his royal cousin—"I declare to you, in my own name, and

in the name of my brothers, that we recognise only one royalty in France, and that royalty is yours; but one throne, and that the one on which we hope soon to see seated the eldest of our house." The duchess d'Orleans was no party to this declaration. Whilst her royal highness lived, she always refused to surrender, or in any way compromise, what she considered to be the rights of her son, the count de Paris.—In the course of the year, two collections of pictures, belonging to Louis-Philippe—the Spanish and Standish galleries—were sold. The former produced £27,000; the latter, 10,000 guineas. These sales completed the dispersion of the family property of the unfortunate house of Orleans.

On the 7th of December, the anniversary of the day on which marshal Ney was executed, in 1815, a statue, erected to his memory on the spot where he fell, in the garden of the Luxembourg, was formally inaugurated. His three sons—the prince de Moscowa, the duke d'Elchingen, and count Edgar Ney—were present: the archbishop of Paris pronounced a formal benediction on the statue; and several orations, in honour of the marshal, were delivered; one by M. Dupin, who had defended him on his trial.

On the 10th of December, the new Boulevard de Strasbourg, at Paris, was formally opened—about 100,000 persons assembling, at noon, to witness the ceremony. The emperor was expected to be present, but did not attend; and his absence caused rumours to be circulated that another plot against his life had been detected. There had been several arrests in the course of the week; but they were chiefly of persons implicated in the secret distribution of seditious works, printed in other countries; one being the violent philippic against the emperor by Victor Hugo, entitled *Napoleon le Petit*, of which, it was affirmed, 1,500 copies were sold in Paris, at six francs each, before it was discovered. These reports did not interfere with the dinner parties, and the evening receptions, given to celebrate the day, at the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, and by the great officers of state.

Early in the year, the Kabyles—that daring and gallant, though savage race—who, in the previous year, had given the government of Algeria much trouble, again broke out in rebellion. At the close of April, troops were concentrated at Aumale and Setif, to march against them; and the governor-general left Algiers, on the 8th of May, to assume the command. On the 18th, the army moved from Setif, the fine weather favouring the opening of the campaign, which was short but decisive. Many native villages were burnt, and many lives were lost on both sides; but, on the 28th of May, the governor-general announced that "all the tribes had made their submission, furnished hostages, and paid the impost."—For the

remainder of the year the colony remained perfectly tranquil.—The home government had, for some time, held out inducements to intending emigrants to settle in Algeria, offering a gratuitous passage, and grants of land, to all who were inclined to reside there. It was found, however, that advantage was taken of this offer by persons not likely to prove profitable colonists; and, on the 15th of October, the minister of war issued an order, that no person should have a gratuitous passage, unless he could prove that he possessed 2,000f., if he wished to obtain a grant of land, and pursue agriculture; 400f., if a workman, with a family; and 100f., if a single man.—On the 3rd of November, two decrees appeared in the *Moniteur*, for the en-

couragement of the growth of cotton in Algeria. The first ordered, that the supply of seed, which the government had gratuitously furnished for some time previous, should be continued. The second provided, that, for three years, the government should purchase the produce, at a price to be fixed each year, according to the quality; and offered various premiums to induce planters to promote the cultivation of the cotton plant. These measures have not, up to the present period, been very successful; but the events now (close of 1861) transpiring in the United States of America, may give an impetus to the cultivation of the plant, as the demand for its produce will be so much increased, that a ready market and remunerative prices may be commanded.

CHAPTER VII.

JOUR DE L'AN, 1854; THE FRENCH ARMY; THE HARBOUR OF CHERBOURG; OPENING OF THE SESSION; THE LOAN; BANQUET AT THE TUILERIES; THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE AND LORD RAGLAN IN PARIS; LAW OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION; THE CAMPS; THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS AT BIARRITZ; THE CHOLERA; VIOLENT STORMS; THE 15TH OF AUGUST; THE PRINCE CONSORT OF ENGLAND AT BOULOGNE; THE EMPEROR'S STUD; HIS ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1855; JOUR DE L'AN, 1855; LETTER OF LORD CLARENDON; THE LOAN; VISIT OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS TO ENGLAND; PIANORI'S ATTEMPT ON THE EMPEROR'S LIFE; OPENING OF THE PARIS EXHIBITION OF 1855; EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE CHAMBERS; PLOT AGAINST THE EMPEROR; QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT IN FRANCE; ATTEMPTED INSURRECTION AT ANGERS; ANOTHER ATTEMPT ON THE EMPEROR'S LIFE; CLOSE OF THE EXHIBITION; RETURN OF THE IMPERIAL GUARD; AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA; LUCIEN MURAT AND ITALY; TREATY WITH SWEDEN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the serious apprehensions of a war in the East, which were generally entertained, the *Jour de l'An* of 1854 was celebrated at Paris with the usual festive gaieties. At the Tuileries reception, the emperor was very courteous. When the customary compliments had been paid him by the *corps diplomatique*, his majesty said—"I sincerely hope to be able to maintain the relations of amity between my government and the sovereigns whose representatives you are." Turning to the ambassador from the Porte, he said—"My good wishes, my sympathies, and my efforts, are in favour of your sovereign, and you will be good enough to communicate what I say to him." In the evening, the princess Mathilde gave a ball at the Palais Royal, which the emperor and empress attended. All the Russians of note in Paris were invited to this ball, and were treated with marked distinction. The empress danced the second quadrille with M. de Kisseleff, the Russian ambassador. On the 4th, the emperor and empress gave a ball at the Tuileries, and again the Russians present were distinguished by peculiar attentions. But M. de Kisseleff was not invited: a proof that the relations with that power did not bear a satisfactory aspect.

At this time, the French army, according to a summary in the *semi-official Pays*, comprised a hundred regiments of infantry, of three battalions each; twenty battalions of foot chasseurs; three regiments of Zouaves; two regiments of the foreign legion; three battalions of native sharpshooters, three of African light infantry, and some companies of veterans: the number of men was from 220,000 to 240,000. The cavalry was composed of twelve reserve regiments, twenty regiments of the line, and twenty of light cavalry, each consisting of five squadrons; and eight regiments of light cavalry (four of African chasseurs, three of Spahis, and one of Guides), of six squadrons each; numbering from 32,000 to 35,000 men. In the artillery, there were fourteen regiments, of sixteen batteries; one regiment of pontonniers; thirteen companies of military workmen; four squadrons of flying artillery, and five companies of veteran artillerymen: in all, 360 guns, and from 28,000 to 30,000 men. There were also three regiments of engineers, numbering 6,000 men. The total force of the army, therefore, able to enter at once on a campaign, was about 300,000 men, and 60,000 horses.—From the commencement of the year, the minister of war was busily engaged

in organising this force for active service; and, in all the ports and harbours of France, unremitting exertions were making to arm the vessels which were afloat; the works upon those building, being for a time suspended.

The *Moniteur*, of the 1st of January, announced the completion of the works at Cherbourg. "The second year of the new empire," it said, "opens with an event which will be remarkable in the naval annals of France. The breakwater of Cherbourg is, at present, entirely terminated; and from the 1st of January, 1854, it must rank among the constructions which only require to be kept in perfect repair. This gigantic work—commenced in 1783; suspended during the revolutionary tempest; resumed under the empire; suspended once more during the whole period of the restoration—is now terminated, after seventy years' expectation, and forty-one of constant efforts." * * * "It is known, that the project of the breakwater at Cherbourg was conceived by the illustrious Vauban, who saw the necessity of our navy having, in the channel, a port accessible for the largest ships of the line; and after successive attempts, it has been completed. Its length is rather more than double that of the Plymouth breakwater. The expenses, since 1783, up to the present time, have amounted to 67,300,000f. (£2,692,000)." * * * "Thus a bay, previously formidable to sailors, offers, at present, a sure refuge to the largest vessels in the most violent tempests; and the fleets of France can find there a shelter against the sea and the enemy. It is, at the same time, a safe asylum, open to the commercial shipping of all maritime nations. France may, consequently, be proud of such a work, which has not its equal either in ancient or modern times; and which, designed by Vauban, commenced by Louis XVI., and marked by the emperor Napoleon I. with the imprint of his genius, has been finished by his majesty, Napoleon III."

At that time no alarm was created in England by the splendid works at Cherbourg; subsequently those works were extended, and gave occasion to no inconsiderable anxiety in this country, as to the effect such a magnificent naval port, where the most formidable naval armament could assemble, might have on future wars: but, in 1854, the approaching hostilities with Russia—the negotiations having failed, and England being pledged to join France in the war—engaged all the attention of the British government and people. On the 6th of February, M. de Kisseleff left Paris; and, on the 8th, baron Brunnow departed from London. The former, before he quitted the embassy, addressed a circular to the Russians residing in the French capital, requiring them to leave France immediately, and return to Russia, on pain of the imperial displeasure.

Whilst warlike preparations were going on with great alacrity—general Pelissier, in the first week of February, leaving Paris for Algeria, to organise a *corps d'armée* there for the army in the East—the attention of the French government was directed to another serious and widely ramified conspiracy, of which they received information early in the same month. A letter, dated the 15th of February, says—"A great number of arrests were made in the outskirts of Paris yesterday. About 500 were effected at Les Batignolles, just beyond the Barrière de Clichy. The conspiracy, it is said, was to have broken out on the anniversary of the revolution of 1848 (February 24th); and was not intended to have been confined to a simple manifestation, but to have been an open insurrection. Thanks to the measures taken by the authorities, and their incessant vigilance, the machinations of the enemies of order are again frustrated." Those movements were set on foot by secret clubs, which had agents in other capitals, especially in Brussels. Later in the year, for an alleged connection with the societies and their intrigues, the government demanded the expulsion of Etienne Arago, brother of the celebrated *savan*, from the Belgian capital. Still later, fifty-five persons were tried at Paris, and condemned to an imprisonment from one to five years, for being members of secret societies. The remainder of those taken into custody, were liberated at various times.*

The chambers opened, on the 2nd of March, with the accustomed pomp. The emperor inaugurated the session with an impressive address; in which, after referring to topics of internal administration, and noticing the improved and improving state of the revenue, his majesty reverted to those subjects which had a European interest. The various phases of the Eastern question, which had led to the crisis then impending, were traced. "To avoid a collision," the emperor said, "he had gone as far as honour permitted; and, if France now drew the sword, it was because she was compelled." France had no idea of aggrandisement; she only wished to resist dangerous encroachments—the days of conquest having passed, never to return. "The results of an unselfish and frank policy were, that they had England, their former rival, forming with them the basis of an alliance, which became, from day to day, more intimate, because the opinions France defended, were also those of the English people." Germany and Austria were also friendly; and, in union with them, France was about to support Turkey, defend the freedom of the seas, and maintain her just influence in the Mediterranean. "In this solemn conjuncture, gentlemen," said the emperor, in his peroration, "as in all those in

* On the 27th of February, the celebrated abbé Lamennais died at Paris.

which I shall be obliged to appeal to the country, I rely firmly upon you, for I have always found in you the generous sentiments which animate the nation. Strong, then, in this security, in the nobleness of our cause, and in the firmness of our alliances; and confiding, above all, in the protection of God, I hope soon to arrive at a peace which shall no longer depend on the power of any one to disturb it with impunity."

In both chambers, the most earnest desire was evinced to support the policy of the emperor and his ministers. On the 6th of March, when 288 members were present, the legislative body, by an unanimous vote, sanctioned a loan of 250,000,000f. (£10,000,000); and, the next day, the assembly went in a body to the Tuileries to present the *projet de loi* to the emperor. They were received by his majesty and the empress in full state, and the presentation was made and accepted with an interchange of complimentary speeches between the emperor and the president of the legislative body, M. Billault. On the 9th, the senate met, and discussed the report on the loan, which was sanctioned by that body without the least hesitation. The subscription to this loan was opened on the 14th; the public were allowed to subscribe; and numerous tenders of from 20f. to 50f. (15s. to £2) were made, forming a large sum in the aggregate. When the returns were made up, it was ascertained that there were 98,000 subscribers to this loan; and that the amount of the tenders was 468,315,400f. (£18,732,616), or nearly double the amount required. The government announced that all tenders above 1,000f. (£40) would be proportionably reduced; but that those below that sum would not be interfered with.—While the people were eagerly subscribing to the loan, the minister of finance, on the 15th of March, presented the budget to the legislative assembly. The expenditure was estimated at 1,553,922,075f. (£62,156,883); and the receipts at 1,559,914,440f. (£62,396,577); showing a surplus of 5,992,365f. (£239,694).

On the 15th of March a decree appeared, nominating marshal Vaillant minister of war, in the place of marshal de St. Arnaud, appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the East. The new minister was not pleased with the state of things that he found existing in the military department; and, to prevent responsibility from falling on him, from what he deemed the errors of his predecessors, as soon as he assumed office, he sent in a report to the emperor; in which he represented the state of the troops, and the service generally, in a very unfavourable light—discipline being defective, and the commissariat completely disorganised. He suggested various measures to remedy these evils, which he was authorised to carry into effect.

The declaration of war against Russia was made on the 27th of March. It was announced

to the senate and legislative body on the same day; and both chambers, in reply, assured his majesty that he might rely upon their unanimous assistance.—On the 31st the emperor gave a grand military banquet at the Tuileries. The number of guests was 106, all military men. Several toasts were proposed by the emperor, introduced by brief but animated speeches; and the spirits of the assembly rose to the highest pitch. One toast was—"Success to the war!—a war undertaken for the support of liberty against despotism; of humanity against cruelty and oppression; and of civilisation against barbarism."—This feast was followed by the issue of a decree, ordering a new levy of 100,000 men of the class 1853. "Under present circumstances," said the *Moniteur*, "such a measure is dictated by prudence: but everything leads us to believe that a considerable part of this force will remain at home, as a part of the reserve. The only object of the project is, in reality, to give the government the facility of disposing of this contingent, in the case, little probable, that the honour and interests of France should imperiously demand it."

Marshal de St. Arnaud left Paris in March, for the East. Prince Napoleon, who was also to hold a command in the army, did not depart till the 9th of April. At midnight on the 10th, the duke of Cambridge, lord Raglan (the commander-in-chief of the British army of the East), lord de Ros, colonels Steele, Tyrwhitt, and Somerset, and majors the hon. James Macdonald and Wellesley, arrived in the French capital from Dover. Lord Cowley and marshal Vaillant, with the imperial state carriages, were in waiting at the railway terminus to receive them; and they accompanied the former to the British embassy. The next day, at one o'clock, the imperial carriages were sent to the embassy to convey lord Cowley and the officers to the Tuileries. There were crowds of people in the streets, who cheered loudly, with cries of "*Vivent les Anglais!*" On leaving the Tuileries, the duke of Cambridge and his companions proceeded to the Palais Royal, to visit prince Jerome; and, in the evening, they dined with the emperor and empress. On the 12th, they accompanied the emperor to the Champ-de-Mars, to review the army of Paris, amounting to 25,000 men. The British officers were again well received by the Parisian populace. They remained in Paris a week; and the time was spent in a succession of *fêtes* and festivals, some of a military character, others merely holiday amusements, intended to give pleasure to the visitors, to whom the emperor appeared very desirous of performing the part of a warm friend and kind host; and he was heartily seconded by his ministers and the people. On Monday, the 17th, the duke of Cambridge and his friends dined with M. Drouyn de l'Huys, minister for foreign affairs. In the

evening they attended a grand ball and concert at the Elysée, given entirely in their honour. In the preparations for this really magnificent *fête* no expense was spared; 200,000f. (£8,000) were expended in fitting up the temporary ball-room; and everything else was in keeping. "The view of the garden, from the ball-room on the ground-floor" (we quote one of the contemporary reports), "the lofty illuminated trees in the distance forming an immense amphitheatre, with a grotto in the centre, composed of pink and green Chinese lights, presented a *coup d'œil*, of which none but an eye-witness could form an idea; whilst the varied groups tended not a little to enhance the beauty, as they increased the animation, of the scene." In the palace, the apartments were all newly painted and decorated; and several of them were resplendent with gold and other rich ornaments. They were illuminated by thousands of wax tapers in splendid chandeliers; and the entire spectacle was brilliant and magnificent, almost beyond conception. The guests comprised, besides the English prince and his military companions, the ministers of state, the foreign ambassadors, and the principal nobility, of all countries, then in Paris. An elegant supper was served at twelve o'clock. Their majesties, the duke of Cambridge, lord Raglan, and many other of the guests, departed about one; but the entire company had not separated when day dawned on the 18th. That day, lord Raglan, lord de Ros, and their staffs, left for Marseilles; the duke of Cambridge and the rest of the officers departed on the 19th, on their way to that land where they had to endure so many sufferings and privations; and where reminiscences of the gay scenes of the Elysée must sometimes have brought out, in striking contrast, those distressing ones then passing around them.

There were few measures, except those of mere routine connected with the budget, &c., and the necessary projects for carrying on the war, submitted to the chambers in the session of 1854. The only *projet de loi* of general interest, was one brought before the legislative assembly, for regulating public instruction. Its principal provisions were, the division of France into sixteen academical jurisdictions, each to be administered by a rector, assisted by as many inspectors of academies as there were departments in the jurisdiction; an academical council to be established in the chief town of every jurisdiction; and a council of public instruction in the chief town of every department. After the 1st of January, 1855, the establishments of superior instruction, charged with conferring degrees, were to form a separate division, and to be maintained by the state. Whilst the chambers were sitting, the emperor, with the full approbation of his ministers, issued, on the 13th of

May, a decree, abrogating the restrictions upon English commerce with France, imposed by royal *ordonnances* of February 8th, 1826; which prohibited the importation into France, of Asiatic, African, or American products, from English bonded ports; and of European produce, in English vessels, from any other ports than those of the United Kingdom.

When the two chambers closed their labours, orders were given for the formation of a camp in the immediate vicinity of Boulogne, for the purpose of training a part of the army left in France. The preparations were commenced on the first days of June; Wimereux being the spot selected for the encampment; and there 4,000 huts, built of clay, and thatched with straw, were ordered to be erected: the instructions at first being to prepare accommodation for only 12,000 men. Another camp was formed in the south, under general d'Hautpoul, grand referendary of the senate, who had thirteen generals under him. The emperor himself determined to command in the north; and before June expired, in concert with the minister of war, he greatly extended the first project of the Boulogne cantonment. Honvault, Ambleteuse, and Equihen were added to Wimereux, as places where camps should be pitched: the number of men who were to occupy them was augmented to 50,000; and thirty-one generals were to command as many divisions, the emperor being chief. His majesty also ordered the imperial guard to be reorganised; and directed that the uniform, except the *queues*, should be the same as that of the old guard.

On June 26th, M. de Persigny resigned his office as minister of the interior. He was nominated grand officer of the legion of honour, and was succeeded by M. Billault, the president of the legislative body; who received the complimentary visits of the functionaries attached to his department the same evening, and, the next day, entered upon the discharge of his duties. Count de Morny was placed in the chair of the legislative body, in his stead.—In this month, we hear, after a long lapse of time, of the family of Jerome Bonaparte, by his first wife, who, at the dictation of his brother, he so meanly abandoned. About the 20th of June, Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, the son by this marriage, and his son, Jerome, arrived in France from the United States. The *Siècle* said they came by invitation of the emperor, who, however, saw little or nothing of them; and they kept themselves perfectly quiet and retired. That paper further stated, that "it was from no personal ambition they came to Paris. M. Jerome, the father, was proud of his title of American citizen; he was wealthy, at the head of a numerous family, and had no desire to meddle with the political affairs of Europe."

On the 11th of July, the emperor left Paris;

the empress remaining at the Elysée. Her majesty continued to become more popular amongst the Parisian people the more she became known to them. She took a great interest in the charities of Paris; and by an imperial decree issued in June, the *salles-d'asile* (infant schools) were placed under her protection. A committee of twenty-three ladies was nominated at the same time, to watch over the proceedings of the schools, and to promote their objects.

The emperor, when he left Paris, visited the camp which was forming at Boulogne; and from thence went to Calais to inspect the improvements making in the harbour at that port. He returned to the Elysée on the 14th of July; and on the 19th again quitted the capital, to accompany the empress to Biarritz, in the Pyrenees, near the Spanish frontier. They arrived on the evening of the 21st, and were received with warm acclamations by the inhabitants, who collected to obtain a sight of the imperial *cortége*. The minister of finance accompanied the emperor; the other ministers remaining at Paris, where they met in council, M. Baroche presiding. They deliberated four times a week, but no measure was decided upon. Couriers were constantly passing between Paris and Biarritz; those from the former city conveying to the emperor the result of the council meetings, and those from the latter taking back his majesty's decisions. This is the course since pursued when Napoleon has been absent from Paris, making a tour in the interior, or paying visits. Whilst the emperor and empress remained at Biarritz, much of that pomp and ceremony was dispensed with which surrounded the court in Paris. Their majesties frequented the public walks with few attendants, and mixed indiscriminately with the people. This conduct, and the benevolence of the empress, made them very popular.

This year France was visited in the spring by excessive showers of rain, and in the summer by the cholera. The latter was very destructive to life at Marseilles; and at one period—the close of June and the beginning of July—affected the soldiers in the camps forming near Boulogne, so seriously, that it was thought they would have to be dispersed. The virulence of the disease was, however, mitigated, and the proceedings were continued. At Marseilles, on the contrary, it increased in malignity; for several days in July, the deaths averaged 150 per day; and, on the 23rd, rose to 191. This caused a general panic; and 60,000 persons, out of a population of 200,000, left the town. Soon after it abated; and, before August closed, finally disappeared.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable appearances early in the year, the harvest, both for corn and in the vineyards, was, generally, very productive; but, in some localities, thunder-storms—

more terrible than any that had been experienced for several years—ruined the prospects of the farmer. On the 12th of July, the whole of the country round Lyons was visited with a storm of wind, thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, so violent, that, in five minutes, it utterly destroyed the splendid crops which were just ready for the sickle. The corn was so completely beaten down, that it would not even yield litter for the cattle. The vines were stripped of their leaves and fruit; the clover and lucerne reduced literally to a pulp; and very large trees were torn up by the roots. The disaster was complete. About the same time, at Vaise and other places, enormous hailstones fell, which did great damage.

As the cholera did not extend to Biarritz, and the waters were found to be beneficial to both the emperor and empress, their sojourn was extended several weeks beyond the time originally fixed; and, on the 10th of August, M. de Persigny joined the imperial party. The absence of the emperor from Paris on the 15th of August—which was again celebrated in the capital by a variety of shows, military, dramatic, and pyrotechnic; intermixed with religious ceremonies at the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, and the church of the Invalides—was variously commented upon. It excited much disappointment; and whilst some attributed it to the emperor's fear of conspirators, others said he dreaded the cholera. At Biarritz, his majesty received, on the 15th, the bishop of Bayonne, who presented the congratulations of himself and clergy, on the return of the fête-day. In his reply, Napoleon attributed his absence from Paris, neither to fears for his health nor dread of conspirators, but to his conviction of the public tranquillity. France, he said, "was calm and happy, and no longer under those apprehensions which could compel the head of the state to be always armed, and on the *qui vive*, in the capital."

On the 15th of August, the *Moniteur* (the only paper published) contained a decree, authorising the appropriation of 8,000,000f. (£320,000) to the carrying into execution the testamentary clauses in the will of Napoleon I.—viz., 300,000f. to the officers and privates of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, their widows or children; 200,000f. to those who were wounded at Ligny and Waterloo; 1,500,000f. to the officers and soldiers who fought from 1792 to 1815; 400,000f. to the town of Brienne; 300,000f. to the town of Thierry; 1,300,000f. to the provinces which suffered most under the two invasions; and 4,000,000f. to the special legatees of the emperor, their widows or heirs. These sums were distributed under the direction of a commission, appointed by the emperor; who found many more claimants than were expected for the first, second, and third bequests. A second decree, announcing a number of decorations bestowed on eminent men, appeared in the same paper;

and a third, proclaiming 2,582 pardons, or reductions of punishment, 1,003 of which were to soldiers and sailors undergoing imprisonment, of whom 540 received free pardons.

The emperor returned to Paris on the 28th of August. The empress having received great benefit from the waters, remained a short time longer at Biarritz, where, during the imperial sojourn, a château was commenced, to be called the Villa Eugénie; which was intended for the residence of the emperor and empress on future visits.

The emperor did not remain at Paris; but left almost immediately for the camp at Boulogne, where he received in succession the king of the Belgians, the young king of Portugal, and the prince consort of England. The visit of the husband of queen Victoria was the great event. His royal highness arrived on Tuesday, the 5th of September, having crossed the channel in the *Victoria and Albert* royal yacht. That vessel was seen approaching the harbour at an early hour. As she drew near, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired; and the emperor drove down to the quay to receive his distinguished guest, escorted by two squadrons of the imperial guard. His royal highness was accompanied by the duke of Newcastle, then minister at war; viscount Hardinge, the general commanding-in-chief the army of the United Kingdom; lord Seaton, and several other officers. A magnificent suite of apartments was provided for the prince, at the Hôtel Brighton, the residence of the emperor; and during his stay, his royal highness visited the camp at Helfaut, as well as those in the neighbourhood of Boulogne. On the 8th, there was a sham fight and review of the troops in those camps, which was followed by a farewell banquet at the Hôtel Brighton. In the course of the evening, the emperor proposed the health of his "intimate ally, queen Victoria;" and designated "the two flags of France and England," as "the rainbow of promise to liberty;" adding, that their united arms "would soon crush the yoke of the despot." The prince's health was also proposed, and duly honoured. His royal highness, in acknowledging the toast, said, his "reception had been such as had surpassed all his expectations, and would never be effaced from his memory."—Whilst this was passing, the houses at Boulogne were brilliantly illuminated by the light of many thousand lamps. In the centre of the quay, the letters V. N. A. (Victoria, Napoleon, Albert) formed a very prominent feature of the illumination.—At eleven o'clock at night, the prince and his suite embarked, amidst a burst of rockets, most grand and brilliant to those who beheld it; but, at the same time, so terrific to those who heard the explosion, without being aware of what caused it, that many of the inhabitants of Boulogne were seriously

frightened, and thought some dire evil had befallen their town.

This visit was the source of great pleasure to all who participated in it. Not only did the French authorities vie with each other in attentions to the prince consort and the noblemen and officers who landed with him, but the same attention was paid to the officers of the royal yacht; for whom, by the express orders of the emperor, carriages were provided, to convey them to the camp on the day of the review; and there an elegant entertainment was served up to them. The officers were not wanting in reciprocal courtesies; and lieutenant the honourable F. Foley received the thanks of 12,000 persons, for the kindness and urbanity shown to them on their visits to the yacht, which was thrown open to the public, and which every one was desirous to see.—The emperor won greatly upon the esteem of the officers, who were much interested by his horsemanship, and the noble horse he rode. It was a dark chesnut; his majesty had purchased it of Mr. Phillips, of Knightsbridge, and called it "Phillips," after its former owner. When the legislative assembly refused him his dotation, and he had to reduce his establishment, nothing grieved him more than having to break up his stud and dispose of his horses. After the empire was proclaimed, and his civil list made more suitable to his position, he seized every opportunity of procuring the best English horses that money could purchase. He also purchased some fine Arabs, and kept a stud and breeding establishment at St. Cloud, where some colts of extraordinary beauty and worth have been reared, from the mixed English and Arab breeds. The emperor's horses, however, which he uses at reviews and in the field, and the greater part of his saddle and carriage horses, are of the pure English breed.

On the 17th of September, the emperor arrived at Paris from Boulogne. He left again the next day for Biarritz, and returned, with the empress, on the 21st. On the 23rd, he again went to Boulogne, where Eugénie joined him on the 25th. During his short stay at Paris, his majesty signed a decree, authorising a complete reorganisation of the police of that city, very nearly upon the plan of that of London; his majesty having been struck, during his residence in the British metropolis, with the excellent arrangements of the force, its efficiency against evil-doers, and the services it rendered to the population. The old police force cost 1,535,000*f.* (£60,000) per annum: the estimated expense of the new establishment was 5,600,000*f.* (£224,000).

The week after the return of the emperor to the camp, was diversified with many military shows and exercises; and, on the 30th, a grand and final review took place at Honvault. The emperor rode his favourite chesnut horse; the empress, dressed in riding costume, and wearing

an elegant white feather in her hat, rode by his side; and, as there were thousands of spectators, the scene was grand and imposing in the extreme. The country around, being of a hilly and undulating character, added greatly to the beauty of the spectacle. Whilst the emperor was engaged in the inspection of his troops, a courier rode up and presented a despatch to him. On glancing over it, he exclaimed "*Sebastopol est pris!*" ("Sebastopol is taken!") Tumultuous cheers followed this announcement; and, at night, Boulogne was illuminated, as were all the railway stations round Paris. Unfortunately, the announcement was premature; both armies—English and French—suffered greatly before the pride of the Crimea fell before them.

The emperor and empress left Boulogne on the 1st of October. Before his departure his majesty issued an address to the troops; in which he said—"The object of the creation of the camp of the north was, you are aware, to bring our troops nearer to the coast, so that, more easily united to those of England, they can be directed wherever the honour of the two nations may render their presence a duty. It was established to show to Europe, that, without leaving bare any point in the interior, we could easily assemble nearly 100,000 men between Cherbourg and St. Omer. It was established to accustom you to military exercises, to marches, to fatigues; and, believe me, nothing is so beneficial for the soldier as this life in common, in the open air, which makes men understand each other, and enables them to resist the inclemency of the season." It was intimated that the camps would not be broken up for some time; and that the emperor would soon return. Pleasure, however, rather than public business, appeared to be, just then, the pursuits of the emperor and empress. Passing through Paris, they proceeded to Compiègne, where they gathered a circle of distinguished visitors round them, who were entertained with balls, concerts, theatrical representations, and hunting parties; the emperor's hunters, and his pack of English hounds, having been sent on from St. Cloud. The court remained at Compiègne till November was far advanced.*

The senate and legislative corps were summoned to meet on the 26th of December. Previous to their assembling, an imperial decree was issued, opening a new extraordinary credit of 25,700,000*f.* (£1,028,000), to meet the expenses of the war in the East, and particularly those attendant upon the dispatch to the Crimea of two additional *corps d'armée*. A sum of 12,250,000*f.* (£490,000) was appropriated to the pay and support of troops; the remainder to the purchase of stores of various kinds. At the same time

the formation of a foreign brigade was commenced: it was completed in the following month; and colonel Ochsenbein was appointed commander, with the rank of general of brigade. One regiment of foot, and a brigade of horse artillery, a battalion of *gendarmes*, and two regiments of grenadier voltigeurs, were also added to the imperial guard.

The legislative session of 1855 was opened on the day appointed, with an imperial speech, delivered by the emperor, who was surrounded, on the occasion, by his household officers. His majesty alluded to the war in the East; and to the victories gained by the French arms in the Baltic and the Black Sea; and characterised a vote of thanks which had been passed by the English parliament to the French generals and soldiers, as "a shining testimony in proof of the intimacy of their relations with England." The emperor of Austria had (his majesty stated) "concluded a treaty, defensive for the present time—offensive, perhaps, hereafter; and he thus united his cause to that of France and England." The alliance with England was "not the effect of a momentary interest and a policy of circumstances;" but "the union of two powerful nations, associated for the triumph of one cause, to promote which their greatest efforts had been made for more than a hundred years—the interests of civilisation; and, at the same time, the liberties of Europe." He therefore called on the senators and deputies, "to join with him on that solemn occasion, to thank, in the name of France, the parliament for its warm and cordial demonstration, and the English army and its worthy chief, for their valiant co-operation." His majesty informed the legislature, that the French army was then composed of 581,000 soldiers, with 113,000 horses; and the marine, of 62,000 sailors afloat. He asked for another levy of 140,000 men, in order to keep that force in an effective state; and announced, that "a law would be presented to them, which would have for its object, to ameliorate, without augmenting the charges on the treasury, the position of the soldiers who would be re-engaged." His majesty hoped this law would soon meet their approval; and he informed them, he should require their sanction to conclude a new national loan. "His efforts," he added, "had been directed to place the expenditure on a level with the receipts: the ordinary budget would show that they were in equilibrium; and the resources derived from the loan would be sufficient to meet the charges of the war."

The speech was received with acclamations; and the next day, a *projet de loi* was presented to the legislative body, authorising a loan of

* On the 13th of November, count de St. Aulaire died at Paris, aged seventy-seven. Under Louis-Philippe, he was successively member of the chamber of deputies, peer of France, and ambassador at Rome,

Vienna, and London. In the last office, he constantly laboured to promote a good understanding between France and England; and he was very highly esteemed in the British metropolis.

500,000,000*f.* (£20,000,000). It met with no opposition; and no time was lost in carrying it through the necessary formalities.—The ministers of war and marine also took, without delay, the necessary steps to recruit the army and navy; the latter ordering a levy of all the sailors in that class who had served the state for four years.

The *Jour de l'An*, 1855, was celebrated, as usual, by a "reception" at the Tuileries; where the members of the imperial palace, and of the diplomatic body, with a number of senators and deputies, presented themselves to offer the usual congratulations to the emperor and empress. On this occasion, prince Jerome, president of the senate, by an innovation on accustomed usage, was permitted to deliver a formal address to his majesty; in the course of which, he said—"Each year, sire, appears to add to the grandeur of your reign. That which has just ended, has given, under your auspices, a new character to the policy of Europe; and even in the midst of war, you have obtained an alliance which strengthens our country, and striking proofs of friendship which do it honour. Since your majesty has, by an exception with which it is deeply affected, authorised the senate to depart, for a moment, from the ordinary ceremonial of this day, allow me to express to your majesty our confidence in your government, our gratitude for the heroic co-operation of England, and our patriotic solicitude for our brave armies, which so gloriously support, in the East, the intentions of your majesty, and the honour of the French name. The year which has now commenced will not be less propitious; for there is happiness in the policy of upright and loyal princes."—The emperor replied—"I thank the senate for the sentiments which it expresses to me, through the organ of its president. I shall always rely on the co-operation of the senate in everything which relates to the happiness of the French people, the success of our alliances, and the glory of our arms."—These few words were nailed with repeated cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" by the members of the senate, and many others who were present.

When the project of law for the new loan was presented to the emperor, the president of the legislative body, in his brief address, alluded to the events in the Crimea; and spoke in warm terms of the "loyal allies of France"—the British soldiers. The emperor expressed his cordial acquiescence in all the sentiments the president expressed; and what passed was communicated to lord Clarendon by the French ambassador in London. His lordship, in reply, addressed the following note to his excellency, which was published in the *Moniteur*, of January 7th:—"I have placed before the queen the communication of your excellency, and am commanded by her majesty, to express to you her high appreciation

of the cordial terms in which were recognised, both in the speech of the president of the legislative body, and the reply of his imperial majesty, the co-operation of the British military and naval forces, who share the trials and perils of the soldiers and sailors of France. Permit me, at the same time, to express the thanks of her majesty's government for the communication which your excellency transmitted. Your excellency knows how completely the British legislature and nation are penetrated, towards the French army and navy, with the same sentiments of sympathy and gratitude so gracefully expressed towards the military and naval forces of her majesty, both in the address of the president of the legislative corps, and in the reply of the emperor."

Early in January, reinforcements were sent from Paris to the army in the Crimea. The different regiments were reviewed by the emperor on the 10th, when he delivered their eagles to several new corps, with a spirited address, in which his majesty said, he trusted they would soon assist to plant those memorials of French glory on the walls of Sebastopol. A portion of this force was composed of several battalions of the imperial guard, of whom his majesty took leave with feelings of great emotion; and he presented each of the officers with a magnificent pelisse, lined with fur. About the same time, prince Napoleon landed in France from the seat of war. According to the *Moniteur*, the prince—the state of whose health had obliged him to leave the Crimea for Constantinople—"was about to rejoin the army; but the emperor, having been informed, by the medical men, that his state of health would not allow him to continue the campaign, had ordered his highness to return to Paris."—He arrived at the Palais Royal before the close of January, accompanied by prince Jerome, who had met him on his landing; and he was cordially welcomed by the emperor.

On the 18th of January, the subscription for the new loan (which had been again thrown open to the public) closed; and when the various papers were gone through, and the account made up, it was found that the tenders received amounted to 2,175,000,000*f.* (£87,000,000). English capitalists tendered for 150,000,000*f.* (£6,000,000); and other foreigners for about the same amount. But all the foreign tenders, as well as those of the larger French capitalists, were rejected, and their deposits of ten per cent. returned.—In January, conferences were opened at Vienna, between Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, with a view, if possible, to produce a settlement of the Eastern question. Lord John Russell (who had been succeeded by earl Clarendon as minister for foreign affairs in the British ministry) was the plenipotentiary on the part of Great Britain.

He visited Paris, *en route* to the Austrian capital; and had several interviews with the emperor and M. Drouyn de l'Huys, who accompanied him to Vienna. At this period Paris and the imperial court displayed even unwonted gaiety. Several balls were given at the Tuileries; one of which, on the 8th of February, rivalled in magnificence any ever given in that abode of splendour. The imperial party entered the Hall of Marshals about ten o'clock. It consisted of the emperor and the queen Christina of Spain; the empress and prince Jerome; the princess Mathilde and prince Napoleon. In the first quadrille the empress danced with prince Napoleon; their *vis-à-vis* being the princess Mathilde and lord Cowley.

M. Bineau, minister of finance, retired in February, his health being greatly impaired. He was succeeded by M. Magne, from the department of agriculture, commerce, and public works.—In that month, the camps at St. Omer and Boulogne were visited by the emperor. At the latter, his majesty had an interview with the earl of Clarendon, who crossed the channel especially to confer with him. Lord Cowley, also, went from Paris to join in the conference. The war, and any modifications or new phases which might arise, were the subjects discussed; and it was resolved that no alteration should be made in the policy or proceedings of the allies.—On the 3rd of March, information was received, by telegraph, of the death of the emperor Nicholas, on the previous day, at St. Petersburg. Immediately after the arrival of the intelligence, the emperor wrote to Paris, "*Rien n'est changé.*" He returned to the Tuileries on the 4th.

The expenses of the war, and the demands made upon the treasury in various ways, caused, early in the year, a pressure for money, notwithstanding the increase of the indirect taxes, and the loan. It was proposed, by the minister of finance, to impose a duty upon paper; but the proposal was met by such a decided opposition, that it was abandoned. The substitute was a duty on dogs; another on carriages; and a third on horses, whether used for the saddle or in harness: the scale proposed was—60f. for a carriage and pair of horses; 40f. for a carriage and one horse; and 30f. for a riding-horse. This measure rendered the war unpopular with those classes whom it particularly affected; but there did not appear any prospect of its termination, or of a reduction in the expenditure. On the contrary, the army was being constantly increased. The additions to the national guard were completed in March. On the 20th, the emperor reviewed several newly-formed battalions in the court of the Tuileries, and presented to them their ensigns, with the following brief address:—"Soldiers! the army is the real nobility of our country. It preserves, intact, from age to age, the traditions of the national glory and

honour. Behold there [pointing to the colours] your genealogical tree! It marks a new victory for each generation. Take, then, these colours. I entrust them to your honour, to your courage, to your patriotism!"

The *Moniteur* of the 29th of March, announced that the emperor and empress had accepted an invitation from the queen of England to visit London; an announcement which was, in all parts of the empire, received with the greatest satisfaction. Frenchmen had become enthusiastic on the subject of an alliance with England, and nothing was heard, except in very obscure quarters, of *le perfide Albion*. It was thought the emperor's coming to England would strengthen the alliance; and, therefore, everybody seemed to rejoice at it.

The visit took place in April.—On Saturday, the 14th, the emperor presented himself in the hall of the legislative body, and delivered a farewell address to the members, announcing his brief absence from France; and expressing a hope that his visit to England would strengthen the alliance between the two countries. The next day, his majesty and the empress left Paris. The emperor was accompanied by lord Cowley: his suite was composed of the grand marshal of the palace, marshal Vaillant; the grand chamberlain, M. de Bassano; and his aides-de-camp general count de Montebello, colonel count Edgar Ney, and the marquis de Toulangeon. The ladies attendant upon the empress, were, the princess d'Essling, the countess de Montebello, and the baroness Malaret. Her majesty's first chamberlain, count Charles de Tascher de la Pagerie, also formed part of her suite.

The passage from Calais to Dover was made on the 16th, in the imperial steam-packet *Pelican*, commanded by admiral the viscount de Chabannes. The prince consort had proceeded from London to Dover, to meet their majesties; and when the distinguished party arrived, his royal highness, with the authorities, and all the *élite* of the inhabitants of Dover, and an immense crowd of the citizens, were assembled to receive and welcome them. The count Walewski (the French ambassador at London), and the countess, had arrived at Dover the preceding evening, and were also amongst those who were present on the occasion. Carriages were in waiting, to one of which the prince consort conducted the empress, who was simply attired in a straw bonnet, a grey paletot, and tartan dress of a quiet and unobtrusive pattern. She looked pale, the effects of the voyage; but smiled most graciously on all around, and courteously recognised the countess Walewski. The party proceeded to the Lord Warden Hotel, where luncheon was prepared; and, after that meal, the emperor received a complimentary address from the corporation of Dover; to which he replied—"I am exceedingly grateful that your queen has allowed

me to find such an occasion to pay my respects to her, and to show my sentiments of esteem and sympathy for the English people. I hope that the two nations will be always united in peace and in war; for I am convinced it will be for the welfare of the whole world, and for their own prosperity. I am exceedingly grateful to you for the sentiments you have expressed towards me and the empress; and I hope you will be the interpreter of my sentiments and her's to your countrymen."

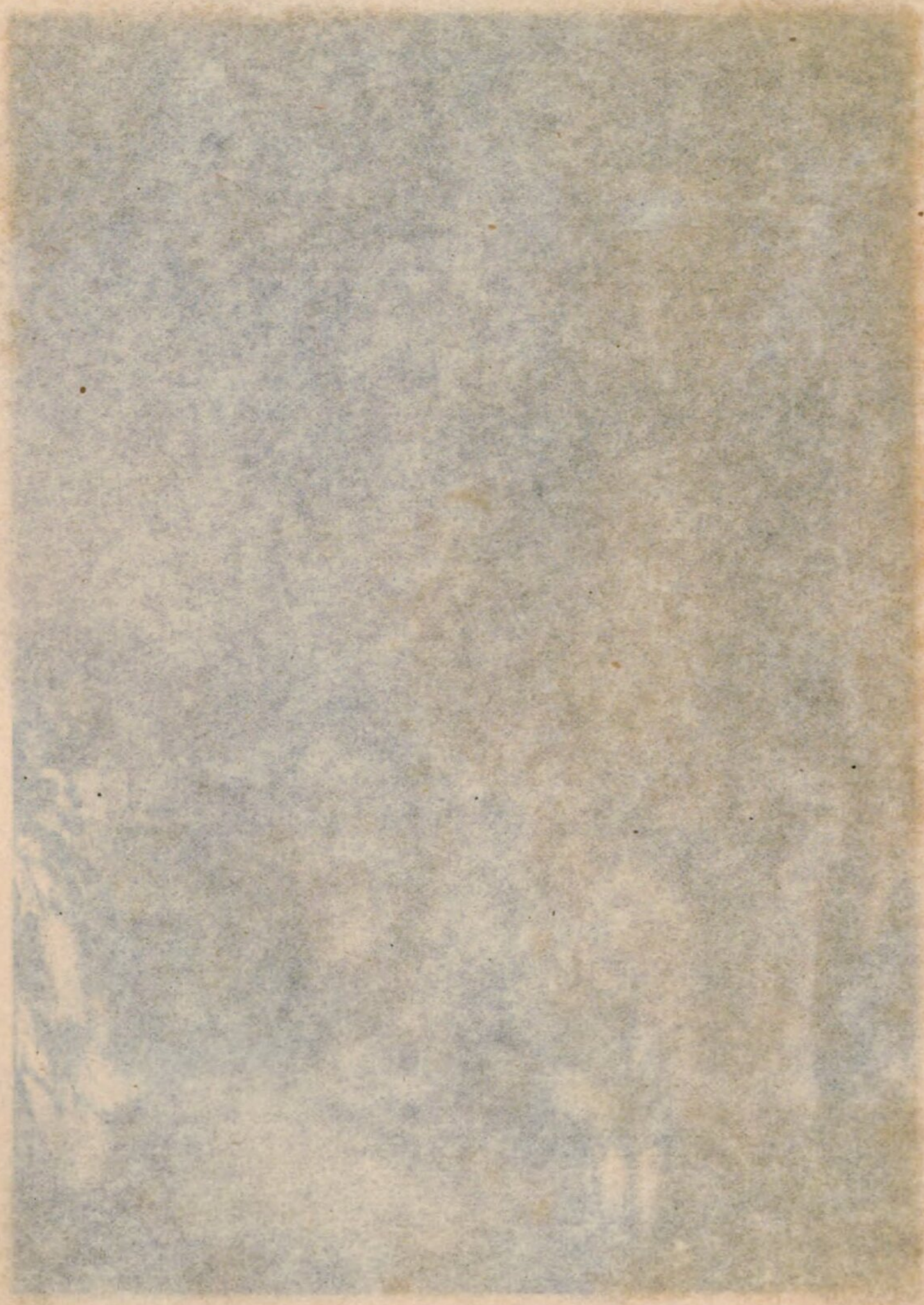
The party then proceeded to the railway terminus, and were conveyed to London. At every station—and wherever there was access to the road on the route—the people flocked to cheer their visitors, and to gratify themselves with a sight of the empress, of whose beauty so much had been said; and the general exclamation, from those who obtained a good view of her was, that "the pictures did not do her justice." Her majesty, in the course of the journey, seemed quite to have lost the sense of fatigue which appeared to oppress her on landing; and when she left the train at the Bricklayers' Arms station, Kent-road, London—she had, remarks one of the chroniclers of the time, "resumed all her native freshness, grace, and beauty."—From that station, the route was, by the New Kent-road, Westminster-bridge, Whitehall, Charing-cross, Pall-Mall, St. James's-street, Piccadilly, and Hyde-park, to the station of the Great Western railway, at Paddington. The entire route was thronged with countless thousands of spectators, by whom the imperial visitors were most loudly cheered. And, remarks another of the popular historians of the day—"As the *cortège* went along, the multitudinous roars of gratulation appeared to increase, until turning by the duke of Wellington's statue, and past the Achilles, the appearance of a gay party waving their handkerchiefs from the balconies of Apsley-house, with the windows of the Waterloo gallery thrown open, pleasantly reminded all, how transitory may be even national enmities."—Both the emperor and the empress seemed to be deeply impressed with the unmistakable cordiality of their reception.

It was in the great hall of Windsor Castle that queen Victoria received her distinguished guests. Her majesty was accompanied by the prince of Wales, the princess-royal, the duke of Cambridge, and the prince of Leiningen: viscount Palmerston, first lord of the treasury; earl Clarendon, secretary of state for foreign affairs; and all the great officers of state, with the lords and ladies of the royal household, were present. The meeting has been described, by those who witnessed it, as most cordial and friendly; and, wherever the imperial couple presented themselves during the week they remained in England, they were received with the same signs of approving welcome as they met with on their landing—and which accompanied them on their

road to Windsor.—Tuesday and Wednesday, the 17th and 18th of April, were spent at the castle. On the first day, addresses of congratulation from the mayor and corporation of Windsor, and from the merchants and bankers of London, were presented to the imperial visitors; and, in the afternoon, the guards were reviewed in the Great Park.—On Wednesday, the queen invested the emperor with the order of the Garter, in St. George's Hall.—On Thursday, the distinguished party visited London, the emperor and empress partaking of a splendid *déjeuner* at the Mansion-house, in the morning; and accompanying the queen and the prince consort to the Italian Opera in the evening.—On Friday, the emperor and empress, the queen and the prince consort, visited the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham; and on Saturday they returned to France, embarking at Dover; the next day they were again reinstated at the Tuileries.

From the moment that Napoleon and Eugénie landed on the English shore, till their departure, there was no single event, that we are aware of, to mar the pleasure of their visit. Everywhere applause accompanied their movements; wherever their footsteps fell, the voice of welcome was heard. The extremely prepossessing appearance and engaging manners of the empress contributed very much to produce this effect; and, with respect to the emperor, the English people saw in him, not the nephew of their old and inveterate enemy, but a prince, who, since his elevation to power, had shown a desire to use it for the preservation of order, and evinced a disposition to promote public prosperity and private good. At that time, also, he appeared to be firmly united with England in public policy: and Englishmen gave him full credit for sincerity, when he said, in reply to the address from the corporation of London—"England and France are naturally united on all the great questions of politics, and of human progress, that agitate the world—from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Mediterranean—from the Baltic to the Black Sea—from the desire to abolish slavery, to the hope of amelioration for all the countries of Europe. I see in the moral, as in the political world, two nations—but only one course, and one end."

The emperor had not been many days in Paris before an attempt was made upon his life. On the 28th of April, he was riding in the Bois de Boulogne, followed by his aides-de-camp, count Edgar Ney, and lieutenant-colonel Valabregues. His majesty had arrived just opposite the pleasure-gardens of the Château de Fleurs, when a man stepped out of the footpath, and, leaning his arm against a lamp-post to steady his aim, fired a pistol at him. Colonel Ney spurred his horse, and rushed at the villain; but, seeing the movement, the latter darted on one side, and discharged another pistol at the





R. Hind.

D. J. P. 1855.

QUEEN VICTORIA

INVESTING NAPOLEON III WITH THE INSIGNIA OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

April 1855.

emperor. The ball is said to have touched his hat; but his person escaped unhurt. Two men, dressed like operatives—but who were really police agents—seized the fellow just after he had discharged the second pistol. He resisted violently; and had to be struck several times before he could be secured, and taken off to the Conciergerie. By that time many people had assembled, who warmly cheered the emperor. His majesty bowed, and—having dispatched a messenger to assure the empress of his safety—pursued his ride. A few yards beyond the Arc de Triomphe, he met Eugénie, who sobbed and wept convulsively when she was assured of his safety. His majesty rode to the Tuileries by the side of the empress's carriage, cheered and congratulated by the thousands, whom the report “that the life of the emperor had been attempted,” had drawn to the Boulevards. In the evening their majesties went to the Opera Comique, where they were warmly received.

This attempt on the emperor's life called forth great public indignation, as well as many marks of public sympathy. Addresses were sent to his majesty from the French departments, and from foreign countries, to congratulate him on his escape. One of these addresses, from the British residents and visitors at Paris, signed by 409 persons, was presented to his majesty, by a deputation, on the 5th of May. On its presentation, he expressed the high gratification he felt in receiving such a testimony of esteem from the English residents in the French capital. Similar addresses were transmitted to his majesty, through lord Cowley, from the corporations of Edinburgh, York, Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, and Bradford.

The assassin, upon whom, when he was searched, two pistols and a dagger were found, besides the one he had discharged, was tried, on the 7th of May, before the assize court of Paris. His name was Pianori; and he was a good-looking man, about thirty years of age. Although he positively refused to answer many questions respecting himself, it was ascertained that he was born in the pontifical states; that he was a shoemaker; and that he was unmarried. He joined the insurrectionists at Rome, in 1849; and when the movement failed, quitted the country, proceeding to Piedmont, where he resided till the beginning of 1854. On leaving Piedmont, he went to France; visiting, and residing for a short time, at Marseilles, Lyons, Chalons, and Paris, under the name of Liverani. At the latter city he got work from M. Mallet, a master shoemaker; but was soon, for some reason, discharged. Next, he was found in London, where he professed to have earned from 50s. to 60s. a-week, but refused to say in what manner. In that city he purchased, for £6, the double-barrelled pistol with which he attempted the emperor's life. He declared that

he had no accomplices, and that his crime was unpremeditated; it being only on the morning of the 28th of April that the idea of shooting the emperor occurred to him. He was found guilty, and the punishment of a parricide awarded to him. His sentence was carried into execution at 5 A.M. on the 4th of May. To the last he denied that he had any accomplices; but, he said, “others will achieve what I have sought to perform;” and his last words were, “*Vive l'Italie!*”

The success of the Great Industrial Exhibition, in London, in 1851, created in Louis Napoleon, when president of the French republic, the desire to equal, if not excel it, in a grand *Exposition de l'Art et l'Industrie*, to be held at Paris in 1855. Under his auspices, a company was formed to erect a “Palace of Industry,” for the purpose of that and future exhibitions. The great square of the Champ Elysées was selected as the site; and there a noble permanent edifice—820 feet long, and 354 feet wide—was erected; with a temporary building for the display of machinery. The exhibition, it was announced, would be international; a commission, with prince Napoleon as president, was named for the management; and the support of the manufacturers, artisans, mechanics, and artists of France and of all nations, was solicited. That support was cordially given; a vast number of specimens of man's skill and ingenuity in art and industry, were sent to Paris; and it was announced, that the exhibition would open on the 1st of May. On the 28th of April, the opening was postponed to the 15th of May; on which day it took place. As a spectacle, that ceremony fell far short of the opening of the exhibition in Hyde-park, on the 1st of May, 1851. Though the inauguration had been postponed for a fortnight, the building was not finished; the accommodation for the visitors was extremely defective; and the number present was not half that which assembled in the English Crystal Palace. The preparations for the accommodation of the emperor and empress, were, however, well-arranged and magnificent. In the centre of the building, on a raised *daïs*, spread with handsomely variegated carpets, two *fauteuils* were placed, surmounted by a rich canopy. On the right and left were clusters of flags and eagles; and on both sides were seats for the members of the imperial family, the great officers of state, the members of the senate and legislative body, officers of the army, the clergy, and the judges. The orchestra rose, in the shape of an amphitheatre, behind.—It was twenty minutes after one when the imperial party arrived; the emperor escorting the queen-mother, Christina, of Spain; and prince Jerome the empress. Prince Napoleon, at the head of the members of the commission, received their majesties at the northern entrance of the palace, and conducted

them to the *daïs*: when they had taken their seats, his highness read an address, setting forth the origin, progress, and character of the undertaking. His majesty briefly replied: he then declared the exhibition opened; adding—"In inviting all nations hither, I have desired to open a palace of concord." A procession was then formed round the building, and the proceedings terminated. The imperial party immediately took their departure amid loud cheers, in which the British "hurrah!" predominated.

When going through the ceremony of inauguration, the emperor and empress both looked ill; and soon after the former had a severe attack of illness, from which he suffered during most of the month of June. His indisposition was increased by his mortification at the course pursued by M. Drouyn de l'Huys at Vienna, where that plenipotentiary and lord John Russell gave their assent to propositions from which both their governments dissented. The two ministers resigned. M. Drouyn de l'Huys was succeeded, as foreign minister of France, by count Walewski; and M. de Persigny replaced the count as ambassador at London.—The emperor had scarcely recovered, when an extraordinary session of the senate and legislative body was opened. At the close of the ordinary session in May, the senators and deputies were informed, that "financial measures would soon render their reassembling necessary;" and in June, an imperial decree was issued, convoking them for the 2nd of July.—On that day, the members of the two chambers assembled, as usual, in the hall of the Tuileries. They were met by the emperor, who, in his speech, announced that the conferences at Vienna had failed. He entered into details, to show that that failure was not the fault of the allies; and said, as the struggle must be continued, it was for the legislature to provide him with the means of carrying it on. He had himself wished to go to the Crimea; but the serious questions agitated abroad, and the new and important measures demanded at home, compelled him, with great regret, to abandon the idea. He called on the senators and deputies "not to be discouraged by the sacrifices which were necessary; for, as they were aware, a nation must either abdicate every political character, or, if it possessed the instinct and the will to act conformable to its generous nature, to its historical traditions, and to its providential mission, it must learn how to support, at times, the trials which alone could re-temper it, and restore to it the rank which is its due."—As soon as the emperor concluded, the legislative body repaired to its hall; where the ministers presented *projets des lois*, for a new loan of 750,000,000f. (£30,000,000); for the levy of 140,000 men; and for imposing new duties on brandy and railways.—At the sittings of the 5th and 6th of July, these projects were

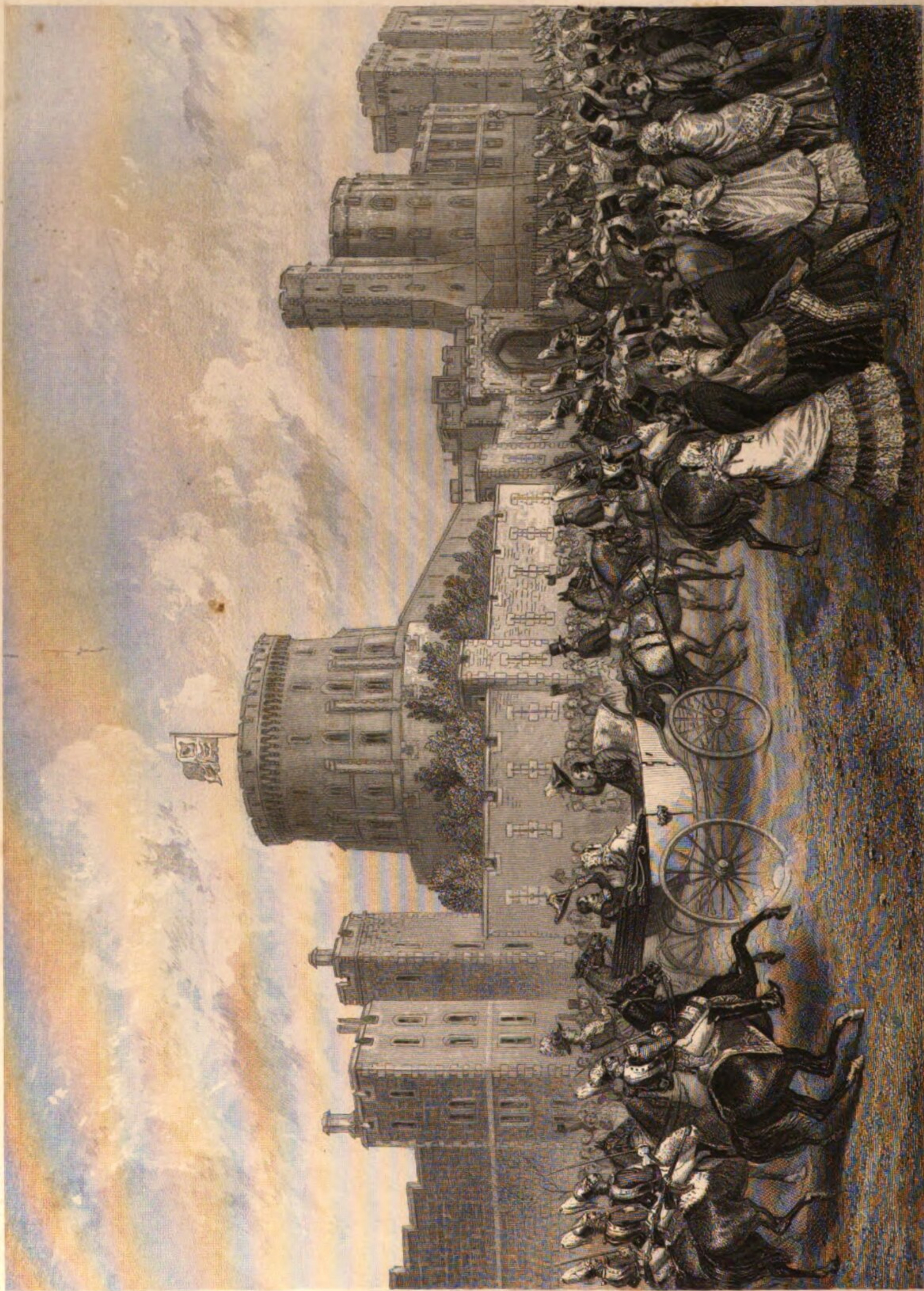
agreed to, and, in the evening of the latter day, were presented to the emperor by the legislative body, which, headed by count de Morny, the president, proceeded to the Tuileries for that purpose. On receiving them from the hands of the president, the emperor said—"I thank the legislative body. I know how heavy the war impost is felt; but I hope it is only momentary; and I believe that the courage and patriotism of the country will surmount all difficulties, and enable us to arrive at an honourable peace."—The loan was, for the third time, offered to the public, and with even a more extraordinary result than on the former occasions. The books were kept open for a fortnight; and, on the 30th, the result was made known. The total number of subscribers, and the amount tendered, were as follows:—

	No. Subs.	Amount subscribed.	Sterling.
In Paris.	80,287	2,533,888,450f.	£101,355,538
In the de- partments	236,577	1,118,703,535f.	44,748,141 8s.
Total	316,864	3,652,591,985f.	£146,103,679 8s.

The subscriptions from the departments were in small sums generally; 231,920,155f. (£9,276,806) being tendered in subscriptions of 50f. (£2), and under.

On the 10th of July, the emperor and empress again went to Biarritz, where they remained till the end of the month, arriving at Paris on the 31st. The emperor then made a short excursion to the north of France; and the police received information of a conspiracy to attempt his life during his transit by rail, by the explosion of an infernal machine in a railway carriage. Five persons, named Dussart, D'Hennin, Desquiens, Cordier, and Dusumonerez, were apprehended, on a charge of being participators in this conspiracy. They were tried at Lille on the 11th of August, when three—Dussart, Cordier, and Dusumonerez—were acquitted. D'Hennin was found guilty of conspiring to kill the emperor, and sentenced to hard labour for life. Desquiens was found guilty of a participation in the plot, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. At the same time, Fontana, an Italian, charged "on suspicion" of having followed the emperor to Biarritz, with intent to take his life, was set at liberty. He was deemed to be a man of weak intellect, who was scarcely answerable for his actions, and was ordered to be kept under surveillance. A week after, fifty-four persons were tried by the correctional tribunal of Nantes, for being connected with a secret society. Forty-seven of them were found guilty; seven were acquitted, and at once discharged. Of those convicted, ten were sentenced to two years'; seven to eighteen months'; twenty-one to one year's; and nine, to six months' imprisonment.

The fête-day of Napoleon I. was observed, in 1855, much more quietly than it had been in



THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

1853 and 1854. The government, instead of appropriating money, as in those years, to amusements for the public, gave it to the fund raised for the wounded and invalids in the Crimea. Most of the public offices were, however, closed; the usual salutes were fired from the artillery barracks and the Invalides; at noon, provisions were distributed to a number of indigent families; in the afternoon, the theatres were opened gratuitously, and were all crowded; and receptions were held, by the emperor, at the Tuileries. At night, most of the houses were illuminated; but there were no fireworks. The next morning a very long list of names appeared, in the *Moniteur*, of persons on whom the emperor conferred honours, chiefly for services rendered in the Crimea and the Baltic. The sanction of the emperor to various public works was also announced; by which employment was secured to the labouring classes for many ensuing months.

In the month of August, queen Victoria and the prince consort paid a visit to the emperor and empress of the French; and there has seldom, if ever, been a more joyous festival in that country, than reigned throughout the week that the sovereign of England spent in France. The royal party—comprising the queen and prince consort, the prince of Wales and the princess-royal, and their attendants—embarked at Osborne, on board the *Victoria and Albert* steam yacht, at 7 P.M. on Friday, the 17th of August. At four o'clock the next morning, the yacht started for Boulogne, accompanied by three other vessels; and the little squadron anchored in that port at 2 P.M. His distinguished visitors were received by the emperor, who had arrived the previous evening. That morning he reviewed the troops at Honvault, and then went to the railway terminus, where carriages and horses were waiting for the visitors. One of the former, built expressly for the queen's use during her sojourn in France, was remarkable for its beauty, and the richness of its decorations. It was of a peculiar shape, very elegant and very light; lined with white satin, and hangings of gold; and the harness was profusely adorned with gold ornaments.

The French have great taste for display of all kinds; and it would be difficult to excel the arrangements made at Boulogne, to do honour to her majesty. A triumphal arch was erected opposite the Custom-house, where the landing took place. The Custom-house was thickly hung with the flags of the two countries, ranged with exquisite taste, and studded with numerous devices. The railway gates glittered with gold, and a gigantic figure surmounted them, waving over its head a scroll, with the word "Civilisation" inscribed upon it. Pillars were erected at certain distances on each side of the road the *cortège* had to pass—some with the letter "N," others with "V" upon them; and others had the

initials "N. V. A. E." inscribed upon their surface in shining gold. This road was lined with lancers and dragoons, backed by infantry of the line. Temporary benches, and other accommodations for spectators, were provided in every possible spot; and all were crowded.

As soon as the yacht anchored, the bands on shore struck up "God save the Queen." The emperor immediately went on board; and, when his majesty conducted the queen ashore, a brilliant *feu de joie* was fired on the heights, and cordial and enthusiastic shouts burst from the spectators. The royal party was conducted to a temporary pavilion prepared for the accommodation of the queen; and there her majesty received, and replied to, an address from the English residents at Boulogne. The party then proceeded to Paris; and they found every station richly decorated, and immense crowds waiting to welcome them. On arriving at Paris, all the buildings, the palaces, the Arc de Triomphe, and many private houses, were brilliantly illuminated; and, as the carriages passed through the grounds of St. Cloud, salutes were fired from the artillery stationed there. At the foot of the staircase, in the entrance-hall of the palace, the empress and the princess Mathilde were in waiting to greet the queen; and after the ministers and the great officers of the household had been presented to her majesty and the prince, the visitors were shown to their apartments.

On Sunday, divine service was performed before the queen and prince, in one of the apartments of the palace, by Dr. Hale, chaplain to the British embassy.—On Monday, the queen inspected the Exposition des Beaux Arts, attached to the Industrial Exhibition; and then visited the Elysée; St. Chapelle, one of the most remarkable buildings in Paris; and the cathedral of Notre-Dame. On leaving the cathedral, the visitors drove along the Boulevards, to the great delight of the thousands of promenaders. In the evening, at St. Cloud, the members of the imperial family, lord Cowley, the other foreign ambassadors, and the great officers of the government, dined with the emperor and empress, and their royal guests; and, subsequently, *Les Demoiselles de St. Cyr* was performed by the *artistes* of the Theatre Français, in a little theatre, elegantly fitted up at the palace.—Tuesday was devoted to Versailles, and the evening to the Grand Opera.—On Wednesday, the Universal Exhibition was again visited; and the evening, spent at St. Cloud, was diversified by the performance of *Le Fils de Famille*, by the *artistes* of the Theatre du Gymnase.—Thursday was made a day of partial rest to the queen; but prince Albert visited the exhibition, for the third time, in the morning; and being joined by the queen in the afternoon, at the Tuileries, they inspected the Louvre, viewing and admiring the splendid collection of paintings

by the old masters, which are hung in the gallery of that palace.—At night there was a grand ball at the Hôtel-de-Ville, which the queen opened by dancing with the emperor; the empress and prince Albert being their *vis-à-vis*.—On Friday there was a review of troops in the Champ-de-Mars. It had been arranged that the queen should, after the review, visit the Hôtel des Invalides; but the military manœuvres occupied so much time, that it was thought her majesty could not go there. She, however, made a point of seeing that building, and was conducted over it by the emperor. The *Moniteur* thus speaks of this visit:—"The queen arrived at dusk, followed by a numerous staff, surrounded by the veterans of our old wars, who flocked together on her passage as she advanced, with noble self-recollection, towards the last home of him who was the most constant adversary of England! What a spectacle! How many reminiscences, and what contrasts were suggested! But when, amid the glare of the torches, the glitter of the uniforms, and the sound of the organ playing 'God save the Queen!' her majesty was conducted, by the emperor, to the chapel where lie the remains of Napoleon, the effect was thrilling and immense; the emotion profound! Then the thought struck every one, that it was not a simple homage at the tomb of a great man, but a solemn act, attesting that the rivalries of the past were forgotten, and that the union between the two nations, then and thenceforth, received a most impressive consecration." The spectacle was indeed solemn and impressive; and the emotion of queen Victoria, at the tomb of Napoleon I., was alike honourable to her as a woman, and as the sovereign of that nation to whom it was chiefly owing that he fell from the high eminence he had once attained.—On Saturday, the emperor and empress, and their visitors, went to Versailles, where a *fête* of the most magnificent kind was given in the beautiful grounds; and the day closed with a ball. At eleven o'clock, "the court proceeded to supper in the theatre. Their majesties' table was laid in the state-box; it commanded a view of all the others, which were filled with ladies. The orchestra and the pit were turned into a festive hall. On all sides, flowers, lights, and brilliant toilettes—everywhere an air of satisfaction, joy, and delight, impossible to describe. It was like a glance at fairyland."*—Sunday was devoted to rest and devotion; and, on Monday, the 27th of August, the emperor accompanied his guests to Boulogne. Before her majesty left Paris, she conferred on prince Napoleon, marshal Vailant, and general Canrobert (who had been compelled, in May, by "the shattered state of his health," to return from the Crimea), the grand cross of the order of the Bath. At Boulogne the queen reviewed, on the sands, 50,000 troops,

* *Moniteur*, Aug. 26th.

contributions from the camps of Honvault, Ambleside, Equihen, and Wimereux; and, at eight o'clock, partook of her last dinner, on that visit to France—covers being laid for fifty persons. "At a quarter past eleven, her majesty, handed by the emperor, embarked on board the royal yacht, amid the roar of cannon, and the most enthusiastic cheers from tens of thousands assembled to witness her departure. The emperor then saluted her majesty and the princess-royal on both cheeks, in the French fashion; and cordially shook hands with the prince consort and the prince of Wales. Roman candles and rockets were, at the time, let off in thousands; the cheers of the multitudes once more rent the air; his imperial majesty returned to the quay, and the *Victoria and Albert* steamed slowly out of the harbour with her royal freight."† Thus ended a visit, the memory of which the imperial hosts and the royal guests sought to perpetuate by a mutual interchange of elegant presents; which was regarded in France as "one of the most important facts of the age," as it "consecrated an alliance that common sufferings and victories were cementing," and "tended still more to unite the mutual sympathies of the two sovereigns;"‡ and which the municipal council of Boulogne unanimously resolved to commemorate by erecting a monument, as near as possible to the spot where her majesty landed; voting 12,000f. (£480) towards the expense, and calling upon the neighbouring districts to contribute towards any deficiency there might be between that sum and the total outlay.

In August—and whilst the people of France were rejoicing at the presence of the queen of England and her royal consort in their capital—a secret society at Angers attempted to get up an insurrection, and to pillage that city. It is probable the members had ulterior designs, if they had been able to carry them out. But secret as were their proceedings, they were betrayed to the police, who arrested and placed in prison, forty-eight of the parties more immediately implicated. They were not brought before the court till October. The trials occupied several days, not being concluded till the 16th. Twelve of the prisoners were acquitted. Three, named Secretain, Allibert, and Pasquier, convicted as ringleaders, were sentenced to transportation, and confinement in a fortified enclosure, out of the bounds of France; eleven were condemned to simple transportation; thirteen to ten years' confinement, and deprivation of civil rights; and the remainder to periods of imprisonment, varying from two to five years.

The emperor did not return to Paris, from Boulogne, till the 28th of August, when he assiduously devoted himself to public business. Early in September, he issued a code of regulations, determining the title and rank of his relatives.

† Letter from Boulogne, in *The Press*. ‡ *Moniteur*.



QUEEN VICTORIA AT THE TUILERIES.

August 1855

The sons of the brothers and sisters of Napoleon I., it was ordained, who did not form part of the imperial family, should bear the title of "prince" and "highness" with their family name. Thus, Charles Lucien, Louis Lucien, Pierre Napoleon, and Antoine, all sons of his uncle Lucien; and Lucien, the son of Murat, and his aunt, Marie Caroline, were to be addressed as "his highness, prince Lucien," &c., "her highness, princess Marie Caroline." Of their children, the eldest only was to bear the title of "highness;" the younger sons to be simply styled "prince," and their daughters, "princess."

The emperor commanded, that, on the evening of the 8th of September, the play of *Maria Stuarda* should be represented at the Italian Theatre; announcing, at the time, his intention of attending the performance. His majesty proceeded to the theatre about eight o'clock. There were two carriages; the ladies of the empress's household being in the first, the emperor in the second. When the first carriage reached the grand entrance, a man standing on the *trottoir*, supposing that it contained the emperor, discharged two pistols at it, without effect. The imperial party entered the theatre, where, the report of the pistols having been heard, his majesty was enthusiastically cheered. The man who fired the pistols was immediately seized; and was found to be one Bellamare, who had been just liberated from three years' imprisonment, for writing a pamphlet, called the *Condemnation of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*. There were notes made at the prison, to the effect that his mind was affected. The medical men consulted, being of opinion, after several examinations, that this was the fact, he was sent to the Biceter without trial.

A council of ministers was held on the 6th of October, under the presidency of the emperor, which sat for three hours; and although the subject of the meeting did not officially transpire—rumour ascribing it to approaching changes in the cabinet, which did not take place—it is probable that the financial condition of France attracted the attention of the government. That condition excited no little disquietude. There was a vast amount of paper in the market; and all public securities were progressively declining. The harvest had also turned out to be deficient; and the condition of the peasantry was anything but prosperous. Public attention, however, was soon temporarily attracted to another subject. On the 11th of October, the *Moniteur* announced that the empress was in the fifth month of her pregnancy; and that "thus the emperor had received the only satisfaction which was wanting to his domestic happiness." The prayers of the French nation were invited in her majesty's behalf; and there is little doubt but that they were sin-

cerely offered; for she was a universal favourite amongst high and low.

The financial state of the country, however, did not improve; and it soon almost entirely absorbed public attention from all other subjects, not excepting the war. The bullion in the bank of France decreased so rapidly, that the directors were desirous of introducing a paper currency; but the government opposed that measure, fearful of the effects it might have abroad. To relieve their difficulties in part, the directors of the bank employed agents to purchase gold in England and Holland; and announced to the depositors of *rentes* or railway shares, as securities for loans, that they must either give new security, or reimburse, in cash, a part of the advances made to them. The feeling of uneasiness was increased by the distress experienced by the poor, from the effects of the high prices, produced partly by the war, and partly by the unpropitious harvest. A credit of 10,000,000*fr.* (£400,000) was opened for the minister of the interior, to enable him to relieve the more pressing necessities. M. Billault issued a circular to the prefects, on the employment of this vote of credit; in which he enumerated the works undertaken, and other measures adopted by the government to give the means of subsistence to the poor; announced the most severe punishments upon those dealers who sought to keep up false prices; gave some judicious advice to the prefects, as to the measures they should adopt; concluding with the following passage:—"If, in spite of your efforts, some agitators endeavour to profit, for the gratification of their passions or their folly, by the sufferings of the people, repeat to the labouring classes, that agitation and disorder cannot add to the harvest a single grain of wheat, but must give a sudden blow to confidence and employment, and aggravate their own misery. And, while rendering to them help and counsel, make them to understand, that they have an evident interest in resisting the authors of disorder; and strike these last with a repression immediate and severe."

Amidst the attempts on the emperor's life—the secret conspiracies—the paucity of money—and the widely-prevailing distress—the exhibition at Paris continued open; and the numerous visitors prevented the tradesmen of the French metropolis from experiencing that stagnation of business which prevailed in most towns in the interior. The king of Portugal was an early visitor; and, in honour of his presence, 30,000 troops were reviewed, on the 4th of June, in the Champ-de-Mars. The lord mayor of London, with the lady mayoress, and a deputation of members from the court of common council, were also among the visitants to the French capital, where they were entertained most munificently by the municipal authorities.—In most of the capitals of Europe, commissioners

had been appointed, to take care of the interests of the exhibitors of their respective countries. Those gentlemen held a meeting on the 10th of July, under the presidency of baron James de Rothschild, and passed, unanimously, resolutions to the effect—that the exhibition was complete, and in every way worthy of the hopes which had been conceived of it; and that it presented interesting improvements, the study of which must be useful and beneficial to all.—Special trains were, at that time, organised between London and Paris, to convey English workmen to and from the exhibition; numbers of whom availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting France: similar facilities were also afforded between Paris and all the large towns connected with it by rail. The easy access brought a constant succession of visitors till the exhibition was closed, on the 15th of November, with imposing ceremonies. The emperor and the empress were present on that occasion. In proceeding to the palace, they were escorted by squadrons of the cent-gardes and cuirassiers. On their arrival, they were received by prince Napoleon, at the head of the imperial and foreign commissioners, and conducted to a throne erected for them in the centre of the transept. When all the parties were properly arranged, prince Napoleon read the report of the commissioners, and the emperor addressed a short speech to those gentlemen; which was intended as much for the general ear of Europe, as for those by whom he was surrounded. Such an exhibition, “held whilst a serious war was being carried on, was,” said his majesty, “a grand spectacle.” The union in Paris, at that period, “of the most distinguished men in art, science, and industry, from every quarter of the universe,” was “due, he was induced to believe, to the general conviction, that the war threatened only those who had provoked it.” In the sight, however, “of so many marvels placed before them, the first impression was a desire for peace;” for “peace alone could, in truth, develop still further those remarkable products of human intelligence.” All “should desire, therefore, as he did, that peace should be prompt and durable.” But, “to procure peace, Europe must pronounce herself; for, without the influence of universal opinion, the struggles between the great powers only threatened to be prolonged; whilst, if Europe decided to declare who was right and who wrong, it would be a great step towards a solution.” In the meantime, “let France be great in the arts of peace as in the arts of war. Let them be strong in union; and put their trust in God, in order to triumph over the difficulties of the present, and the chances of the future.”—His majesty, at the close of his address, distributed the medals which had been awarded to many individuals; and the exhibition was declared to be closed.—On the 18th,

the magnificent building in which it had been held narrowly escaped destruction. The principal corn and flour depôt of the garrison of Paris, on the Quai de Billy, containing stores worth 4,500,000*f.*, was burned down in the evening of that day; and it was only the great exertions of the firemen that prevented the flames from reaching the Palace of Industry.

The last event of historical importance in the year, was the entry into Paris, on the 28th of December, of the imperial guard, and the four regiments of the line, which had recently returned from the Crimea. The populace of Paris appeared to have, one and all, left their houses to welcome the gallant fellows; and the streets of the capital were decorated with trophies and emblems, commemorative of individual bravery or national glory. The returned warriors, about 4,000 in number, were met, in the Place de la Bastille, by the emperor, who was escorted by a squadron of the cent-gardes, and accompanied by a numerous and brilliant staff, including prince Napoleon and general Canrobert. The men having halted, and the shouts with which they received the emperor being silenced, his majesty welcomed them home.—“I meet you,” he said, “as of old the Roman senate met their victorious legions at the gates of Rome. I am here to tell you, that you have deserved well of your country.”—After the address, the troops, preceded by the emperor and his staff, entered Paris. At the Place Vendôme, the empress and her court were seen in the balcony of the hôtel of the minister of justice. The emperor joined them; and they remained till the last man had passed, when they returned to the Tuileries.—In the evening the garrison of Paris gave a substantial entertainment to their brothers in arms. The whole line of the Boulevards was brilliantly illuminated; and the day closed before the joyous shouts of welcome had died away.

During the years 1854 and 1855, the war in the East attracted the attention of the government, in a great degree, from Algeria. But the colony was little disturbed during that period. In May, 1854, a fanatic, calling himself El A'ma, who appeared as a wandering minstrel, endeavoured to rouse the Hassinet tribes to rebellion. He laid a plot to capture captain Cerez, the chief of the district, and his escort; but was taken prisoner himself in the attempt, and died afterwards of his wounds.—Some of the Kabyle tribes, also, who had not submitted, made inroads on the French territory in June, but were repulsed, and retired, broken up and dispirited, apparently disinclined to renew their efforts. This result was followed by the submission of some of the tribes, who had, up to that time, asserted their independence. On the 24th of June, the chiefs of the great tribe of Beni-Menquilet arrived at the governor-general's camp, with their war-tribute, and made

protestations of allegiance. Their example was followed by the tribe of Beni-Raten, and several others.—The satisfaction these events were calculated to afford, was much lessened by a disaster which soon after happened to the French troops. A division which had pursued the retreating Kabyles, suffered itself to be surprised, and was, for some time, exposed to a galling fire, by which a general and two colonels were wounded, and many rank and file killed. General M'Mahon arrived with a reinforcement, and the Arabs were compelled to retreat: had this assistance, however, been much longer delayed, the whole division would have been destroyed.—In September, a portion of the tribe Ouled-Amla-Krona, which had, some time before, acknowledged the French authority, revolted, and attacked a division of the French troops, which was obliged to retire. Commandants Dubarrail and Pein, and lieutenant Colonna d'Ornano, headed a detachment which was sent against this tribe. They drove back the Arabs who had gained the first success, and followed them up with such vigour, that they were completely routed, with the loss of eighty killed; 8,000 sheep, 800 camels, and an immense booty, falling into the hands of the French, who only had one officer and six men wounded—none killed.

The Crimean war, and the negotiations that sprung out of it, threw all other questions of foreign politics into the shade; and France was very little mixed up with the movements that transpired in Europe, in 1855, except those connected with the Eastern question. But in the autumn, prince Lucien Murat, encouraged by symptoms of strong discontent manifested in Naples against the government of Ferdinand II., addressed a letter to the people of the kingdom

of the Two Sicilies; in which he set forth his pretensions to the crown. Napoleon had no wish to be considered as sanctioning the movement of his cousin; and on the 7th of October, a note appeared in the *Moniteur*, stating, that "The government of the emperor had seen, with deep regret, the publication of a letter on the subject of the affairs of Naples, which might tend to create a belief, that the policy of the emperor, instead of being frank and loyal, as it was, and always had been, towards foreign governments, would favour, underhand, certain pretensions, which the government emphatically disavowed, in whatever form they might be manifested." Nothing more was heard of Lucien Murat's pretensions at that period; though, at a subsequent one, they were again put before the Neapolitan people.—In October, general Canrobert was sent to Stockholm, ostensibly to convey to king Oscar the insignia of the legion of honour; the emperor having conferred that order upon his majesty. The real object of his mission, however, was, to induce Sweden to join the western states; as, if the war were prolonged, her power might be advantageously directed against Russia. The mission was successful; and on the 21st of November, a treaty of alliance between England, France, and Sweden was signed; by which the latter bound herself to resist all attempts of Russia to extend her power in the Baltic; and to afford all necessary supplies to the allies if the war were prolonged.—On the 12th of July, in this year, a treaty of friendship and commerce was concluded at Teheran, between the minister of France, and Mirza-Agha-Khan, first minister of the shah of Persia. On the 14th, the treaty was ratified by the shah, and forwarded to Paris.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EASTERN QUESTION; THE HOLY PLACES; PRINCE MENSCHIKOFF'S MISSION; THE RUSSIANS ENTER THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES; DECLARATION OF WAR BY TURKEY; SUCCESSES OF THE TURKS IN ASIA; WAR ON THE DANUBE; BATTLE OF OLTENITZA; CONFERENCE AT VIENNA; NOTE OF THE AMBASSADORS AT CONSTANTINOPLE; CIRCULAR OF M. DROUYN DE L'HUYS; THE ALLIED FLEETS IN THE BLACK SEA; BATTLE OF CSITATE; LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO THE CZAR; FRENCH AND ENGLISH EXPEDITION TO THE EAST; CAMPAIGN IN THE BALTIC; STORMING AND CAPTURE OF BOMARSUND; BOMBARDMENT OF SWEABORG; WAR IN THE WHITE SEA AND THE PACIFIC; BOMBARDMENT OF ODESSA; SIEGE OF SILISTRIA; THE ALLIED TROOPS AT BOULAKIR AND CONSTANTINOPLE; THEY ADVANCE TO VARNA; EXPEDITION TO THE DOBRUDSCHA; TREATY BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND THE PORTE; THE RUSSIANS RE-CROSS THE PRUTH.

The history of the Crimean war has been so often written, and it is an event of such recent occurrence, that the circumstances connected with it are fresh in the minds of almost every reader, and it will not be necessary to go into elaborate details; for which, indeed, our decreasing

limits are ill adapted. But the Eastern question, out of which the war arose, and the war itself, are so intimately mixed up with the history of France, that a *résumé* of the merits of the one, and of the events of the other, must be given, to render our work complete.

The real origin of the quarrel, that ended in hostilities between France, Great Britain, and Turkey on the one side, and Russia on the other, must, doubtless, be traced to the policy which influenced the Russian sovereigns, from Peter I. to Nicholas—if it be not cherished by his more peaceably-disposed successor—of extending their empire in the East; of including Turkey in their dominions, and making Constantinople their capital. But the ostensible cause of the diplomatic quarrel of 1853, arose out of the contending claims of the Greek and Roman catholic christians, to power and jurisdiction over the holy places at Jerusalem, consisting of the church of the holy sepulchre, the reputed tomb of the Virgin, and the church at Bethlehem. The history of these claims extends back to the early ages of christianity. The Greeks support theirs by appealing to a charter, granted, they say, by the caliph Omar, in the year 638; by which “the holy sepulchre, and its dependencies, were placed under the control of the Greek patriarchs,” to whom the other religions were to submit. The Roman catholics rest their rights upon treaties concluded at various times, particularly one between Louis XV. and the Porte, signed in 1740; by which the exclusive right to some of the buildings, and a share in the privileges considered to append to others, were assigned to them. Though six other sects of christians are found at Jerusalem, exclusive of the episcopal protestants—viz., the Abyssinians, the Copts, or Egyptians, the Armenians, the Nestorians, or Syrians, the Georgians, and the Maronites—it is only the Latins, or Roman catholics, and the Greeks, that struggle and quarrel for supremacy. From the time that Russia became a power in Europe, the emperors, being of the Greek faith themselves, took the Greeks at Jerusalem under their protection; and also the professors of that religion in other parts of the Turkish dominions. France was regarded as the protector of the Latins; but her ægis was not so effectual in preserving from invasion their rights at Jerusalem, as that of Russia was, not only in repelling any oppression of the Greeks offered by the ruling power—that of the Porte—but in sanctioning encroachments by that church upon the rights and privileges of other christians. By degrees, the Greeks, as Russia, through successive wars and treaties, gradually encroached upon the authority and dominion of the Turks, acquired a complete supremacy in the holy city. This continued for many years; and, notwithstanding the Roman catholics complained, no attempt was made to disturb what came to be regarded as the established order of things, till Louis Napoleon was elected president of the French republic. General Aupick was at that time ambassador from France, at Constantinople; and the president instructed him to demand from the sultan, such changes in the existing

state of things at Jerusalem, as would place the Latins, or Roman catholics, in the position they ought to occupy, in conformity with the treaty of 1740. The negotiations were opened in May, 1850, and continued through that year and 1851; general Aupick being replaced, in the latter year, by M. de Lavalette. The claims of France for the Latins were strenuously opposed, on the part of the Greeks, by the Russian ambassador, M. Titoff, and by M. d'Ozeroff, who succeeded him. The diplomatists of both nations resorted to threats—M. de Lavalette declaring, that, if the claims of France were not granted, he would order the French fleet, then in the Mediterranean, to enter the Dardanelles, and bombard the capital; and the Russian minister averring, that any departure from the *status quo* at Jerusalem, would cause him to leave Constantinople, and produce a war with Russia.

The negotiation closed, at last, chiefly through the mediation of Sir Stratford Canning (now lord Stratford de Redcliffe), in conceding to the Latins the right of officiating at the shrine of the Virgin, near Jerusalem, which had been previously enjoyed only by the Greeks; granting them a key to the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and some minor privileges. M. de Lavalette, as soon as this agreement was concluded, in January, 1852, left Constantinople; and during his absence, the Russian ambassador obtained a firman from the sultan, recognising the exclusive right of the Greeks (founded on the charter of Omar) to the sepulchre. M. de Lavalette, on his return, protested against this firman; which, however, he did not insist upon being withdrawn, provided it were not read publicly at Jerusalem. Fresh negotiations then ensued; several angry notes were interchanged; and the Porte made further concessions to the Latins. In these negotiations M. de Lavalette assumed a tone alike offensive to Russia and the Porte. Louis Napoleon, having succeeded in obtaining the presidency of the republic for ten years, and, probably, then looking forward to the re-establishment of the empire, had no wish to make an enemy of so powerful a prince as the czar: he therefore recalled M. de Lavalette, and replaced him by M. de la Cour. His next step was, early in 1853, when he was declared emperor, to order M. Drouyn de l'Huys, his foreign minister, to write to general Casteljacob, the French ambassador at St. Petersburg, authorising him to inform count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, that, in the efforts made at Constantinople, the French government neither wished to “offend the personal sentiment of his majesty, the emperor Nicholas,” nor “to withdraw from the christians of the Greek church, the right of enjoying advantages which time had consecrated in their hands.” His sole object was, “to raise the catholic religion from a state of inferiority as unworthy of that religion as it was of France.”

Whilst the negotiations were going on at Constantinople, the government of St. Petersburg had moved bodies of troops to the borders of the Danubian provinces, amounting to at least 144,000 men. Being thus prepared to support negotiations by arms, the emperor Nicholas, in January, 1853, proposed, in a secret conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador, a division of the dominions of the "sick man"—the epithet his imperial majesty applied to the Turkish empire: and, in February, he sent prince Menschikoff on a special mission to Constantinople. The prince entered the capital on the 28th, with the pomp of a conqueror, rather than with the ceremony of a plenipotentiary; treated the ministers of the Porte with great haughtiness; and refusing to see Fuad Effendi, the minister for foreign affairs, that functionary resigned. A few days after, the prince made demands, not only of extensive and peculiar rights and privileges for the Greeks at Jerusalem; but put forward a claim for the emperor to be the protector of all Greek christians in the Turkish empire, founded on a forced construction of an article in the treaty of Koutschouc-Kainardji, concluded in 1774; and, as such protector, Nicholas required, that the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and the Greek bishops, should be irremovable, except with his consent; that all complaints as to their conduct should be submitted to his decision; and that a special treaty should be concluded, securing to the Greek christians, subjects of the Porte, all the rights and privileges which had, on former occasions, been demanded for them; and the extension to them of any immunities granted to other christians. The sultan laid these demands before the ambassadors of France, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia; and also submitted them to the divan. They were unanimously condemned by that body, and the sultan rejected them. Prince Menschikoff, in consequence, left Constantinople on the 22nd of May, and the Russian embassy was closed.

During the negotiations, prince Menschikoff had held out the threat, that Russia would deem it necessary to hold "a substantial guarantee" for the good conduct of Turkey. He had no sooner arrived at St. Petersburg, than orders were given for the troops which had been sent to the frontiers of the Danubian principalities to cross the Pruth; and on the 2nd and 3rd of June they took possession of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, in the name of the czar. The Turkish army, under Omar Pasha, was on the banks of the Danube; and the French and English fleets, which were in the Mediterranean, were ordered to proceed to the Bosphorus. The admirals anchored in Besika Bay—an inlet on the west coast of the Troad, in Asia Minor, and a few miles south of the entrance to the Dardanelles.—These latter movements

had scarcely been accomplished, when the czar, on the 26th of June, issued a manifesto, setting forth, that his troops had entered the Danubian provinces, "not to commence war," but to obtain a "guarantee for the rights of the orthodox church." Soon after, at the suggestion of the court of Vienna, a conference was held in that city, by the ambassadors of France, Great Britain, Austria, and Russia; at which, on the 31st of July, a note was drawn up—known as the "Vienna note"—which set forth the duties of, and the obligations taken by, the sultan, and pledged him to respect the rights of the christians, and not to modify the existing state of things at Jerusalem without a previous agreement with the governments of Russia and France. Russia accepted this note, as drawn up by the ambassadors. The Porte saw, in some of the clauses, openings to sanction the pretensions of Russia, and refused to accept it without certain modifications. The other powers thought these modifications needless, and urged the Porte to accept the note as it stood, and thus put an end to the contest. Whilst the ambassadors were pressing the ministers of the sultan to take this step, count Nesselrode drew up and issued a circular (dated Sept. 7th), in which, applauding the "act of frankness" (as he termed the note), he gave to it such an interpretation, as convinced the ambassadors that the Porte took a right view of that document; and they no longer pressed it, unmodified, on the sultan's acceptance. As the czar would not agree to the modifications, finally rejecting them by a note of the 18th of September, the subject dropped, and all hopes of preventing hostilities passed away. On the 4th of October war was declared against Russia, from the minarets of Constantinople; and this step was followed by a counter-declaration, issued on the 1st of November, by the czar.

Hostilities commenced immediately, and were carried on both in Europe and Asia.—In the latter country, at first, the Turks had the advantage. On the 20th of October, the army, under Selim Pasha, fell in, on the frontiers of Georgia, with a body of 15,000 Russians from the fortress of Redoutè-Kelah, which they defeated, and planted the Turkish colours on the fort of Orelle, on the Russian side of the river Arpatschai. About the same time, they took the fortress of Toprak-Kalé, and razed to the ground two neighbouring forts.—On the 24th of October, Selim Pasha crossed the Tchourouksou, a few miles from Orelle, to attack the Russians, who were erecting fortifications there. He defeated the enemy, and pursued them to the fortress of Shef-ketil, which he captured, after a desperate assault; and left there a garrison, by whom it was successfully defended against several attempts of the Russians to regain it.—The Turks then blockaded Akhaltzik, where they were attacked, on the 24th of November,

by the Russians, under prince Andronikoff. The prince says, "the Turks made a desperate resistance:" but they were ultimately defeated with great loss; as they were, a few days after (on the 2nd of December), at Basch-kady Lar. In the first engagement they lost fourteen, in the second twenty, pieces of artillery.—Between the two last engagements, the Russians sullied their fair fame by an attack on the Ottoman fleet in the port of Sinope, which lies on the coast of Asia Minor, nearly opposite Sebastopol. Eleven Turkish vessels were lying there, the largest of which was the *Nagainia*, of sixty guns. On the 30th of November, under cover of a dense fog, a very superior Russian fleet (four of the vessels carrying 120 guns each) entered the bay; and Osman Pasha, the Turkish admiral, refusing to surrender unconditionally, an attack was commenced, which ended in the entire destruction of the Turkish fleet, and the partial ruin of the town.—There were no more battles in Asia in 1853. A few unimportant skirmishes took place; but, early in December, both Russians and Turks went into winter quarters. Schamyl, a daring Circassian chief, who descended from the mountains to aid the Turks, retired to Daghestan.—The war continued in 1854, and was generally unfavourable to the Turks. With the assistance of several English vessels, under Sir Edmund Lyons, they captured Redoutè-Kelah; and Schamyl's activity in the field enabled them to gain some other advantages; but they sustained severe defeats at Bayazid and Kurukdere; and, towards the close of the year, their efforts were chiefly directed to preserve Kars from the enemy.

In Europe, Omar Pasha (who commanded on the Danube), as soon as he heard of the declaration of war, sent to prince Gortschakoff, the Russian commander-in-chief, requiring him to evacuate the Turkish territory within fifteen days. The reply was, that the czar was not at war with Turkey; but he had orders not to quit the principalities till the Porte had assented to the terms demanded by prince Menschikoff. Hostilities, however, did not commence till the 1st of November; the ambassadors of France, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia, having obtained that delay of the sultan, in the hope that an accommodation might be effected. As this hope was not realised, on that day Omar Pasha—who had, on the 27th of October, sent 12,000 men to occupy Kalafat—began to cross the Danube with his main army. By the 3rd they were all in Wallachia; and, on the 4th, they were attacked, near Oltenitza, by an inferior force of Russians, under general Pauloff. The fighting continued for eighteen hours, both sides evincing a stubborn indomitable valour. The Russians were at last defeated, and driven off the field with great slaughter. There were several other affairs—rather skirmishes than

battles; and Europe was astonished at the prowess shown by the Turks. But prince Gortschakoff receiving considerable reinforcements, Omar Pasha withdrew all his men to the right side of the Danube, except a corps on the island of Mokau, opposite Giurgevo, and the garrison at Kalafat, which converted what was a straggling quarantine village into a respectable fortified town, and defied all attempts to dislodge them.

The Russians had employed themselves, after the war commenced, in establishing forces in the most available positions in Moldavia and Wallachia. They pushed their advanced guard as far as the Danube; and general Lüders took possession of Ibraila, or Brailow, the principal port of Wallachia; establishing his outposts on an island in the river, opposite the town. This corps was incessantly annoyed by the Turks, who occupied Matschin, and other positions, on the opposite bank of the Danube; and general Lüders resolved to drive them back into the interior. He made the attempt on the 12th of December, but was repulsed; and remained quiet for the remainder of the year.

The governments of France and Great Britain eagerly and attentively watched the events of which we have given a *résumé*, being yet undecided as to the course they should pursue. Austria and Prussia were desirous of peace; and, at the instance of the former, in November, the conferences were renewed at Vienna. Soon after they commenced, the government of Austria proposed an armistice, to which the czar would have assented; but the Porte, though not objecting to negotiate, refused to suspend hostilities unless the principalities were evacuated. On the 5th of December the ambassadors embodied, in a protocol, the principles upon which the negotiations should be conducted. These were, that "as all question of 'notes' had been at an end since the commencement of the war, any pacification must take the form of a regular treaty;" that the *status quo ante* should be re-established; that the integrity of the Ottoman empire should be preserved, as indispensable for the balance of power in Europe; that the treaty of Koutschouc-Kainardji should be revised; that "the czar should be deprived of the claim he asserted under it, of a right to be the protector of the Greek christians, who were subjects of Turkey;" and that "the christian subjects of the Porte should be put under the protection of all the great powers."

It is somewhat singular, that whilst the "conferences" were going on at Vienna, others should be held at Constantinople, between the ambassadors of the same powers, for the same purpose. These diplomatists also drew up a protocol, which they signed, as a "joint note," for presentation to the Porte; and which contained the following propositions, as the bases

upon which negotiations should be resumed:—
 “1. The evacuation of the principalities to take place as soon as possible.—2. Ancient treaties to be renewed.—3. The firmans relative to the spiritual privileges freely granted by the Porte to all its subjects, not Mohammedans, to be communicated to the powers, accompanied by suitable assurances given to each of them, that those firmans shall be fairly and honestly acted upon.—4. The arrangement already made to complete the agreement relative to the holy places, and to the religious establishments at Jerusalem, to be definitively adopted.—5. While the other powers formally confirm the declarations in the preamble of the treaty of July 13th, 1841, relative to the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, the Sublime Porte shall declare, on its part, its firm resolution to develop, more efficaciously, its administrative system, and internal reforms of a nature to satisfy the wants and the just expectations of its subjects of all classes.”

The Vienna protocol was not received at Constantinople till the above “joint note” of the ambassadors was prepared; and they resolved to present the latter document to the Porte. It was presented on the 15th of December; and, on the 21st, the Turkish minister of foreign affairs announced its acceptance; stating, at the same time, that the sultan was ready to appoint a plenipotentiary to meet one from the czar, at any neutral town to be named by the allied powers, for the purpose of framing a treaty founded upon the provisions of the note.—The note and the answer were sent to Vienna, where both were approved of, and transmitted to St. Petersburg. The czar refused to accede to the conditions. He instructed prince Nesselrode to declare, that, between him and the Porte, he would not admit of a mediator; and that, if the sultan wished for peace, he must send an ambassador to St. Petersburg.

M. Drouyn de l'Huys closed the year by addressing, on the 30th of December, a circular to the French ambassadors at foreign courts; in which he set forth the principles that would guide France and Great Britain in the impending crisis. All the proceedings with respect to the holy places were recited; and that question was described as one which, “either badly presented, or imperfectly understood, had excited the alarm of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.” On that question—“animated with a desire to put an end to a difference, which, if it, on the one hand, concerned the sovereign rights of the sultan, on the other, it affected the conscience of the emperor Nicholas—the government of his imperial majesty, in concert with that of her Britannic majesty, carefully sought for the means of reconciling the interests, at once so delicate and so complicated, that were engaged in it.”—After these preliminary details, the

circular proceeded:—“The accord which has recently been effected at Vienna, between France, Austria, England, and Prussia, has established the European character of the difference which exists between Russia and the Porte. The four courts have solemnly recognised the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire, as one of the conditions of their political equilibrium. The occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia constitutes a fresh attack upon that integrity; and it is not doubtful but that the chances of war may lead to others. Count de Nesselrode, some months since, represented the invasion of the Danubian principalities as a necessary compensation for what he then called our maritime occupation. In our turn, Monsieur —, we think, that it has become indispensable to ourselves, to measure the extent of the compensation to which we have a right, both from our title of a power interested in the existence of Turkey, and from the military positions already taken by the Russian army. It is necessary that we should have a pledge which will secure to us the re-establishment of peace in the East, on conditions which shall not change the bases of the respective strength of the great states of Europe. The government of his imperial majesty, and that of her Britannic majesty, have in consequence decided, that their squadrons shall enter the Black Sea, and combine their movements in such a way as to prevent the Ottoman territory or the Ottoman flag from being the object of any fresh attack on the part of the naval forces of Russia.”

Accordingly, on the 3rd of January, 1854, the allied fleets entered the Black Sea—not, as lord Clarendon stated in a letter to Sir G. H. Seymour, “for the purpose of attacking Russia, but with the firm intention of defending Turkey;” for which end, the allied commanders would “require every Russian ship of war they might meet, to retire to a Russian port; and if the summons were not attended to, it would be enforced.”

The English fleet consisted of nine ships of the line, two of them screw steamers; four frigates, and seven smaller vessels—the aggregate number of guns being 870. The commanders were vice-admiral James Wortley Deans Dundas, and rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons.—The French fleet was composed of nine ships of the line, seven steam frigates, and ten smaller vessels—the full number of guns being 1,120. This fleet was placed under the command of vice-admiral Hamelin, the nephew of baron Hamelin, who was a vice-admiral in the French navy during the revolutionary war; and under whom Ferdinand Alphonso Hamelin learnt the rudiments of his profession. Since the war, he had served on the coast of Spain, against the Algerine pirates; on the Mediterranean and Brazil stations, on the coast of Algiers, and in the South Sea. For his services in

Algiers he obtained the rank of rear-admiral, in 1832; and was promoted to that of vice-admiral in 1841. There was a second squadron, under admiral Bruat, consisting of six ships of the line, two frigates, and two corvettes; with 622 guns. The frigates and corvettes, and two of the ships of the line, were steam-vessels: but this squadron did not arrive in the Euxine till some time after the war had commenced. The day that the allied fleets left Besika Bay, the French and English ambassadors at Constantinople (general Baraguay d'Hilliers having succeeded M. de la Cour in the former capacity) communicated to the foreign minister of the Porte the instructions which had been given to the commanders—viz., "To accompany the Turkish vessels, and protect them, on condition that they did not remove more than four miles from the Turkish territory; and should the Russians attack the vessels, thus accompanied, within that distance, the French and English commanders were to repel force by force." This step did not receive the approbation of Austria and Russia, whose ambassadors were instructed to inform the Porte of their dissent. The fleets sailed to the northward notwithstanding this notification, leaving the English vessels *Trafalgar* and *Arethusa*, and the French ship *Valmy*, to guard the Bosphorus. They sailed in company with several Turkish ships of war, conveying reinforcements and stores to the Turkish army in Asia; but soon returned to the south, and anchored in Beicos Bay, much to the displeasure of both the governments. "Bad weather" was the reason given by the admirals for their retrograde movement.—The presence of the fleets in the Black Sea was resented by the czar, who recalled his ministers from Paris and London as soon as he knew that the allies had passed the Dardanelles. His fleet, at that time in the Black Sea, consisted of fourteen ships of the line, with a total of 1,332 guns; four frigates, 240 guns; five corvettes and brigs, ninety-six guns; seven smaller vessels, eleven transports, sixty-four gun-boats, six large, and six small steamers.

While the allied fleets were making their way through the waters of the Euxine, fighting had again commenced on the Danube. The Turks had sent fresh troops over to the left bank of that river; and the Russians, having fortified Bucharest and left a strong garrison there, had marched to the south, in three divisions, commanded by generals Fishback, Engelhardt, and Bellegarde, to attack Kalafat, occupy Karakal, which was at no great distance, and to proceed by the banks of the river Aluta to Tournai. General Fishback marched on Kalafat. When he reached Csitate, about nine miles to the north-east of that town, he appears, for the first time, to have become aware of the formidable position he had to attack. He had only 15,000 men with him; he therefore halted at Csitate, and

commenced throwing up intrenchments on a hill at the rear of the place, where he posted 1,000 men and four guns. He gave out that he should attack Kalafat on the Russian New-year's-day, which is our 13th of January; but the Turks, under Achmet Pasha (who, with Ismael Pasha, commanded at that town), resolved not to wait for him. On the 6th of January an attack was made on the Russian position by a Turkish force, consisting of 11,000 infantry, three regiments of cavalry, twenty-eight pieces of artillery, and a corps of 200 Bashi-Bazouks (*i. e.*, irregulars). They marched from Kalafat on the afternoon of the 5th; bivouacked at a village called Maglovit during the night, when the cold was intense; and, early the next morning, made the attack. The Russians were stationed in the houses, which were carried by desperate charges with the bayonet; and, after fighting for four hours, the enemy retreated to his intrenchments, which were also attacked and carried. The Russian reserve came up when the battle was supposed to have been ended, and it commenced again. Achmet Pasha, attacked by fresh troops, changed his rear into the front, and bravely maintained his ground. After a short time the Russians broke and fled; and the Turks bivouacked, for the night, in the villages between Csitate and Kalafat. There were five days more hard fighting, all to the disadvantage of the Russians, who finally retreated to Radovan. But, constantly reinforced, they confined the Turks to the south-west corner of Wallachia. From July, 1853, to January, 1854, the invaders lost 35,000 men. They had still from 145,000 to 148,000 troops, with more than 500 cannon in the two principal cities; and about 20,000 disaffected Wallachians, whom they had compelled to join them; whilst the Turks had only 20,000 men in Kalafat, and Omar Pasha's army in Bulgaria.

Although he had such an overwhelming force in the principalities, the czar was not at all satisfied with the position he occupied; and, early in January, he sent general Schilders to Moldavia and Wallachia, to ascertain the real condition of the troops, and to take the direction of future siege operations. Count Alexis Orloff was sent, at the same time, to Vienna, to endeavour to detach Austria and Prussia from their alliance with the western powers. Simultaneously, the emperor of France had resolved to make a personal appeal to the czar, with a view to restore peace. On the 29th of January, the same day on which the emperor of Austria gave his first audience to count Orloff, Napoleon addressed an autograph letter to Nicholas; in which he took a view of the negotiations, and the progress of hostilities; and justified the steps taken by France and Great Britain—especially alluding to the entrance of the allied fleets into the Black Sea, and the interdiction of the navigation of that sea to Russian vessels of war.

"During the existence of the war," his majesty said, "it was important that the allies should preserve a pledge, which should be an equivalent for the parts of the Ottoman territory occupied by the Russian troops; and which should facilitate the conclusion of peace, by becoming the basis of a desirable exchange." His majesty expressed his wish for peace, and the means by which it might be attained. "What can be more simple," he said, "than to declare that an armistice shall be signed to-day? That things shall resume their diplomatic course, and that all the belligerent forces shall retire from the places where the motives of war have called them? Thus the Russian troops would abandon the principalities, and our squadrons the Black Sea. Your majesty, preferring to treat with Turkey, would name an ambassador, who would negotiate with a plenipotentiary of the sultan a convention, which would be submitted to a conference of the other powers. Should your majesty adopt this plan, on which the queen of England and myself are perfectly agreed, tranquillity will be re-established, and the world satisfied."

The letter produced no alteration in the views and plans of the czar; and the mission of count Orloff was also a failure. The czar wished to engage Austria and Prussia to join him in demanding terms of Turkey, even more stringent and imperative than those proposed by prince Menschikoff; promising to "protect" them if they should incur the hostility of the western powers. Both the German governments refused to forfeit the faith they had pledged to support the integrity and independence of Turkey: count Orloff, therefore, left Vienna. On the 3rd of February, another protocol was signed by the ministers of Austria and Prussia, expressive of the accordance of those powers in the views of France and Great Britain: on the 6th and 8th of February, the Russian ambassadors quitted London and Paris; and, on the 9th, the czar replied to the letter of Napoleon, justifying his conduct; and—though professing his willingness to receive a Turkish plenipotentiary—declaring that the terms sent to Vienna presented the only basis on which he would treat. He also, at the same time, issued a manifesto to his "faithful subjects;" in which he described the conduct of the allies in the Black Sea, as "a course of proceeding hitherto unheard-of amongst civilised nations;" and declared, that "Russia would not abandon her holy mission."

From this period, a state of war was considered to exist—though the western powers did not declare war till the close of March. They resolved, however, to send troops to the East, for the purpose of opposing the advance of a Russian army to Bulgaria and Roumelia, should Omar Pasha be defeated; and to cover the capital of Turkey from the possibility of at-

tack. In the course of the winter, the Thracian Chersonesus had been surveyed by Sir John Burgoyne. Gallipoli and its vicinity were thought to afford good positions for cantonments, and the erection of works to protect the entrance of the Dardanelles; and it was determined that the first expedition of the allies should be directed to that spot.—The French force prepared for the expedition consisted of from 20,000 to 25,000 men. It was organised into two divisions, under the command of lieutenant-general Canrobert, and lieutenant-general Bosquet. The cavalry was commanded by general d'Allonville; and there were two reserve corps—the first commanded by prince Napoleon, the second by general Forey; with a cavalry reserve, under general Cassagnalles. Lieutenant-general Martimprey, the duke d'Elchingen, and general Carbuccia, held high commands; and the command-in-chief was vested in marshal de St. Arnaud, who had learnt the art of war in Algeria, and was considered one of the best generals in the French service. A portion of his army—the Zouaves, and the Chasseurs Indigènes (French subjects, but of African birth)—had also seen service in Algeria, where they had been trained to war; and no men could have been selected more likely to endure the hot and enervating climate of the East.—The English army, of 20,000 men, comprised four divisions of infantry, and one of cavalry. The first division was commanded by lieutenant-general Sir George Brown; the second, by major-general the duke of Cambridge; the third, by major-general Sir de Lacy Evans; the fourth, by major-general Sir Richard England. Earl Lucan commanded the cavalry; and the commander-in-chief was lord Raglan, the youngest son of the fifth duke of Beaufort; who, as lord Fitzroy Somerset, served through the whole of the Peninsular war and at Waterloo—losing his right arm at the latter. During the greater part of the time he was military secretary to the duke of Wellington; and his grace frequently bore testimony to his admirable efficiency.

The English contingent was in motion first—the first division sailing on the 28th of February. It landed at Malta; and some of the English ministers were credulous enough to suppose, that this manifestation would have induced the emperor of Russia to pause in his career. The first portion of the French army did not sail from Marseilles till the 19th of March. It reached Gallipoli on the 29th; and was followed by the English from Malta, on the 5th of April; the other divisions arrived safe at the same destination. Prince Napoleon left Paris on the 10th of April; and embarked at Toulon, for the East, on the 17th. Marshal de St. Arnaud did not leave France till the 29th. He embarked at the jetty of La Joliette, the

garrison of Marseilles being under arms in his honour. He issued a spirited order of the day before he embarked; in which the soldiers were told, that "England and France, once rivals, were now friends and allies, having learned in their former combats to esteem each other;" and that "the eagles of France resumed their flight, not to menace Europe, but defend her."

Besides the land expedition, and the fleet in the Black Sea, it was deemed desirable to send a fleet to the Baltic; and a French squadron, of nine ships of the line, eight frigates, two corvettes, and four small steamers, carrying 1,252 guns, was placed under vice-admiral Parseval Deschênes, to join one of the most magnificent armaments that ever sailed from the ports of England; of which vice-admiral Sir Charles Napier had the chief command. It comprised forty-four vessels, of which twenty were ships of the line; carrying an aggregate of 2,206 guns, and manned by 21,696 seamen. Thirty-six of the ships were steamers, propelled by the power of 14,562 horses.—This fleet sailed on the 11th of March from Spithead, and arrived in the Baltic on the 26th of that month. The French fleet did not leave Brest till the 23rd of April; and it did not pass the Great Belt (one of the entrances to the Baltic) till the 4th of May.

While the naval and military expeditions were preparing, another effort was made to restore peace. The French and British ambassadors had been recalled from St. Petersburg, when the czar suspended his diplomatic relations with those countries. But on the 27th of February, captain Blackwood was sent from London to St. Petersburg, with an *ultimatum* to the Russian government; a similar communication from the French government being forwarded, through lord Cowley, to M. de Castillon, the French consul, who still remained at the Russian capital. The allies required, that, within a fortnight from the delivery of the note, the czar should undertake to give orders to his troops to evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia by the 30th of April. To this communication, the chancellor, count Nesselrode, after consultation with his imperial master, said, "The emperor did not think it becoming to make any reply."

Whilst waiting for the return of the couriers, the governments of France and England concluded, on the 12th of March, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Turkey. By this treaty, the allies engaged to send an army and fleet to protect the sultan's dominions: to communicate to each other any proposition made for the cessation of hostilities, or to negotiate for peace; the sultan engaging not to enter into negotiations with Russia without the consent of the allies: as soon as the object of the alliance was attained, the allied forces to be withdrawn from the Ottoman territory; and all forts or other places occupied by them, to be given up.

Whilst hostilities continued, the French and British forces were to be free to act as they pleased, without any control on the part of the Porte.—When the message from the czar was received, the western powers resolved to adopt active measures in support of Turkey. On the 11th of April, a treaty of alliance, which had been previously prepared, was ratified between them; having for its object the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Sublime Porte on solid and durable bases, and to liberate the territory of the sultan from foreign invasion. The contracting parties agreed not to entertain any overture or proposition from, or to enter into any arrangement with, Russia, without joint deliberation; to renounce for themselves any advantage, their sole aim being to maintain the balance of power in Europe; and to admit into their alliance any other European powers desirous of becoming parties to it.

The return of captain Blackwood from St. Petersburg, was followed by the formal declaration of war against Russia; which was made simultaneously at Paris and London, on the 27th of March. The hostilities which followed, were carried on over a wide expanse of sea and land;—in the Baltic; the White and Black Seas; the Pacific; the Danubian provinces; the Crimea; in the Sea of Azoff; and on the continent of Asia. In the Baltic, much valour was displayed; but the results were very inadequate to the armaments sent to that quarter. The Russians had fortified the Aland Isles, the ports in the Gulf of Finland, and the island of Cronstadt, which protects the entrance to the Neva, the river on which St. Petersburg is built. At Cronstadt and Helsingfors the czar had an immense fleet, which kept to its own waters after the appearance of the allies; though it exceeded the united British and French squadrons in number of ships and guns, and weight of metal. It was anticipated that the fleet would be captured; all the fortresses taken; and the fortifications, which had cost Russia many millions of pounds, levelled with the dust. Very little, however, was really accomplished; nothing—with the exception of the capture of Bomarsund—against the most important positions. The ports of Riga, Windau, and Libau, were blockaded. The castle of Gustafswärn, south of Hango, in the Gulf of Finland, was attacked, without effect. Descents were made in the Gulf of Bothnia, and much public property destroyed: and in one night-attack on the batteries at Gamla-Karleby, the British were repulsed. After the junction of the British and French squadrons, Cronstadt and the Aland Isles were surveyed; and it was determined to attack the latter.

Those isles are situated at the northern extremity of the Baltic, at the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia, and a little to the west of the Gulf

of Finland. The group contains upwards of 200 granite rocks, on which nothing human dwells; and sixty inhabited islets, the largest of which is Aland: there are only two others of any importance, named Signisklar and Prastö. Ceded to Russia by the treaty of Frederickshaum, in 1809, Alexander I., deeming that they might be made important as defences to the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, erected batteries and breastworks on the two smaller islands we have named; and on Aland he built the town of Bomarsund, which, with its fortifications, occupied twenty years in building, and cost £6,000,000. There was a large casemated fort, forty feet high, built along the shore, at the head of the harbour, in the shape of a crescent; with several martello towers. As these fortifications stood, they were considered second only to those of Cronstadt; the czar had also intended to erect others, on some of the smaller islands, so as to give him the command of the coast of Sweden, as well as the two gulfs.

When it had been determined to attack Bomarsund rather than Cronstadt, Sir Charles Napier caused attacks to be made on some forts erected at Hango-head, with a view of ascertaining whether they could be reduced by bombardments from the ships. The result convinced him that a land force was necessary; and a swift-sailing vessel was dispatched with messengers to London and Paris, to request that troops might be forwarded. It was arranged, between the two governments, that France should find troops, and England transports. The men, 10,000 in number, were selected from those encamped at Wimereux. The emperor arrived at Boulogne on the 11th of July, and, on the 12th, visited the camp, where the troops, intended to be sent to the north, were drawn out for his inspection. After their manœuvres had been gone through, he had them formed into a circle; and, standing in the centre, he addressed to them one of those spirited speeches which make such an impression on the heart; and in the delivery of which, he seems to be quite as great an adept as his uncle was. "Soldiers!" he said, "Russia having forced us to war, France has armed 500,000 of her children; and England has called out a considerable number of troops. To-day, our fleets and armies, united for the same cause, dominate in the Baltic and the Black Sea. I have selected you to be the first to carry our eagles to those regions of the north. English vessels will convey you there—an unique fact in history, which proves the alliance of the two great nations, and the firm resolution of the two governments not to abstain from any sacrifice to defend the rights of the weak, the liberty of Europe, and the national honour. Go, my children! Attentive Europe, openly or secretly, offers up prayers for your triumph; our country, proud of a struggle which only threatens the

aggressor, accompanies you with its ardent vows; and I, whom imperious duty still detain distant from the scene of events, shall have my eyes upon you; and soon, in rebeholding you, I shall be able to say, 'They are worthy sons of the conquerors of Austerlitz, of Eylau, of Friedland, and of Moscow.'—Go! may God prosper you!"

Loud cheers followed this speech, and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The troops, the next day, started for Calais. On the 14th, the English transports arrived in Calais roads, where they were visited by the emperor; and the days in which the troops embarked were distinguished by the apparently complete fraternisation of the French soldiers and people with the English blue-jackets. The troops were divided into two brigades, commanded by generals Hugues and Gresy; there was also a corps of engineers, under general Niel. General Baraguay d'Hilliers, who had been, a short time previously, recalled from Constantinople, was commander-in-chief. The transports had a favourable voyage. They joined the French and English squadrons in Ledsund Bay, on the 30th of July. On the 5th of August the siege-train arrived; the fleet and transports sailed for Bomarsund on the 6th; and, early on the morning of the 8th, the landing was commenced, 600 royal marines being disembarked from the British ships to join the French. The 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, were occupied in getting the heavy guns ashore, and in position, and in opening the trenches against the principal fort. During these operations there were frequent skirmishes with the Russians; and, in the night of the 12th, parties of two regiments, the 48th and 51st, met; and each mistaking the other for the enemy, they fired, and six were killed, besides several wounded. All being ready, on the 13th the bombardment of the casemated fort commenced; and it was continued till the 16th. The towers were attacked by detached parties, and surrendered one after the other; that called the East Fort being gallantly taken by the British marines, commanded by brigadier-general Sir Harry Jones. On the 16th, the casemated fort surrendered; the garrison, about 2,000 in number, laid down their arms in the courtyard; and the French and English flags floated proudly over the fortifications. There were, in all, 2,235 prisoners taken; fifty-one of whom were officers, and twenty-eight females. The number of cannon was 198: 200 tons of powder, and stores of provisions for 2,000 men for two years, were also found in the forts and town.

There was no other important event in the Baltic in 1854. On the 22nd of August, the Russians themselves blew up several forts at Hango-head—the southern point of the west coast of the Gulf of Finland—expecting that they would be attacked; but the allies did not make

a descent on any other point. Early in September—general Baraguay d'Hilliers having first declared the Aland Isles independent—the French troops re-embarked, and sailed for France, arriving at Cherbourg on the 3rd of October. On the 19th of September, the French fleet also started for "home:" the English ships remained till November, when they also returned to the south. They all reached England in the second week in December. Sir Charles Napier landed on the 17th, and was immediately deprived of his command; the British government and the British people thinking that he had made a most inefficient use of the means at his command.

The following year another joint armament was sent to the Baltic. The English fleet—of fifty steamers, carrying from six to 131 guns each, and five floating batteries, each mounting sixteen guns—was placed under the command of the honourable Sir Richard Saunders Dundas, C.B., brother to lord Melville. It sailed in three divisions, on the 20th and 28th of March, and the 4th of April; and was concentrated in the Baltic about the 24th of the latter month. On the 1st of June, admiral Penaud joined the English with three line-of-battle ships and one frigate; twelve more arrived in a few days: but the French squadron remained greatly inferior to the British; their sixteen vessels carried only 408 guns; whilst their allies had eighty-one vessels in the Baltic, of all sizes, carrying 2,098 guns. With this force all the Russian ports were blockaded. Cronstadt was again reconnoitred, but not attacked. A demonstration was, however, made on Sweaborg, a strong fortress, which defends the fort of Helsingfors, on the east side of the Gulf of Finland. This fort was bombarded by five French mortar-vessels, flanked, to the right and left, by eight English vessels of the same class. The bombardment was commenced on the 8th of August, and continued for three days, when "Sweaborg stood a charred, blackened, and smouldering ruin." Five magazines, several storehouses, and manufactories, were destroyed; and the damage done to the property of the Russian government was estimated at £2,000,000. The vessels of the allies, engaged in this bombardment, were damaged by the enemy's fire; and the English had twenty-eight sailors wounded. Not one man on board the French vessels was injured. The blockade of the ports was continued till the middle of November; but the destruction of Sweaborg may be said to have closed the war in the Baltic: no active hostilities took place subsequently, except the destruction, on the 26th of September, of some batteries erecting near Riga. Before November closed, all the vessels composing the two squadrons were on their way home, where they safely arrived.—During the campaign there had been the most perfect understanding between the officers and seamen

of the two squadrons; "which, in reality," said admiral Penaud, in one of his despatches, "form only one in the moment of action. Each individual has but one object—a zealous rivalry to cause the enemy the greatest possible mischief; and the success of a vessel of one of the two nations, is applauded, by the other, with the same cries of enthusiasm as if it had been gained by their own flag." In this campaign, as in that of 1854, very little was effected, in comparison with the means employed.

In 1854, a small English squadron was sent to the White Sea, to interrupt the communications with the Russian ports in that quarter, and to destroy the property of the Russian government.—In 1855, a second squadron, of three French and three English steamers, was dispatched to the same spot, for the same purpose. The objects were fully achieved; but no memorable events occurred in either year.—In the Pacific, the warlike transactions were even of less importance. The north-eastern extremity of the Russian empire is the province of Kamschatka, which is also the most north-easterly peninsula of Asia. The capital of this province, Petropavlovski, or the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, is situated on the bay of Avasha, upon the eastern side of the peninsula, in lat. 53° 1' N., long. 158° 43' E. It was a place of great resort for whalers and fur-traders; and the Russian ships of war in the Pacific were reported to have taken refuge there. An English squadron, of three vessels, under rear-admiral David Price, had been sent to the Pacific, to protect the Chinese and Australian trade; and it was joined, in July, 1854, by four French vessels, commanded by rear-admiral Febvrier des Pointes. The two commanders resolved to attack Petropavlovski; and the ships, having rendezvoused at the Sandwich Islands, sailed to the north-west on the 25th of July. They did not arrive off the coast of Kamschatka till the 28th of August. The commanders found the entrance to the bay defended by two batteries, and other works, near which two Russian men-of-war were stationed; and the town itself was ascertained to be very difficult of access. The 29th, 30th, and 31st were employed in preparations for the attack; which were interrupted, on the 30th, by the suicide of the English admiral, who discharged a ball into his body, near his heart. Why the act was committed it is impossible to say; he was not speechless when assistance was rendered him; and he said, "it was done on the spur of the moment; he never having thought of such a dreadful thing until a second before it was effected."—The command of the English vessels devolved upon captain Sir Frederick Nicolson; and the French admiral took the direction of the united squadron. Under his orders, the attack on the batteries and forts was made by sea and land. It

commenced on the 1st of September, and continued till the 4th. Two batteries were destroyed; but an attempt to reach the town on the 4th, was repulsed; the French losing 102, the English 109 men, in killed and wounded. It was then found, that the capture of the town must, from the difficulties of access, and its means of defence, be a long and tedious operation, instead of being effected by a *coup-de-main*, as was expected; and the ships had neither provisions nor stores for a lengthened siege. Having buried their dead, therefore, on the 5th of September, the vessels were refitted on the 6th, and on the 7th they left the bay—the English and French commanders interchanging notes, expressive of the cordial esteem that existed between the officers and crews of both nations.—The day the squadrons separated, the English were fortunate enough to capture a Russian government vessel, and the *Sitka*, a merchant vessel, laden with stores for the garrison, valued at 200,000 dollars.—In May, 1855, another united squadron, better prepared, under rear-admiral H. W. Bruce and captain Penanros, entered Avasha Bay—with the determination to carry Petropavlovski. But they found the place—the fortifications of which had been greatly increased since the former attack—entirely deserted. The garrison and inhabitants had been taken away in some Russian men-of-war and American vessels, which had escaped the united squadrons. The guns, also, had been removed or buried; but some stores were left. The allies completely dismantled the place, and then sailed for the south.

We will now return to Europe; and follow the course of the allies in the Black Sea. We left the squadrons in the bay of Beicos. They removed to the bay of Baltschik, eighteen miles south of Varna; and there, on the 9th of April, the declaration of war against Russia was received. It was hailed with great joy in both fleets; and the satisfaction of the sailors at knowing that hostilities might soon be commenced, was increased by the conduct of the Russians at Odessa. The *Furious* had been sent to Odessa, to bring away the British consul and seventy-five residents, who were British subjects. The ship and her boat displayed flags of truce; but the officer sent in the latter was not permitted to land; and shot and shell were fired from the batteries, at the vessel. The *Furious* had returned to the bay, with this intelligence, on the 8th of April; and there was a general desire, in both squadrons, to avenge the outrage. As all atonement was refused, Odessa was bombarded, on the 22nd of April, by a detachment of vessels selected from both fleets. A fierce fire was kept up, and returned, for several hours, with little damage to the ships; but the powder-magazine at Odessa was blown up; the forts and batteries greatly injured;

one Russian frigate, two on the stocks, and from fifteen to twenty merchantmen destroyed.—The fleets, after this affair, sailed for Sebastopol; and the *Tiger*, an English 16-gun brig, being detached upon a separate cruise, ran aground, in a thick fog near Odessa. She was fired upon, as soon as seen, from the batteries; the shot set her on fire; captain Giffard, and his nephew, a midshipman, were wounded; and as the flames burst out in several parts of the vessel, there was no alternative but to strike the flag. The vessel burnt to the water's edge; the crew were made prisoners of war, and were kindly treated.—The advance of the fleet to Sebastopol, was made in the hope that the Russian fleet would come out and give battle; but the commanders could not be tempted to meet the allies. The fleet returned to Baltschik Bay in June; the *Terrible*, *Furious*, and *Descartes* being left to reconnoitre Sebastopol. These vessels, on the 15th of June, had a running fight with eight Russian ships, one of them the *Vladimir*; but not a single shot struck them, though they sent several into the Russian vessels, which ultimately made for the port.—From the 21st to the 26th of June, captain Parker, in the *Firebrand*, was employed in destroying the forts erected by the Russians at the mouth of the Danube—a service which was successfully accomplished, but with the loss of the gallant commander, to the great grief of the whole fleet.

The war on the Danube continued; and, to the surprise of every one, the Turks held the Russians completely at bay, defeating them on several occasions. If the forces of the two powers had been equal in numbers, there is little doubt that the stubborn valour of the north would have succumbed before the fiery ardour of the East. Unable to drive the enemy from Lesser Wallachia, in March, prince Gortschakoff, in pursuance of orders from St. Petersburg, crossed the Danube, and established a considerable force in the Dobrudscha, the northern extremity of Bulgaria. The occupation was complete in the beginning of April; and soon after prince Paskiewitsch arrived at Bucharest, to supersede Gortschakoff in the command-in-chief: the latter however, remained with the army. The new commander withdrew the Russians from Lesser Wallachia; concentrated his forces more completely; and commenced a series of offensive operations in the Dobrudscha, where the success of the Turks still attended them; as, on the 20th of April, Omar Pasha gained a decided victory at Czernavoda; and in several minor affairs the invaders were defeated. It is supposed that prince Paskiewitsch's orders were to push on to Constantinople; and as a first step to his advance he ordered the siege of Silistria—the most important town in Bulgaria—to be undertaken. The town stands in a position which renders its possession, in time of war, an object

of great strategical importance. It had been twice before besieged, in 1828 and 1829, by the Russians; and when the army, under prince Gortschakoff and general Schilders, set down before it in May, 1854, it was with the full determination, on the part of those officers, to leave nothing undone to make the enterprise successful. The operations were carried on from the 21st of May to the 23rd of June; the defence being chiefly conducted under the directions of captain Butler and major Nasmyth, two gallant young Englishmen—the former of whom was killed during the siege. The attack and defence were distinguished by equal bravery; prince Paskiewitsch, after the trenches were opened, directing the operations in person. There was a fierce bombardment, and several assaults; all of which were repulsed; and, in the night between the 22nd and 23rd of June, the Russians evacuated their camp, retreating to the left bank of the Danube, having had 10,000 men put *hors de combat*, a great proportion of whom were officers. General Schilders died from the effects of a wound; and prince Paskiewitsch was so severely wounded, that he could not conduct the retreat, but was obliged to entrust it to general Danneberg. The army was completely demoralised; and it was quite time for it to recross the Danube. There prince Paskiewitsch concentrated his troops at Kalarasch; having from 80,000 to 100,000 men still remaining effective.

These events on the Danube entirely changed the state of affairs which existed when the allied armies were sent to Turkey. It was expected that the Russians would, as they had done on other occasions, defeat the Ottomans; and, as it was understood that, if victors, they would advance to Constantinople, the object was to protect Roumelia from invasion, and the Turkish capital from capture. The French and English troops encamped at Gallipoli, with a view to render that peninsula the basis of their operations; and the dépôt for arms, provisions, and ambulances, from whence they could with facility march forward or re-embark—according to the instructions of the emperor to marshal de St. Arnaud. They had constructed extensive field-works at the head of the peninsula, extending from the Gulf of Saros on the west, to the Sea of Marmora on the east, when the main bodies were ordered to advance to the Bosphorus. The British encamped at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the strait; the French at Boulahir, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, where lord Raglan arrived on the 29th of April, and the French commander-in-chief on the 9th of May. The duke of Cambridge and prince Napoleon arrived about the same time. All were most cordially welcomed by the sultan, who placed his palaces at their disposal. The French officers availed themselves of his hospitality; the English remained with their troops.

It was the wish of Omar Pasha—whose headquarters were at Shumla—that the allies should advance further to the north, in order to support the Turks upon the Danube. A day or two after marshal de St. Arnaud's arrival at Constantinople, he and lord Raglan, with their staffs, proceeded to Varna; where, on the 18th of May, a council of war was held, at which Omar Pasha and the Turkish seraskier were present. At that council, Omar Pasha explained the position of the Russian and Turkish armies. The siege of Silistria was then commenced: he thought the place might hold out six weeks, but was of opinion that it would infallibly be taken; he felt almost certain, however, of beating the Russians, if they attacked him. "But," he asked, "is it possible that the French and English, who are upon Turkish territory at Gallipoli, within twenty days' march of Varna (or twenty-four hours by sea), will leave me blockaded here, deprive themselves of the assistance of a fine army, which can fight well (I will answer for it), and allow us to be crushed by the Russians, when, united, we might drive them to the other side of the Danube, and save Turkey?" The commanders of both the western armies were strongly impressed with Omar Pasha's statements; and his appeal was answered by their resolving that the allies should go to Varna; that a French division should occupy a military position about a league from the town, and execute the field-works necessary to fortify themselves there; and that the English should proceed to Devna, about twenty miles from Varna, and canton themselves in that vicinity. This advance was resolved upon, in the words of marshal de St. Arnaud, for the purpose of "elevating the moral condition of the Turkish army by the presence of effective support, and, at the same time, to produce the contrary effect on the Russians; to oblige marshal Paskiewitsch to adopt a definitive course—either to repass the Danube, when he shall see the heads of the Anglo-French columns appear, or redouble his efforts to take Silistria; and to oblige the Austrians to declare themselves."*

The allied armies immediately broke up their positions at Boulahir and Scutari, and embarked for Varna, where they landed on the 29th of May. The French established their headquarters in that town. Lord Raglan took up his residence at Devna. The English had also a second camp at Allah-Deen, or Aladyn, near Varna; and "never were tents pitched in a more lovely spot." In those positions the two armies remained more than three months—quite inactive, except a *rencontre* in the Dobrudscha; and, after the first few weeks, afflicted with disease; the cholera ravaging both their camps. The heat was most oppressive: in July the

* *The Crimean Expedition*; by the baron de Bazancourt.

temperature ranging from 108° to 110° , and under the shade of the tents, to 100° . There was also the "Plague of Flies:" those insects made the canvas of the tents in the interior resemble black drapery, and got into everything that was cooked. For some time the anticipation of active employment animated the troops; and, early in June, general Yussuf was employed by the French, and colonel Beatson by the English, to train the Bashi-Bazouks, in order to bring them into some sort of discipline, that they might act with the allies. But the retreat of the Russians from Silistria, and their continued backward movements towards the Pruth, rendered the advance of the Anglo-French army unnecessary: they remained idle, and privation and disease, not unnaturally, made them discontented. The French appear to have suffered more than the English from the cholera: numbers died; the duke d'Elchingen and general Garchuccia falling victims to the disease. As general Yussuf had succeeded, beyond expectation, with the Bashi-Bazouks, and had trained 3,000 of them into a tolerably efficient body of cavalry (which was called the Eastern Spahis), marshal de St. Arnaud resolved to send them as the advance corps of an expedition to the Dobrudscha, where, it was reported, 10,000 Russians still remained: they were to be supported by the three divisions of the army; and the marshal expected, by the movement, to alarm the enemy, whilst he also anticipated the advantages of removing the troops from the scene of the pestilence, from which they were suffering; of restoring their spirits by action; and of preparing them, by marches and fatigues, for subsequent operations. The Bashi-Bazouks started on the 19th of July: the 1st division, under general L'Espinasse, on the 21st; the 2nd division, under general Bosquet, on the 22nd; and the 3rd division, under prince Napoleon, on the 23rd. None of the anticipated advantages were the result of this expedition. No Russians, except a small body of Cossacks, which was dispersed by the Spahis, were seen; but the latter had not penetrated far into the Dobrudscha, before they were attacked by cholera, and were obliged to retrace their steps. They soon met the 1st division, suffering as much as themselves: the litters and arabas were insufficient for the sick, many of whom were placed upon the horses and mules of the generals and other officers; and they reached

Varna in a most melancholy plight. The 2nd and 3rd divisions also returned, having been attacked by the epidemic, but suffering less than the Spahis and the 1st division.* The dead, according to general Klapka, who was with the army at that time, amounted to 2,000; "and most of those who survived, carried away with them the seeds of a fatal distemper."

During this time the fighting in the principalities continued between the Russians and Turks; Austria had also organised an army, which was advancing to the Danube. That power had, on the 14th of June, concluded a treaty with the Porte, which was kept secret at the time; by which she engaged "to exhaust all the means of negotiation to obtain the evacuation of the principalities, and even to employ, in case of need, the number of troops necessary to attain that end." The emperor of Austria also engaged not to enter into any agreement with Russia, which had not for its basis the integrity of the Ottoman empire; and undertook to send troops into Wallachia and Moldavia, to hold them during the war; and to restore them to the Porte on the conclusion of peace. Many think that Austria entered into this treaty in connivance with Russia; and that the Austrian occupation of the principalities was concerted with the czar, in order to afford him a pretence for withdrawing his troops, which, broken and dispirited, rapidly fell back before the defenders. On the 24th of July, baron Budberg, the Russian governor, issued a proclamation at Bucharest, announcing that the czar "had resolved to withdraw the imperial Russian army, for a short time, from the unhealthy southern districts of the Danube, to the more wholesome hill districts;" and early in August, prince Alexander Gortschakoff, the Russian ambassador at Vienna, informed count Buol, the Austrian minister for foreign affairs, that "the principalities would be evacuated, out of deference to the wishes of Austria." The count replied, that "as soon as the Russian troops had withdrawn, those of Austria would enter; but the occupation would not be undertaken, either in spirit or intention, in hostility to Russia." By the middle of August there was not a Russian soldier left in the principalities: on the 20th they were occupied by an Austrian force; and Austrian officials exercised both civil and military authority.

* Baron de Bazancourt.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CRIMEAN WAR; EMBARKATION AT VARNA; LANDING AT OLD FORT; BATTLE OF THE ALMA; THE FLANK MARCH; DEATH OF MARSHAL DE ST. ARNAUD; THE BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA; BATTLE OF INKERMANN; SUFFERINGS OF THE TROOPS; PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL; DEATH OF LORD RAGLAN; BATTLE OF THE TCHERNAYA; FALL OF SEBASTOPOL; EXPEDITION TO KERTCH; WAR IN ASIA; FALL OF KARS; PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE WAR; THE "FOUR POINTS;" CONFERENCE OF PARIS; CONCLUSION OF PEACE.

By the evacuation of the Danubian principalities, the "material guarantee"—the seizure of which was undoubtedly a *casus belli*, by the law of nations—was abandoned; and the "integrity" of the Turkish empire restored. But the expedition to the Crimea had been previously determined upon; and as the czar would not make peace upon the terms proposed by the allies, it was resolved that it should take place. There had been great dissatisfaction in England and France at the inactivity of the troops in Bulgaria; and at so little having been effected by the large naval and military armaments which the two powers had fitted out. It was felt that something more must be attempted; and it is a general opinion, that the Crimean expedition, as originally suggested by the emperor, was at last undertaken to satisfy the impatience of the people. The propriety of that expedition had been discussed between the governments, as soon as the dispatch of troops to the aid of Turkey was agreed upon; and on the 10th of April, lord Raglan was instructed, by the duke of Newcastle, to prepare for that probable destination; and "to make careful and secret inquiry into the amount and condition of the Russian forces in the Crimea, and the strength of the fortress of Sebastopol." Those inquiries were made. Subsequently a survey of the coast was taken by a detachment of the French and British fleets; and after a council of war, held at Varna on the 18th of July, a commission, composed of officers of both armies, was appointed, to proceed as near as possible to the coast, to clear up certain points still doubtful as to the topography, and to inquire into the possibility of landing. Whilst this survey was taking place, preparations for the embarkation of the troops were going on. They occupied a much longer time than marshal de St. Arnaud anticipated. Writing to his brother soon after the expedition had been determined upon, he said, "Now, my brother, I drop into the hollow of your ear, the fact, that, about the 18th of August, we shall land in the Crimea." It was not till the end of the month, however, that the arrangements were completed. On the 10th, there was a fearful fire at Varna, which required all the energy of the soldiers of both armies to preserve the magazines; and for weeks the pestilence raged, and spread dismay around. "I encourage

every one," wrote the marshal; "but my spirit is broken. See how we are situated! The will to act—the means prepared—and Heaven chastises our pride in sending a pestilence, against which human resistance is vain."

At length all was prepared—and the proclamation of the emperor "to the Army of the East," received. "Soldiers and sailors!" he said, "you have not yet fought; but you have already attained a brilliant success. Your presence, and that of the English troops, has sufficed to force the enemy to recross the Danube; while the Russian ships remain in disgraceful safety in their harbours. You have not yet fought; but already you have contended bravely with death. A pestilence, fearful, though temporary, has not checked your ardour. France, and the sovereign whom she has chosen, cannot behold, without profound emotion, and without making every effort for your assistance, so much energy and so much self-devotion." * * * "Soldiers! confide in your commander-in-chief and in me. I watch over you; and I hope, with the aid of Heaven, soon to witness the diminution of your sufferings, and the augmentation of your glory. —Soldiers! *à revoir!*"

The emperor wished, himself, to go to the Crimea; but the idea that he should do so, met with no countenance in France, and was ultimately abandoned. The troops embarked on the 1st of September: various causes prevented the English from being ready so soon, and it was the 7th before the expedition sailed. Previous to the embarkation, and during the voyage, marshal de St. Arnaud was so ill, that, on the 12th, he wrote to the minister of war—stating that the struggle with a malady that afflicted him had exhausted his powers; and though he hoped to conduct the army to Sebastopol, he felt that it would be a final effort, and requested the emperor to nominate his successor. His majesty had provided against any accident that might occur to the marshal, by entrusting to general Canrobert an order to take the command, if any contingency should disable St. Arnaud.

On the 13th of September, the transports and the fleet were collected in Kalamita Bay, where it was arranged the landing should take place, at a spot marked Old Fort upon the map—from an old ruined tower which stands there, in lat. 45° N., about thirty miles north of Sebastopol,

and twenty south of Eupatoria. The landing commenced on the morning of the 14th; and, before night, all the infantry and some of the artillery were landed: the next day, the artillery and cavalry were taken ashore; and on the 16th, the stores, &c., were disembarked. The Russians did not attempt to prevent the landing; and the entire army stepped on shore, and took up its cantonments, without exchanging a shot with the enemy. The number landed was upwards of 60,000—viz., 27,800 French, with seventy-two guns; 27,600 British, with sixty-five guns; and 6,000 Turks. On taking up their positions, the Turks formed the extreme right, towards Sebastopol; then the French; and the English were on the left. The latter had landed without tents, and spent several most uncomfortable nights. The French had some large tents, and many of their troops were provided with the *tentes d'abri*—a very low tent, used in the African wars; easily pitched and struck; and its materials being light, and those for each tent divided amongst several soldiers, were easily carried. The Tartar inhabitants were friendly, and readily afforded what accommodation they could to the troops.

On the 19th—a garrison having been placed in Eupatoria—the march to the south commenced. The French, under marshal de St. Arnaud, who remained far from well, with Canrobert and Bosquet as generals of divisions, kept the coast-line. The English were on the left. Before night, the Alma, a small river rising in the mountains to the east of the peninsula, was reached; and on the opposite bank the enemy was seen, strongly posted near and upon the hills which skirted the river—a bold and precipitous range, of from 350 to 400 feet in height. There, according to the *Invalide Russe*, prince Menschikoff had forty-two battalions of infantry, sixteen squadrons of cavalry, and eighty-two guns. His left rested upon the heights, about two miles from the sea; the centre was formed upon a conical hill, rising on the verge of the precipitous banks of the river; the right extended to a valley, or plain, which the hills commanded. It was resolved to attack this position the following morning; the troops to be in motion at day-break. The division of general Bosquet, forming the right wing, was to turn the left of the Russians by scaling the abrupt heights on which they were encamped, and which they deemed inaccessible. The 1st and 3rd divisions were to form the centre, and attack the corresponding position of the Russians. The entire English army was to compose the left wing, and, by a flank movement, turn the enemy's right. The 4th French division to form a reserve; and admiral Hamelin was to place eight steamers at the mouth of the Alma, to cover, with their guns, the advance of general Bosquet's division as it crossed the river, at a ford not far from the

embouchure.—This plan of the battle was marshal de St. Arnaud's; it was accepted by lord Raglan. The first movement was to have been made at 6 A.M. on the 20th. But there was several hours' delay; the English—who, retarded by their baggage and *matériel*, did not arrive on the right bank of the Alma till very late on the night of the 19th—not being in the field so early as the allies. The operations were, however, executed nearly as planned, although the division of general Bosquet, after crossing the river, had to climb cliffs almost perpendicular. There the Zouaves gave extraordinary proofs of agility and daring;* whilst, on the right, "the English fought with heroic courage against the formidable defences accumulated upon that position;"† and which rendered it more difficult to carry than the left. The attack was on all points successful. The Russians, after maintaining their positions gallantly for four hours, retreated in disorder, crossing the river Katcha in their rear, and forming again in front of Sebastopol.—The victory was not gained without great loss, as stated in the following official returns.—*French*: three officers killed, and fifty-four wounded; 253 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 1,033 wounded: total, 1,343.—*English*: twenty-six officers, 327 non-commissioned officers, and privates, killed; seventy-three officers and 1,539 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded: total, 1,965.—There were, also, two drummers and sixteen privates missing, and twenty-six horses killed.—The Russians had 1,762 killed, including forty-five officers; 2,315 wounded; and 405 received contusions: total 4,482. The English took 150 sound, and 1,000 wounded prisoners, and two guns; the French made 500 prisoners, and captured one gun, and prince Menschikoff's carriage; in which was found his *porte-feuille*, containing a letter to the emperor, stating that he could maintain his position for three weeks against 100,000 men. The Russians also left 10,000 knapsacks and 5,000 muskets on the field.

The allies passed the night on the field of battle. The French, before they bivouacked, removed all their disabled on board their ships; but the English were deficient in conveyances, and many of the wounded were left all night where they fell. The same was the case with hundreds of the Russians; and the English soldiers and surgeons attended to them with as much care as they did to their own countrymen. Ultimately the English were conveyed on board the *Andes*, *Vulcan*, and *Simoom* (schooners), and taken to Scutari, where hospitals were provided, and where a number of English ladies, headed by Miss Nightingale, and a party of the French Sisters of Mercy, soon arrived; and by their

* Admiral Hamelin's Despatch.

† Baron de Bazancourt.

unceasing attention, relieved, in a greater degree than can be imagined by any except an eye-witness, the wants and sufferings of the sick and wounded. Of the noble and untiring exertions of these heroic women, it is impossible to speak in too warm terms of praise.

The allies remained on the field of battle the 21st and 22nd of September. The French were ready to move on the latter day; but the English had so many more wounded to provide for, and were, besides, so much further from their ships, that they could not start till the 23rd. The route taken was towards the Katcha. "The country traversed, at first mountainous, and afterwards slightly undulating, descends, in gentle slopes, towards the Katcha. The march was easy; being over long, unbroken plains. The gaiety of the soldiers found vent, at every moment, in laughter, in songs, and merriment. No one seeing them, could imagine that they were marching through an unknown or hostile country, where an enemy might rise from the earth at any step of their progress. Hares, surprised upon their forms, fled in affright through the lines; and the soldiers caught great quantities of them."*

The armies bivouacked in the valley of the Katcha during the night; and, the next day, were reinforced by the arrival of 7,000 French infantry, and the fine regiment of English cavalry, called the Scots' Greys, with the 57th regiment of foot. It now became a question, how Sebastopol could be best attacked? That town is situated on the south side of a fine harbour, or inlet of the Black Sea; on the north banks of which were several batteries and forts. One of the latter, the Star fort, stood on a plateau directly opposite the scene of the late encounter. This was a citadel of great strength, which, it was thought, would require a regular siege to subdue. A second fort, called the Sievarna—and considered the key of the place on that side—the Fort Wasp, and Fort Constantine (the latter at the mouth of the harbour), were all formidable obstacles to a hostile army. The original intention was to attack these forts by land, whilst the ships, entering the harbour, bombarded the Russian fleet, and the batteries on the south. But, on the 21st of September, the Russians sank seven large vessels at the mouth of the harbour, and entirely blocked up its entrance. This prevented the expected co-operation on the part of the fleet; whilst a dense wood, to the left of the allies, would have afforded a constant shelter to Russian *tirailleurs*, who would greatly have annoyed the besieging force. The commanders-in-chief, therefore, came to the resolution to make the attack on the south. But how was that side to be reached? The French proposal was, that the army should take the road which crossed the head of the harbour,

* Baron de Bazancourt.

and conducted to a plateau extending to the sea. That road, however, was commanded by the fire of the Russian ships; and the allies would have been completely exposed to the enemy's attack. Sir John Burgoyne—who did not hold any command in the English army, but accompanied it as the counsellor and adviser of lord Raglan and the engineers—recommended a flank march in an easterly direction; the troops, having gained the high road from Sebastopol to Batchi-Serai, were then to turn to the south, and march on Balaklava; which place, occupied by the troops, would give them the command of an excellent harbour.—This route was determined upon.—Before the march commenced, marshal de St. Arnaud, who had to be supported on horseback several hours on the 20th, and had been obliged to travel in his carriage from the Alma, resigned his command to general Canrobert.

The march commenced on the 24th. The English had to take the lead; and, in the course of the day, a Russian division, escorting baggage, was fallen in with, and dispersed; and a considerable amount of booty fell into the hands of the English. It was part of the baggage belonging to the army which was defeated on the 20th; and the main body of which was seen from the heights, retreating from Sebastopol to Simpheropol. The march was continued on the 25th and 26th. "The two armies, after having passed the Balbec, at a few miles from its mouth, advanced at once upon the valley of Inkermann; the French army serving as a pivot on the extreme right, and watching the heights to the south and south-east of Sebastopol; while the English army, on the extreme left, marched towards the heights of Balaklava, which they reached on the morning of the 26th. The French army joined them twenty-four hours after."† The latter bivouacked in the valley of the Tchernaya on the 26th; and there the order of the day of marshal de St. Arnaud, and his farewell to the army, were read to the troops. The marshal was, the next day, conveyed to Balaklava, which had been taken by the English with very little trouble. There lord Raglan took his last farewell of him, and he was removed on board the *Bertholet* on the 29th of September, and died the same day. His corpse was conveyed to France, where the intelligence of his death caused great grief. The emperor sent letters of condolence to his widow, upon whom he settled a pension of 20,000f. (£800); and caused a bronze medal to be struck in honour of the deceased. It bore, on the obverse, the effigy of his majesty; and on the reverse, the following inscription:—"Napoleon III., to the memory of marshal de St. Arnaud, conqueror in the battle of the Alma, on the 20th of September, 1854. Died on board the *Bertholet*,

† Admiral Hamelin's Despatch.

the 29th of September, 1854. His interment, in the church of the Invalides, was ordered on the 11th of October, 1854; and celebrated under the direction of marshal Vaillant, minister of war, on the 16th of October, 1854."

Sebastopol, which the allies were now about to besiege, is situated on the south-western coast of the peninsula of the Crimea, the ancient Chersonesus. It rises from the harbour in the form of an amphitheatre, being built on white rocks burnt by the sun; and it is described as having, even in its prosperity, "an aspect both strange and sad." The ground, immediately south of the city, forms a high and rocky plateau, which extends, in a south-east direction, to Balaklava—a small town, with a safe harbour, encircled with hills, on the southern coast, about eight miles from Sebastopol. On this plateau, which is intersected with ravines, the allies took up their positions; the English making their head-quarters at Balaklava, and taking the right; the French beyond them, on the left—their camp extending to Cape Chersonesus, the south-west point of the peninsula.—Sebastopol was strongly fortified. We have mentioned the forts on the north side of the harbour. On the south, Fort Alexander was built directly opposite Fort Constantine; and there were three other forts, and a strong battery, on the coast of the harbour, extending to the east. On the land side, the city was defended by a cresselated wall, which surrounded it. At the south-western angle of the city, there was a Maximilian tower (i.e., a tower of several casemated storeys), containing many guns, which commanded the country all round. About the centre was a large battery, called the Flagstaff battery; and on the eastern side rose the Malakoff tower (also Maximilian in construction), in which were guns of very heavy calibre. On a promontory to the south-west of the Malakoff, was a line of intrenchments, with embrasures, called the Great Redan. The fortifications had been greatly strengthened, under the direction of general Todleben, who was in the city. During the siege, he constantly constructed new works as the old ones were destroyed; one of which, the Mamelon, is frequently mentioned in the history of the siege.

The Turkish corps that landed in the Crimea, from Varna, was joined to the French army; and soon after the allies took up their positions on the plateau, another Turkish corps joined the English. The two armies commenced the necessary siege-works early in October. On the side of the French, general Bosquet was appointed to command the corps of observation, designed to support the besieging army on its right flank, and to protect its operations against the attack of any relieving force from the interior of the Crimea. General Forey commanded the siege corps; and to lieutenant-colonel Raoult was

entrusted the chief command of the battalions which were sent to protect the works, and to hasten their execution. Upwards of 1,000 sailors were landed from the English ships to assist in the works. They were placed under commander Lushington; called the Naval Brigade; and, during the entire siege, they rendered the most valuable services to the troops—working at the guns, when the bombardment opened, with a will that few but sailors can exert.

The siege, commencing in the first week of October, 1854, was not terminated till the 8th of September, 1855. We can give no minute detail of the events which diversified the twelve months, during which both French and English armies performed many acts of heroism, and displayed—the latter especially—a power of endurance which was never exceeded. Our limits only permit us briefly to mention some of the most important events: those who wish for extended narratives of the varied transactions, can consult either of the works named in the note.*

The bombardment opened on the 17th of October, and was carried on vigorously, both from the French and English batteries, till a bomb-shell, falling on one of the former, caused a fearful explosion, and hurled thirty or forty bodies into the air. This misfortune silenced that battery; and another soon suspended firing, as it was overwhelmed by a storm of projectiles. The bombardment was continued, chiefly from the English batteries, till the 24th. On that day—the Russians having received reinforcements a few days previous—about fifteen battalions of infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and from 300 to 400 artillery, left the city, and cantoned in the upper part of the valley of the Tchernaya. On the 25th, led by general Liprandi, they made a vigorous assault on the English position at Balaklava, and the second great battle of the Crimea was fought. The enemy captured some redoubts, manned by the Turkish troops; but the 93rd Highlanders, under Sir Colin Campbell, repulsed a charge of Russian cavalry; and the French African chasseurs, with several regiments under generals Bosquet and L'Espinasse, coming to their support, the Russians were beaten, driven back, and retired to the city. During the engagement, a brilliant charge of the English light cavalry, under lord Cardigan, was made, to prevent the Russians from carrying off the guns taken in the redoubts. It was a most heroic, but unnecessary act, arising from a misconception of orders; and was attended with great loss.—The next day, a body of 8,000 Russians attacked the part of the English positions which faced towards the head of the harbour, and the caverns of Inkermann. They were

* *History of the War of 1854—'6; or England's Battles by Sea and Land*; both published by the London Printing and Publishing Company.

repulsed by the light division under Sir De Lacey Evans.

The Russians continued to receive reinforcements; and the grand-dukes Michael and Nicholas—sons of the emperor—had also arrived at Sebastopol. Encouraged by their presence, the besieged determined to make another effort to establish themselves on the heights. The English position, towards Inkermann, was very weak; its defenders did not exceed 9,000 men, chiefly composed of the guards, under the duke of Cambridge; and, in the gloom of the morning of the 5th of November, 50,000 Russians assailed them. The attention of lord Raglan had been directed more to Balaklava than to Inkermann—hence the few troops stationed at the latter point; but every man fought as if he were a host in himself. The little force did not give way before its numerous assailants, though the ground was covered with their dead. They must, no doubt, finally have succumbed, had they not been reinforced by two divisions of the French army, numbering about 6,300 men, under general Bosquet. Nobly did these men support their allies in one of the most desperate struggles on record. "It was an assault—a terrible assault, varied and continuous, like the wave which, on the sea-shore, ebbs and flows incessantly. The plateau upon which the battle took place, was narrow, irregular, and full of undulations, which, at every turn, revealed the approach of dense masses of the enemy. This struggle, which lasted more than seven hours, defies alike description and analysis. Acts of heroism; terrible combats hand to hand; desperate rallies; furious attacks in the ravines and in the brushwood;—such was Inkermann."* Whilst the battle raged in this direction, an attack was made on Balaklava—which was a feint—to divert attention from Inkermann; it failed, and a detached corps, which attacked the French siege-works, and entered the batteries, was vigorously repulsed by general Forey. Finally, the Russians, beaten on every point, retired from the heights of Inkermann into the valley of the Tchernaya; and the day was won. Lord Raglan, soon after the result was known, met general Bosquet, and offering him his hand, said, "I thank you, in the name of England." The duke of Cambridge came up soon afterwards. At the head of his brave guards he had fought like a soldier; and to the compliments and congratulations of the generals around, he replied with bitterness—"All my friends are dead, and it is not my fault if I am not among them;" showing, as he spoke, his clothing riddled with balls and grape.† There has seldom, if ever, been a more destructive battle, in comparison with the numbers engaged. The English had forty-three officers killed, including lieutenant-general Sir George Cathcart, and brigadier-generals Strangeways and Goldie.

* Baron de Bazancourt.

† Ibid.

The total number of killed was 462; of wounded, 1,952; missing, 198. The French loss amounted to 1,726, killed and wounded: amongst the former, was general Lourmell and colonel Camas.

It had been, before this battle, determined that an assault should be made on the city on the 7th of November. A general council of war was held at lord Raglan's the day after the engagement; when it was unanimously resolved to postpone that step till after the arrival of reinforcements; especially of heavy siege-trains, which were much wanting. During the remainder of the year, few events occurred to disturb the monotony which generally distinguishes a long siege. The men were employed, in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the council of the 7th, in intrenching themselves more solidly, so as to render their lines less liable to be forced; and the works of attack were continued—but, in the English camp, under great discouragement, from the sufferings of the men, who, for two months or more, had all the miseries of insufficient clothing, and short supplies of bad food, to endure, in addition to the toilsome and dangerous work in the trenches. No small part of these deprivations was occasioned by a storm, which, commencing on the 11th of November in a land gale, terminated in a fearful hurricane in the Black Sea on the 14th. On shore, tents were blown down, and stores destroyed. At sea, the English lost thirty-two transports, wrecked on the coast, or sunk; and one vessel, the *Prince*, laden with stores. At Eupatoria, five French merchant-ships, a ship of war (*Henri Quatre*), and the frigate *Pluton*, were stranded, and had to be broken up.—The Russians took advantage of the gale to make an attack on Eupatoria, with about 6,000 cavalry and twelve field-pieces. They were repulsed, with the loss of about a hundred men killed and wounded.

The British parliament met on the 12th of December; and their first act was to pass a vote of thanks to the armies and fleets, acting together in the East and in the Baltic. This vote, as far as it applied to the French soldiers and sailors, was thus appropriately acknowledged in the *Moniteur*, of the 18th of December:—"All France will be deeply affected by the thanks which England has just voted, by acclamation, to general Canrobert and our army—to admiral Hamelin and our navy, for their valiant co-operation, and their cordial assistance in the East.—To this important, and hitherto unexampled, manifestation of the sentiments entertained by a great people towards its loyal ally, France has already replied by its admiration of the brilliant valour of the English army and fleet. France has warmly applauded the eulogiums which our generals-in-chief, after the battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkermann, bestowed on the intrepidity of lord Raglan and his troops.

The two nations, like the two armies, have done each other the most frank, the most cordial justice. While their soldiers and seamen vie with each other in courage and devotion, the two nations appear to rival each other in generosity, each giving the other the greatest share of the glory acquired in common. Nothing is better calculated to cement their alliance, than the exchange of these noble sentiments—nothing can better assure to them the sympathies and concurrence of all civilised nations, nor more speedily effect the final triumph of the sacred cause they defend.”

In December, vice-admiral Hamelin was recalled to France, and raised to the rank of admiral. He was succeeded by vice-admiral Bruat. A short time previously, general Canrobert received from the emperor the privilege of granting rewards and conferring honours; and he fixed upon the 31st of December for a review of the various divisions, and for the distribution of tokens of his estimation of the services of officers and men. The officers—the military manœuvres brought to a close—were collected round the general in a circle, and addressed in a few energetic phrases, which he closed by saying, in a loud voice, directed as much to the soldiers as the officers—“I thank you all, in the name of France and of the emperor!” The men then dispersed, with loud cheers.

The year 1855 opened cold and drearily; snow and rain succeeding each other without intermission. “The armies were encamped on a sterile plateau. The large tents had not arrived in sufficient numbers to protect the soldiers of the two nations from the severity of the elements; and even wood was often wanting. The old soldiers supported these sufferings with courage and resignation; but the young ones—freshly arrived from France—were cruelly tried by the calls upon them for exertion, which left so few hours for repose.”* The English found the privations and difficulties still greater; as they had lost more stores in the storm, and suffered so much more from sickness. Quoting from official returns, the baron de Bazancourt gives the number of the French acting effective force in January, 1855, as 67,000 men, with 150 pieces of cannon. At the same time, the English returns, out of 43,754—the grand total of privates and officers—enumerated only 23,634 of the former as fit for duty.

Early in the year, Sardinia joined the alliance of the western powers, and agreed to send 15,000 troops to the Crimea—England paying her a subsidy of £1,000,000. The treaty between the three powers was signed on the 10th of January, and was adopted by the legislative chamber of Sardinia on the 8th of February—not, however, without strong opposition; the

* Baron de Bazancourt.

negative votes amounting to sixty; the ayes were 101.—On the 17th of that month, the first military event of importance in the year occurred. After an interview, on the 5th of January, at Balaklava, with lord Raglan and general Canrobert, Omar Pasha had proceeded to Eupatoria, and taken the command of that position; his army having previously been conveyed there in English transports. The Russians, dreading his activity, resolved to attempt his expulsion; and general Liprandi was sent against him, at the head of 20,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and seventy guns. He made a general attack on the defences of Eupatoria, an hour before daybreak on the 17th of February; but met with a much warmer reception than he anticipated. A small French detachment acted with the Turks; and the fire from the garrison was supported by that of four English, one French, and one Turkish ship of war, in the roads. After fighting three hours, the Russians retired, having lost 500 men.—This event was fatal to the emperor Nicholas. He had suffered much from the ill-success of his arms; and the silver cord was broken by the receipt of the intelligence of the defeat before Eupatoria. He died on the 2nd of March. His son, Alexander, succeeded him; and in his address to the diplomatic corps, on the 7th, the new czar declared his intention to remain “faithful to all the sentiments” of the late one.

The siege of Sebastopol was continued; the French, from the commencement of the year, undertaking a part of the operations which had been originally allotted to the English—the reinforcements of the former having rendered them so much stronger than their allies; and they had suffered much less from the privations of the winter. In January, a division of the French army was assigned for that purpose; and it was also arranged, that the siege of the Malakoff tower—which Sir John Burgoyne had always maintained was the key of the position, but which the French had neglected—should be besieged on scientific principles, and two French divisions were appointed to invest that fort as soon as the weather permitted: the necessary works were in full operation the first week in February, under the direction of general Bosquet. At the same time, the French army was newly organised, in pursuance of an order from the emperor; and formed permanently into two *corps d'armée*; the command of the first being given to general Pelissier; of the second, to general Bosquet. The generals of divisions in the first corps were Forey, Levaillant, Paté, and de Salles; in the second, Bouat, Camou, Mayran, and Dulac. The artillery was placed, in one corps, under the general of brigade Le Bœuf; in the second, under general of brigade Beuret. Generals of brigade Tripier and Frossard commanded the engineers.—The 1st corps was

attached to the left attack; the 2nd to the right, being separated by a deep ravine from the English left.—On the 23rd of February, general Niel landed at Kamiesch, and assumed the chief direction of the engineering works.

In March, the Russians constructed a very strong work to the south of the Malakoff tower, which was called the Mamelon, and was productive of great annoyance to both armies, being protected, in front, by cross-fires from the Great Redan, and the batteries to the west. A parallel of approach was immediately commenced against it by the French. But the most important work, connected with the siege, was a railway, which was projected by Sir S. M. Peto, and constructed by English navvies, from Balaklava to the camp, and which was opened on the 2nd of April. Its value in keeping up the communications with the coast, and bringing stores and ammunition to the camp, was inestimable.

During the months of March and April, there were some differences of opinion between lord Raglan and general Canrobert. The latter was ready, he stated, to reopen the bombardment, which had been suspended during the winter, on the 17th of March: he complained that the English were not prepared; and the month passed away with a few sorties from the city, which were repulsed. The trenches were not reopened till the 10th of April, when the firing was very effective; and the Russians were taken by surprise. The bombardment was carried on till the 24th, when lord Raglan was anxious that an assault should take place; but general Canrobert withheld his consent, as his principal generals were of opinion that it was not practicable. Lord Raglan wished, as the assault was postponed, that an attack should be made on Kertch and Yeni-Kale, for the purpose of opening the Sea of Azoff to the allies, and enabling them to cut off the Russian supplies. The French general consented; and an expedition of 6,000 English, under Sir George Brown, and 3,000 French, under general d'Autemarre, sailed on the 1st of May, but was recalled on the 6th—general Canrobert informing lord Raglan, that he had received a peremptory order from the emperor to concentrate all his forces in the field. On the 8th of May, that general resigned his post as commander-in-chief of the French army, on account of the "shattered state of his health," as announced in the public despatch; but in a private letter to the emperor, he assigned, as some "of the arduous difficulties he experienced," and which made him wish to retire, the almost impossible execution of a plan of campaign recently laid down by his majesty—which contemplated an expedition into the interior by the valley of the Baidar—on account of the non-co-operation of the English general, and the false position he was placed in by the sudden recall of the Kertch expedition.

Though he resigned the command-in-chief, general Canrobert would not leave the army; but took the command of the 1st division in the 1st *corps d'armée*.

His successor was general Pelissier, a man of a much more ardent temperament. The command devolved on him in consequence of a secret letter entrusted to general Canrobert (as had been the case with marshal de St. Arnaud): that letter contained an injunction to the new commander-in-chief, to "conform as closely as possible to the instructions given to general Canrobert; and, if it were necessary to modify them, to let it be done with the concurrence of lord Raglan, with whom he was to act in concert." The new general resolved, therefore, as the English general did not concur in the project of making a diversion to the interior, "to give to the offensive works against Sebastopol, a new and threatening activity; and an attack upon the Mamelon, and the other works which completed that part of the defences of the enemy, was resolved upon. Those attacks general Canrobert had always refused to make, in spite of the reiterated demands of lord Raglan, whose works were annoyed and stopped by those of the enemy. The expedition to Kertch naturally resumed its part in the new plan;"* and it was resolved that it should take place at the close of the month. The day before general Canrobert resigned, the army was reinforced by a reserve corps, composed chiefly of the imperial guard, which the emperor had ordered to be organised at Constantinople; and by an order of the day, of the 18th of May, general Pelissier conferred on general Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angely, the command of this new *corps d'armée*.

The first operation, under the direction of the new commander-in-chief, was the capture of some extensive works, which the Russians were constructing near the Quarantine bay; and which, if completed, would have established, on that point, a considerable *place d'armes*, very threatening to the French left. These works were attacked and carried, on the nights of the 22nd and 23rd of May, by the 1st *corps d'armée*, under general Salles, who had succeeded general Pelissier in the command of that corps. On the 24th, an armistice was granted to the Russians to bury their dead, of whom 1,200 were handed over to the parties sent by general Ostensacken—having been killed on the 22nd and 23rd.—On the 6th and 7th of June, Sebastopol was again bombarded; and, in the night of the 7th, a strong position of the Russians, called the Quarries, in front of the Great Redan, was carried by the English; and the French assaulted and took the White Works, on Mount Sapoune, and the Mamelon. The Quarries and the Mamelon were permanently occupied by the allies. These successes were followed by a council of war, at which

* Baron de Bazancourt.

it was resolved to assault the Malakoff, and to send a French *corps d'armée* to the Tchernaya, under general Bosquet, to act with the Turkish and Sardinian contingents; general St. Jean d'Angely succeeding to the command that general held before Sebastopol. Whilst the French assaulted the Malakoff, the English were to assault the Great Redan; and these works taken, it was confidently anticipated that the fall of Sebastopol must follow. On receiving his orders to take his new command (and he was not well pleased with the change) general Bosquet left the camp on the 16th of June, and established his head-quarters upon the Fediukine heights, where two French corps and the Sardinians were cantoned. The same day general St. Jean d'Angely assumed his new command; and, in concert with the English commander, made the necessary arrangements for the assault on the Malakoff and the Redan, which took place on the morning of the 18th of June, and failed, after several hours' desperate fighting, and immense slaughter. The assault was not well managed. It was arranged to take place at 6 A.M.; but, at half-past eight o'clock on the night of the 17th, general Pelissier sent to lord Raglan, to propose that it should be made at daybreak; as, if delayed till six o'clock, the movements would be exposed to the Russians. Lord Raglan remonstrated against making the change at that late hour; but general Pelissier, supported by his council of officers, persisted; and the English general consented, though very reluctantly, and occupied several hours in dispatching the necessary orders to Sir George Brown, and the other officers who were to take part in the attack. Then, in the morning, the French general, Mayran, thought the signal for the assault was given some time before it really was; and thus the necessary co-operation was destroyed. No wonder that, under these circumstances, there was that "want of simultaneity," to which general Pelissier ascribed the failure. The loss of life was very great. On the side of the French, thirty-seven officers (including generals Brunet and Mayran) were killed, seventeen were missing, and ninety-six wounded; 1,544 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed or missing; and 1,644 wounded. The English lost twenty-one officers, 230 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed; seventy officers, and 1,130 non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, wounded; and twenty-two missing. Among the officers killed were major-general Sir John Campbell, who led the attack; colonel Shadforth, and colonel Yeo.

This event had a most painful effect upon lord Raglan; and it is thought to have predisposed him to an attack of cholera, of which he died on the 28th of June, to the great regret of both armies. His remains were transported to England; and when they were conveyed to Kamiesch

for embarkation, it was "a mournful and touching spectacle. The coffin, covered with the national colours, was placed on a car drawn by eight artillery horses. At the four corners were the four generals-in-chief of the allied armies, on horseback; who were followed by all the generals and staff officers whom their duty did not detain elsewhere. Along the whole way, the funeral *cortège* defiled between two lines of soldiers, composed first of English, then of the French troops." The "'Dead March,' in Saul, was played by the bands as the *cortège* proceeded to the shore;" and "it seemed as if a truce had taken place between the combatants, by mutual agreement, during this mournful period, for the cannon of the besieged town was not heard."* General Simpson—who succeeded to the command-in-chief—in a general order, in which he described the funeral ceremonies, said, "Thus terminated the last honours that could be paid by the troops to their beloved commander." General Pelissier, in an order of the day to his troops, paid a warm and generous tribute to the private and professional qualities of the deceased general; and general Della Marmora called on his men to "join with their brave allies in deploring his death, and venerating his memory."

Very little occurred in the month of July—both parties, the besieged and the besiegers, appearing to pause awhile, in preparation for some great movement. The English, still aiming at the Great Redan, occupied themselves in strengthening and improving their parapets, and arming their batteries more heavily. The French did the same, towards the Malakoff. In May, a camp had been formed on the Tchernaya, to which the French, English (in cavalry and artillery), Sardinians, and Turks (part of Omar Pasha's army), contributed. These forces continued there during the month of July, except the 1st French division, under general Canrobert; which, on the 4th of that month, was ordered to return, and resume the duties of the siege. On the 4th of August, general Canrobert received the commands of the emperor to return to France; but his division remained to take its share in another attack on the Malakoff.—During June, July, and the first fortnight in August, the troops on the Tchernaya remained inactive. In the latter month, a deserter brought intelligence, that the Russians were preparing to attack them. The intelligence proved correct. Prince Menschikoff had been obliged to leave the Crimea on account of ill-health; he was succeeded by prince Gortschakoff, who determined to make, in person, what, in his despatch, he calls a *reconnaissance* of this position: it was, in reality, a determined attack. It commenced at daybreak of the 17th of August; when the Russians gained the crest

* Baron de Bazancourt.

of a hill, on which the French were posted, before anyone was aware of their approach. However, their presence was soon known; and though they moved in great masses and fought well, they were completely defeated. The Piedmontese behaved very gallantly; and an English battery, which flanked their columns, and a squadron of English cavalry, rendered efficient assistance. The Traktir bridge, over the Tchernaya, defended by the French, was several times attacked, but without success: and after fighting about six hours, the enemy, repulsed on all points, retreated, and by 3 P.M. had entirely disappeared. Again the slaughter was great: both banks of the Tchernaya were literally covered with bodies, piled up in bleeding heaps.

We now come to the close of this eventful history.—On the 3rd of September, another sortie of the Russians was repulsed; and on the 5th the final bombardment of Sebastopol commenced, which was continued during the 6th and 7th.—On the 8th, the French, under general Bosquet, who had returned to the siege, and taken command of the Canrobert division, attacked and carried the Malakoff. The Russians were taken by surprise—but they fought well; and when driven out from the fort, made several gallant efforts to recover it, but in vain.—The English again attacked the Great Redan; and though they again failed, it is allowed, by friend and foe, that it was from no want of heroism, but from the overpowering weight of numbers, that after having, under Sir William Codrington, effected a lodgment in the work, which they held for about an hour, they were obliged to retire.—The French were also repulsed on two points of their attack; but they held the Malakoff. It proved to be the key of the position; and, being lost, the enemy succumbed. At 7 P.M. the Russians desisted from fighting; and, in the night, they passed, by a floating bridge, from the south to the north side of the harbour. In the morning none remained: Sebastopol was in possession of the allies. But the cost was great. The loss of the French was five generals (Saint Pol, de Marolles, de Ponteres, Bivet, and Breton) killed; four wounded, and six with contusions; twenty-four field officers killed, twenty wounded, and two missing; 116 subaltern officers killed, 224 wounded, and eight missing; 1,489 non-commissioned officers and soldiers killed; 4,259 wounded, and 1,400 missing: total, 7,557.—The English loss was—*killed*, twenty-nine officers, thirty-six sergeants, six drummers, 314 rank and file: *wounded*, 124 officers, 142 sergeants, twelve drummers, 1,608 rank and file: *missing*, one officer, twelve sergeants, 163 rank and file: total, 2,447.—The Russians had fifty-nine officers, and 2,625 men killed; and, with the wounded and missing, 11,690 were put *hors de combat*.—The booty left in Sebastopol was im-

mense. Amongst a long miscellaneous list of articles, there were 4,000 cannon, fifty of which were bronze; 500,000 lbs. of powder; and 100,000 projectiles, besides provisions. All was valued, and divided amongst the allied armies, in proportion to their numbers.

We have not, in our *résumé* of the progress of the siege, mentioned the naval brigade since our notice of its formation; but it continued active and indefatigable—first under commander Lushington, and then under captain William Peel—from the commencement of the siege to the close. Its effective strength, originally, was 1,400. The casualties were—died, from sickness, thirty-one; killed, sixty-one; mortally wounded, twenty-four; severely wounded, contused, &c., 331: total, 447. On the 17th of September, these gallant fellows returned on ship-board, carrying with them the good wishes of both armies, loudly expressed.

There were great rejoicings in France and England when the intelligence of the fall of Sebastopol was received. The emperor created Pelissier a marshal of the empire; and on the 16th of September, a grand *Te Deum* was performed in all the churches of France. The sultan also appointed the French commander-in-chief a serdar, or marshal, of the Porte; sent him a magnificent sabre, and the order of the Medjidie; and conferred upon him the handsome pension of 200,000f. (£8,000) for life.—Queen Victoria promoted lieutenant-general Simpson to the rank of general; and the sultan cordially thanked that officer, and sent him the order of the Medjidie, of the first class. Brigadier-general Windham, who distinguished himself at the Redan, was advanced one step.—The queen also created marshal Pelissier knight grand cross of the order of the Bath; and the emperor conferred the grand cross of the legion of honour on general Simpson.

The interest of the war ceases with the fall of Sebastopol; though several other operations were undertaken. The city was divided between the French and English; the western part being allotted to the former, with general Bazine for governor; and the eastern to the English, lieutenant-general Windham being placed there in authority.—The Russians occupied a position fortified by art and nature, and forming a semi-circle round the position of the allies, from Fort Constantine to the chain of mountains known as the Tchadir Dag. Here they were posted in great force; and as the position on the Tchernaya was maintained by the allies, there were occasional little skirmishing affairs; one of which, on the 28th of September, between the French and Russians, near Baidar, promised, at one time to be serious: the Russians, however, retired. On the 1st of October, the French made several hundred prisoners on the right bank of the Tchernaya; but the Russians remained quiet—

which was somewhat singular, as the allies employed themselves in destroying the forts, docks, public buildings, and public shipping at Sebastopol; and rapid as is the work of destruction to that of creation, it was not till the 28th of February, 1856, that the last fort was destroyed.

On the 7th of October, an expedition—French and English, under admirals Sir E. Lyons and Bruat; the former comprising about 8,000 troops, and the latter upwards of 5,000 infantry, artillery, and marines—sailed from Kamiesch and Kazatch bays, for the purpose of attacking the Russian port of Kinburn, in the Bay of Kherson. The fleets arrived before that place on the 17th. It was defended by three forts; and they surrendered, after a short bombardment, in which 120 of the garrison were killed: 1,420 privates and forty officers, with seventy pieces of cannon, were taken.—The next day, the Russians destroyed the fort of Otchaloff, opposite Kinburn, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the allies.—Some vessels ascended the Bug and the Dnieper, and exchanged a few shots with the Cossacks; but contenting themselves with taking Kinburn, in which a garrison was placed, the expedition returned to Kamiesch Bay the first week in November. Soon after, general Simpson resigned the command of the English army, and the queen appointed Sir William Codrington his successor.

In the Sea of Azoff, an expedition which left the Crimea, under admirals Sir E. Lyons and Bruat, after destroying the forts on the south and south-east coast of the peninsula, captured Ambalaki, Kertch, and Yeni-Kale; and a flying squadron, under captain Lyons, son of the admiral, effected great destruction in the Sea of Azoff—burning magazines of corn and flour, collected at different places, and intended for the Russian army; and destroying 245 vessels, laden with stores and provisions for the same destination.—The strong fort of Anapa, on the Circassian coast, was threatened; but the Russians abandoned that, and several other neighbouring forts, which were taken possession of without opposition.—In Asia the enemy obtained a decided triumph. They besieged Kars, one of the most important cities in Turkey in Asia, which was defended by a Turkish garrison, under lieutenant-colonel Williams, who, in August, 1854, was sent to Erzeroum, as English commissioner to the Turkish army in that country. The gallant garrison had to suffer great privations, which were withstood for some time; and, on the 29th of September, 1855, gained a decided advantage over the Russians, who made an assault upon the city. But lieutenant-colonel Williams was obliged, from a want of every necessary, to surrender on the 4th of November; Omar Pasha, who had sailed from the Crimea with a view to relieve Kars, and gained several advantages over the Russians in Imeritia, not

being able to reach the city in time to save it. The Turks lost 8,000 prisoners, 130 cannon, and 30,000 muskets; and the capture of Kars was a counterpoise to the fall of Sebastopol. The Russian general, Mouravieff, behaved nobly to his prisoners, who were completely worn-out with fatigue and hunger when they surrendered.

Negotiations, with a view to obtain peace, had been continued at intervals, from the time of the declaration of war, in March, 1854. They were carried on at Vienna; and, on the 6th of August in that year, the plenipotentiaries of France, England, and Austria, drew up the following protocol, which became known as the "four points," as the basis for a peace between Russia and Turkey:—"The three powers are equally of opinion that the relations of the Sublime Porte with the imperial court of Russia, cannot be re-established on solid and durable bases—1st. If the protectorate, hitherto exercised by the imperial court of Russia over the principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia, be not discontinued for the future; and if the privileges accorded by the sultans to those provinces, dependencies of their empire, be not placed under the collective guarantee of the powers, in virtue of an arrangement to be concluded with the Sublime Porte, and the stipulations of which should, at the same time, regulate all questions of detail.—2nd. If the navigation of the Danube be not freed from all obstacles, and submitted to the application of the principles established by the congress of Vienna.—3rd. If the treaty of July 13th, 1844, be not revised in concert, by the high contracting powers, in the interest of the balance of power in Europe.—4th. If Russia do not give up the claim to exercise an official protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to whatever rite they may belong; and if France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Austria do not use their united influence to obtain a confirmation of the religious privileges of the christian communities in Turkey."—Prussia agreed to these "points," though she was not a party to their being drawn up; but Russia refused to accept them.

On the 2nd of December, 1854, a treaty was concluded between Austria and the western powers; in which the protocols of April 9th and May 23rd, and the "four points" of August 6th, were recognised. Regulations were entered into respecting the occupation of the Danubian principalities by Austria, "which occupation was not to interfere with the free movement of the Ottoman or Anglo-French troops in those territories." If war broke out between Austria and Russia, the treaty was to constitute "an offensive and defensive alliance between the contracting parties." And neither party, in that case, was to entertain any proposition for peace from Russia, without its being considered jointly by all three.

In February, 1855, the conferences at Vienna were again renewed at the instance of Russia; and lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de l'Huys attended as the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France. Russia was desirous of peace, and would have accepted the 1st, 2nd, and 4th of the four points; but demanded a modification of the 3rd, which was intended to prevent her from again sending fleets into the Black Sea, and converting it into a Russian lake. The czar proposed that the Black Sea should be open to the ships of war of the other four powers, and that Russia and Turkey should each be permitted to maintain as many there as they chose. Austria, and the English and French plenipotentiaries, were disposed to accept this modification; but the governments of France and England rejected it, as it would have obliged them always to have maintained a fleet in the Euxine, or Russia would naturally have that predominance there, which, for the interests of Europe, it was desirable she should not possess. As Russia would not yield this point, the conference failed, as the preceding one had done; but Austria refused to join the western powers in their hostile measures against Russia: so did Prussia; and the relations of those two powers with the czar became more intimate and cordial. When Sebastopol fell, the czar felt great alarm; and it was not lessened by the treaty which, in November, was concluded between France, Great Britain, and Sweden. Soon after, being pressed by Austria, Alexander agreed to accept the "four points," to which a fifth was added; a cession of a part of Bessarabia being demanded from Russia. Through the mediation of Austria, it was agreed that a conference for peace should be held at Paris, to which each party should send two plenipotentiaries. The statesmen chosen were—count Walewski and M. Bourqueney, for France; the earls of Clarendon and Cowley, for England; count Buol and baron Hubner, for Austria; count Orloff and baron Brunnov, for Russia; count Cavour and the marquis Villa Marina, for Sardinia; and Ali Pasha and Mehemed Djemil, for Turkey. Prussia was not, at first, admitted to take any part in the conferences; but, when admitted, she sent barons Manteuffel and Hatzfeldt as her representatives. The conferences were opened on the 25th of February, count Walewski presiding. The first step was to conclude an armistice, which was to extend to the 31st of March. On the 29th of that month, the terms of the treaty were finally arranged; and, on the 30th, the signatures were affixed; and it was agreed that the ratifications should be exchanged in four weeks; sooner if possible. The treaty comprised thirty-four articles, by which peace was re-established between France, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey. The territories taken during the war were to be restored. A full and complete amnesty was to

be granted; and all prisoners of war delivered up. The Sublime Porte was admitted to participate in all the advantages of the public law and system of Europe; the integrity and independence of the sultan's dominions were recognised; and the sultan undertook to ameliorate the condition of his christian subjects. The Black Sea was declared to be neutral; its waters were thrown open to the mercantile flags of all nations, and closed to ships of war, except to a few light vessels, which the czar and the sultan might require for the service of their coasts—the number to be settled by a separate convention—and to such vessels as it was subsequently agreed might be stationed there to maintain the navigation of the Danube. Neither the sultan nor the czar to maintain on the coast of the Black Sea any maritime military arsenal. The regulations of the congress of Vienna, with respect to rivers separating states, to be applied to the Danube; and the works necessary to remove the impediments to a free navigation of that river, to be settled by a mixed commission, consisting of a delegate from each of the contracting powers. The navigation to be kept open, and regulated by a commission, composed of one delegate from Austria, Bavaria, Turkey, Würtemberg, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia. To insure the execution of the regulations, &c., each of the contracting powers to have the right to station two light vessels at the mouth of the Danube. The czar, in consequence of the towns captured being given up to him, consented to rectify his frontier of Bessarabia; and the territory thus ceded to be annexed to Moldavia. There were provisions respecting the administration of the Danubian provinces, which were to remain under the suzerainty of the Porte; and generally, the *status quo* was restored between France, Great Britain, and Russia. There were three separate conventions, all of which were to have the same force and validity as the treaty. The first was an agreement between the contracting powers for carrying out the stipulations of the treaty respecting the Dardanelles. The second was a convention between the czar and the sultan, limiting their force in the Black Sea to six vessels, each of 800 tons, and four not exceeding 200 tons. The third was a convention between France, Great Britain, and Russia; by which the latter agreed not to fortify the Aland Isles, or to keep any military or naval establishment there.

As soon as this treaty was signed, on the motion of lord Clarendon, the plenipotentiaries went, in a body, and presented it to the emperor, at the Tuileries. His majesty received it very graciously, and said—"Gentlemen, you have accomplished a peace which is honourable to all parties concerned, without being humiliating to any power."—Soon after, the prefect of police issued a proclamation to the people of Paris, that peace was concluded; and the event was

commemorated by a salvo of 101 guns from the cannon of the Invalides.

Though peace was signed, the plenipotentiaries did not separate till the 16th of April. They discussed several European and public questions; and on the 16th signed a protocol, explaining some disputed points of maritime law. It declared—1st. That privateering was abolished. 2. That a neutral flag should cover an enemy's goods, except contraband of war. 3. That such goods, under a neutral flag, were not liable to capture. 4. That blockades to be binding must be effective. 5. That the governments agreeing to the declaration, would endeavour to induce other powers to assent to it.

—On the 15th of April, the plenipotentiaries of France, Great Britain, and Austria, signed a separate treaty, by which they guaranteed, jointly and severally, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire; and declared, that any violation of the treaty of March 30th, 1856, would be a *casus belli*. This treaty was very offensive to the czar; and it certainly looked as if the three powers had not much reliance on his sincerity.

These proceedings were followed by the evacuation of the Crimea: gradually, the other provisions of the treaty were carried out; and Europe had again rest, for a time, from the horrors of war.

CHAPTER X.

JOUR DE L'AN, 1856; COUNCIL OF WAR; MEDALS AND HONOURS CONFERRED ON THE TROOPS; BANQUET TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES; OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1856; BIRTH OF THE IMPERIAL PRINCE; CONCLUSION OF PEACE; GREAT FLOODS; BAPTISM OF THE IMPERIAL PRINCE; ACTS OF THE LEGISLATURE; THE FINANCES; RUPTURE OF "THE FUSION" BETWEEN THE BOURBONS; AFFAIRS OF ITALY, SPAIN, AND NAPLES; ARRIVAL OF COUNT KISSELEFF AT PARIS; DIFFERENCES AS TO THE BESSARABIAN FRONTIER; ANOTHER CONFERENCE; MURDER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS; THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR AT PARIS; THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION OF 1857; DISTINGUISHED VISITORS IN PARIS; MORE INUNDATIONS; DISSOLUTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY; CONSPIRACIES IN FRANCE; THE EMPEROR AT OSBORNE; FETE OF THE 14TH AND 15TH OF AUGUST; THE EMPEROR AT STUTTGART; COUNT WALEWSKI'S CIRCULAR; MEETING OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY; THE SUEZ CANAL; AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA.

THE first day of 1856 was divested of that gloom which prevailed in many quarters on the first day of January, 1855, notwithstanding the usual joyous hilarity of the French people at that season. The emperor's reception at the Tuileries was very numerously attended, by the legislative and other authorities, the diplomatic corps, and the military and naval officers. The emperor seemed in high spirits; he had a courteous word for all who came near him; and no New-year's festival ever passed off more pleasantly to those who took part in its ceremonies, and in the entertainments by which those ceremonies were followed.

Peace, however, was not considered certain; and on the 3rd of January, prince Napoleon, prince Jerome, and count Walewski, with five generals and three admirals, representing France; the duke of Cambridge, generals Sir Richard Airey and Sir Harry Jones, and admiral Sir E. Lyons, England; and general La Marmora, Sardinia, assembled in Paris, under the presidency of the emperor, as a council of war, for the purpose of deciding upon the course which should be pursued in the next campaign. The sittings of this council continued till the close of the month. The subjects considered, and the decisions come to, did not transpire: but a report, embodying those decisions, was drawn

up, of which two copies were made. One of these documents, under seal, was placed in the English and French archives.

The presence of the foreign officers and their suites in Paris, tended to increase the gaieties of that capital; and as they were followed by many other strangers, the briskness of trade, which was the consequence, almost caused the Parisians to forget the expenses of the war. There has rarely been a gayer season in Paris than that of 1856; military spectacles, dinners, receptions, *soirées*, and fancy balls, being everyday events.—On the 15th of January, there was a grand military spectacle in the Champ-de-Mars; the troops that had served in the Crimea being assembled, to receive, from the duke of Cambridge, medals, conferred upon them by the queen of England, with the approbation of the emperor, for their distinguished services in the East. His royal highness, previous to the distribution, said—"The queen of England had charged him with the office of presenting to the generals, officers, and rank and file of the French army, his brave and worthy comrades, those medals, as a token of the cordial esteem and friendship which existed between the two nations; and of the admiration which her majesty and the English nation felt for the glorious feats of arms performed by the army of the East."

His royal highness declared, that "it was in the great combats of the Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol, that the alliance of the two nations was ratified by the two armies;" and heartily exclaimed—"God grant that this great alliance may always continue, for the advantage and glory of both nations."—On the 23rd of January, at the English embassy, lord Cowley invested several French officers with the most military order of the Bath. Generals Bosquet, and Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, received the grand cross of the order; generals Niel, de Martimprey, Mellinet, and Dalesme, were appointed knights commanders; generals Espinasse, de Beville, Cles, and Maneque; and colonels Comignan, de Rochebouet, Reille, and several other officers, were admitted as knights companions.—The emperor reciprocated these tributes to the gallantry of the French officers and privates, by conferring, at a later period, the various grades of the legion of honour upon a number of generals, officers, and rank and file of the British army, according to what were considered their relative claims to distinction.

Hopes and fears on the subject of peace alternately prevailed during the months of January and February: but the arrival of the plenipotentiaries who were to attend the conferences—all of whom were collected in Paris before the 25th of the second month—caused the former to predominate. The Austrian plenipotentiary, count Buol, was one of the first arrivals. He was the bearer to the empress Eugénie, of the insignia of the order of the Star, from the empress-dowager of Austria, who was the superior of that order. He was admitted to an audience soon after he reached the French capital, and had the honour of personally presenting the ribbon and emblem to the empress.—On the 25th of February, count Walewski gave a grand banquet to the distinguished strangers, with a concert in the evening, to which the *élite* of the capital were invited. Of course, the plenipotentiaries were the great objects of attention. Count Orloff—a fine, tall, manly figure, with a truly military air—was very courteous and affable; conversing readily with the various groups with whom he came in contact. He was, decidedly, the most popular personage present; and the grand vizier, Ali Pasha, appeared to be the next; perhaps from the contrast his delicate appearance afforded to that of the Russian plenipotentiary. Count Cavour—who was of middle stature, rather stout, with features remarkable for their open frankness, and which were seldom unilluminated by a smile—also drew large parties around him; whilst the earls of Clarendon and Cowley were each the centre of observant groups. The evening was a very pleasant one; and from that time, the opinion that the war was at an end, became the prevailing one in France.

The legislative session of 1856 was not opened till the 3rd of March. The emperor met the two chambers as usual; and in his inaugural speech, contrasted the state of affairs when the senators and deputies last met, with that which then existed. In 1855, he said, grave anxieties weighed upon them from the war; the allied armies were exhausting themselves in a siege, in which the stubbornness of the defenders made success doubtful; a loan was being applied for, which though it might seem excessive, the chambers voted unanimously; the high price of provisions threatened the labouring classes with serious discomfort; and the monetary system was disturbed. But, thanks to the aid the chambers so readily gave—to the energy displayed in France and England—and, above all, to the support of Providence—those evils, if they had not entirely disappeared, were, for the most part, dissipated. The approach of peace, and the fall in prices, were alluded to; the spirit of the people, which had prompted them to enlist with such ardour to reinforce the army, was praised; and the visit of the queen of Great Britain was mentioned as "a fact of high political signification. The enthusiastic welcome which her majesty received," said the emperor, "must have proved to her how deep were the sentiments inspired by her presence; and how much they partook of a character tending to strengthen the alliance between the two peoples." The meed of praise was awarded to the king of Piedmont for unhesitatingly embracing the cause of the allies: and the chambers were informed, that the plenipotentiaries of both the belligerent and allied powers were then assembled in Paris, to decide on the terms of peace; "the spirit of moderation and equity which animated them all, inspiring a strong hope of a favourable result." But, said his majesty, "whatever may happen, let us busy ourselves with all matters which tend to augment the power and the wealth of France. Let us draw still closer, if that be possible, the alliance which has been formed by a common participation in glory; and in sacrifices, of which peace will make the mutual advantages appear more conspicuous. Let us, lastly, at this moment, so solemn for the destinies of the world, put our trust in God, so that he may guide our efforts in a way the most advantageous to the interests of humanity and civilisation." The speech was attentively listened to; and, at its conclusion, repeated *vivas* declared the approbation of the hearers.

When the legislative body assembled on the 4th of March, count de Morny, the president, on taking his seat, referred to the proceedings of the preceding day; and remarked, that the feelings of national pride and affection for their country, which the deputies entertained, must have been highly gratified by the emperor's

statements. They showed, that "in no virtue had the French nation been deficient. It had proved itself a firm and loyal ally; it had carried on the war with vigour, patience, disinterestedness, and humanity; it had been, at the same time, calm, industrious, hospitable, and generous. Thus France had obtained a moral triumph, more valuable than that acquired by conquests, and gained for herself the sympathies and confidence of the entire world." This result, the count attributed "to the union, on the throne, of the two most opposite qualities—energy and moderation;" and to the co-operation of the chambers, which had "restored France to the first rank among nations." They might now hope, that the sound judgment and humane feelings of the eminent men charged with the negotiations, would succeed in putting an end to the evils of war in Europe. "Nevertheless," said the count, emphatically, "confiding implicitly in the affection and solicitude of the emperor for his people, and in his care for the dignity and interest of France, we promise him, beforehand, come what will, that he may rely upon us."—The hearty applause of the deputies appeared to indicate that they fully entered into the feelings, and approved of the sentiments, of their president.—The same day, in the senate, the budget was presented. The revenue had improved; the various imposts yielding 19,220,000*f.* (£768,800) more than in the previous year. The expenditure was increased in a greater proportion; the total excess in the outlay for 1857, being estimated at 96,770,636*f.* (£3,870,825). Still, the minister of finance calculated that a surplus of 15,417,348*f.* (£666,698) would remain.

On the 16th of March, that event transpired which had been so long and so anxiously anticipated: the empress Eugénie, on that day, was delivered of a son and heir to the empire; who, from his birth, received the title of "imperial prince." Her majesty suffered greatly—the pains of labour continuing for twenty-two hours; and, at last, the resources of art had to be resorted to, to facilitate the delivery. The birth took place at 3 A.M. At six, the discharge of 101 guns from the Invalides, announced the joyful tidings to the good people of Paris. At eight, the senate and legislative body assembled, and received the announcement from their respective presidents, with repeated shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur et l'Impératrice! Vive le Prince Imperial!*" "I perceive, gentlemen," said count de Morny, as he listened to the hearty cheers of the deputies, "that you all share the joy of France." The municipal council of Paris met in the forenoon, and voted 200,000*f.* for the poor.—At noon, the *ondoiement*, or preliminary baptism, of the infant prince took place, in the presence of the emperor, the household, and the great dignitaries of the state; when the child

received the names of Napoleon Eugène Louis Jean Joseph.—At night Paris was most brilliantly illuminated; every house, rich and poor, displaying its lights.—It is a fact worth stating, as showing not only the wonders which the electric telegraph performs—but also the activity of many great personages, at hours when the world at large is generally wrapped in sleep—that, within a few minutes of the birth of his son, the emperor announced the event to the pope, queen Victoria, the king of Sardinia, the queen of Sweden, the grand duchess-dowager of Baden, and some other princes and potentates; and that, before six o'clock, messages of congratulation were received from the pope, queen Victoria, and the queen of Sweden.

On the 18th, the emperor received, in the throne-room of the Tuileries, the diplomatic corps, the plenipotentiaries to the congress, the senate, and the legislative body. Count Walewski introduced the plenipotentiaries, who offered their congratulations on "the felicitous event; which, while it secured and consolidated the Napoleon dynasty, was, for the entire world, a fresh pledge of security and confidence."

The emperor, in reply, expressed his "joy that Providence had sent him a son at the moment when an era of general reconciliation announced itself to Europe:" and he promised to rear the young prince "in the sentiment that peoples ought not to be egotistic; but should feel that the repose of Europe depended on the prosperity of every nation."—Similar sentiments to those expressed by the plenipotentiaries, were conveyed in the addresses of the presidents of the senate and the legislative body. The emperor, in his reply to the former, said he should call his son "the Child of France—a title admitted under the old monarchy, and which was doubly applicable when the sovereign, the father of the child, was the choice of the nation, the first citizen of the empire, and the representative of all." To the deputies, Napoleon expressed his ardent hope, that "the child, consecrated in his cradle by the peace which was preparing—by the blessing of the holy father, conveyed through electricity one hour after his birth—and by the acclamations of the French people, whom the emperor so much loved—might be worthy of the destinies which awaited him."—On the 20th, to commemorate the birth of his heir, the emperor offered an amnesty to all political offenders; permitting every exile to return to France, who would declare it was his loyal intention to submit to the emperor's government. In honour of the same event, generals Bosquet, Canrobert, and Randon were created marshals of France; promotions and honours were also awarded to numerous officers of inferior rank.

In the manifestations of pleasure and satisfaction at the birth of the imperial prince, prince

Jerome was prevented, by illness, from taking an active part; but he expressed his congratulations by message; and, from all parts of the empire, congratulatory addresses were received. No class was backward, except the clergy; and their felicitations were few and far between. This arose, it is stated, from one of their body, the bishop of Luçon, having been compelled, by the government, to quit his diocese for some misdemeanour—an act which they resented as an infringement of that immunity from the jurisdiction of the civil power, which is claimed by the clergy of the Roman catholic church.

On Sunday, the 30th of March, the conclusion of peace was proclaimed at Paris, by a salute from the Invalides. That happy event was celebrated by brilliant illuminations for three successive nights; by a review of 40,000 troops, in the Champ-de-Mars, on the 1st of April—a spectacle, described as “the most magnificent beheld in Paris since the days of the first empire;” and by a grand banquet at the Tuileries; at which count Walewski—as the emperor had done—characterised the treaty as humbling and humiliating to no one, but honourable to all.—On the 12th of April, the emperor entertained the plenipotentiaries at the Tuileries; the cardinals, marshals, ministers, and officers of state being invited to meet them. At the banquet, his majesty proposed, as a toast, “the union so happily re-established among the sovereigns. May it be lasting; and it will be so, if it repose always on right and justice, and on the true and legitimate interests of the peoples.” This toast, according to the *Moniteur*, was received with enthusiastic applause.

The conclusion of peace led to a report on the army being presented to the emperor by marshal Vaillant, who suggested its reduction to a peace establishment. Immediately after receiving this report, the emperor issued a decree, suppressing the fourth battalion of the 100th regiment of the line, and disbanding the 101st and 102nd regiments. The soldiers of the class of 1849—52,000 men—were also placed on the reserved list. The army was, before the close of the year, reduced to the extent of 95,000 men, who obtained provisional discharges. The emperor, while sanctioning the reduction of the army, showed his regard for the service, by placing, on the 29th of April, the name of the imperial prince on the muster-roll of the grenadiers of the imperial guards, as “*enfant de troupe*.”

In April and May, the king of Würtemberg, prince Oscar, of Sweden, and the archduke Maximilian, of Austria, visited Paris. The regular embassy of Austria, at Paris, suppressed in 1848, was also re-established; and, on the 22nd of May, M. de Hubner presented his credentials to the emperor, as ambassador.*

* M. Augustin Thierry, the well-known historian, died at Paris, on the 22nd of May.

In the month of May, France was visited with inundations more extensive and destructive than any ever remembered. The primary cause was the rain, which fell in almost incessant torrents during Friday and Saturday, the 23rd and 24th; laying whole departments under water. From Paris to Lyons, and onwards to the coast, the streams, large and small, overflowed their banks, and inundated the surrounding country, which, round Chalons, Tours, Macon, and Lyons, looked like an inland sea. The valleys of the Loire, the Rhone, the Saône, the Isère, and the Veoure, were laid under water; and the vast expanse was dotted with the roofs of houses, the spires of churches, and the tops of the taller trees. Many edifices were entirely swept away, and numerous trees were torn up, so impetuous was the course of the torrent. Roads and railways were alike impassable; whilst furniture, agricultural produce, cattle, and many human bodies, were borne away by the flood. At Lyons, all the lower quarters of the city were inundated; and 25,000 persons were rendered houseless. Orleans and the valley of the Loire were, also, completely flooded. The streets of many other towns were only passable in boats, by which communication was effected with the inhabitants, by means of the top windows of their houses.

A few days later, the flood extended to the central and western departments; and it is impossible to estimate the loss of property thus occasioned; whilst that of life was considerable. The emperor, as soon as he heard of the terrible disaster, resolved to visit the afflicted districts; and he left St. Cloud, on Sunday, the 1st of June—going first to Lyons, which he had to enter in a boat; and he afterwards went from place to place by the same means. He thus passed over a good part of the inundated portion of the country, cheering the sufferers; and, as the waters subsided, animating them and the troops, who were indefatigable in their exertions to remedy the evil. His majesty was not sparing of his money. He took with him all the cash he could find at St. Cloud—some 300,000*fr.*—and ordered more to be sent after him. He made a leathern bag his purse, which, when he was able to leave the boat, and resume his horse, was always before him; and from it he freely gave, both to the sufferers, and to those who were exerting themselves to restore things to their normal state. The legislative body voted the sum of 2,000,000*fr.* (£80,000)—a very inadequate amount—for the relief of the sufferers. The council of ministers, more liberal, applied a new credit of 10,000,000*fr.* (£400,000) to the same purpose. Public subscriptions were also set on foot; and, in England, upwards of £40,000 were raised, and sent over to France, to be added to the fund.

After the inundations had subsided, the emperor addressed a letter to M. Rouher, the minister of public works; in which he examined, from

an engineering point of view, the causes of the occasional overflow of the great rivers; and recommended, in order to prevent the recurrence of such disasters, the *barrage* of the affluents of those streams. He also directed the minister to cause a technical survey of the river-valleys to be made, for the purpose of constructing suitable embankments, and other means, for resisting the force of the floods.

From the time of her delivery, in March, the empress had steadily progressed in the recovery of her health; and she took the greatest delight in the imperial prince, who was an unusually fine child. His baptism was delayed till the 14th of June, when it was performed at the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, by the legate *à latere*, cardinal Patrizzi. The arrangements were on a scale of great magnificence. The sacred edifice was gorgeously decorated; an altar, a throne for the cardinal, and seats for the distinguished persons who assisted in the ceremony, being placed in the centre of the transept. The emperor and empress, the princess Mathilde, and the princes of the imperial house, the members of the diplomatic body, the ministers, and great officers of state, with the ladies of the empress's household, were present. The ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Roman church; and, at its close, the empress imprinted a hearty kiss on the cheek of the infant, who was taken by the emperor, and presented to the gaze of the company, amid loud *vivas*!—Numerous private festivities were held in commemoration of the event; and Paris was splendidly illuminated. Public *fêtes* had also been arranged; but in consequence of the devastations occasioned by the floods, they did not take place. The sums originally intended to be appropriated to those rejoicings, were applied to the relief of the numerous sufferers.

The session of the legislative body closed on the 2nd of July. The business transacted, since it assembled in March, had not been very important. It passed a project of law, introduced by the ministers, for imposing an additional tax upon horses and carriages; which the senate rejected. A new tariff was also proposed; substituting the principles of fixed for *ad valorem* duties on cotton goods and wearing apparel; but, after being before the chamber several weeks, it was postponed. Projects of law, limiting the amount of pensions granted by the emperor to great functionaries of the empire, to 20,000*f.* (£800) per annum; for settling *rentes*, of the value of 600,000*f.* (£24,000), upon the Orleans family; and declaring the empress regent during the minority of the infant prince, were adopted.—With respect to the Orleans indemnity, the princess Clementina of Orleans, the dukes de Nemours and d'Aumale, and the prince de Joinville, strongly protested against so illusory a reparation for the confiscation of

their property; the princess Clementina refusing to accept any gift as an indemnity for her share of it. The count de Montalembert, in a letter to count Morny, also reprobated the measure as most unjust and unsatisfactory. If, he said, "the property which the duke of Orleans settled upon his children before he ascended the throne, did not belong to them, why should a present be made to them, at the expense of the tax-payers?" If it did, a more adequate return should be made; and all the heirs should be indemnified, and not a part only.—The count had, undoubtedly, justice on his side; but it would appear that the finances of the empire could ill bear any very heavy drain. Notwithstanding the estimates of small surpluses made by the minister of finance in his budgets—a report made to the legislative body just before its prorogation, stated, that the supplementary credits over and above the budgets voted in the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, amounted to 1,400,747,283*f.* (£56,029,891); of which sum 1,229,890,278*f.* (£49,195,611) were applied to the expenses of the war; the remainder to "sundries." In the three years, 76,000,000*f.* (£3,040,000) were expended "in supplying the deficiencies of food, relieving the misery of the populations, and multiplying public works." Amongst other items included in the "sundries," was the cost of the Universal Exhibition—11,000,000*f.* (£440,000); which, instead of being, like its London predecessor, a profitable undertaking, was *minus* to that amount.

In June, the "fusion" of the two branches of the Bourbon family, supposed to have been consummated by the visit of the duke de Nemours to the count de Chambord, in 1853,* was entirely broken off. In January, the duke de Nemours had written to the count de Chambord—who, in a letter to a friend, had termed the reconciliation of 1853, "one of the firmest guarantees for the future condition of France"—to the effect, that his visit to the count was made "upon the assurance, that the step did not involve any formal engagement on the part of himself and brothers." It was, the duke said, "the sincere desire" of the Orleans family, to see France one day call him to the throne: but that he (the duke) "was far from offering him a blind and undefined co-operation." Three points were insisted upon.—"1. The retention of the tricoloured flag. 2. The re-establishment of a constitutional government. 3. The concurrence of the national will in that re-establishment, and in the recall of the dynasty." According to the duke, these points were discussed at a meeting which took place between him and the count, at Nervi: they could come to no decision; and in March, the duke informed his relative, that, till they could, "all community of views between him and the Orleans family was impossible."—Whether any

* See *ante*, p. 742.

further interviews and discussions took place is not known; but in June, the count de Paris addressed a letter to a friend, count Roger de Nord, positively refusing his assent to the fusion. "My mother, my brothers, and myself," he said, "are altogether strangers to this affair. Shortly I shall declare my principles and views. I have but one object—that of rendering myself worthy of a possible future. To this end, I have incessantly before my eyes the will of my father, the conduct of my grandfather, and the sacred principles upon which the constitutional monarchy was founded."—The count de Chambord had great hopes from the reconciliation of the two branches of his royal house; and when he received the last communication from the duke de Nemours, he expressed his "regret and sorrow," in a letter to that prince. But, at the same time, he declared his "profound conviction, that it was by the union of their house, and by the common efforts of all the defenders of monarchical institutions, that France would be one day saved"—a conviction which, we think, if not entirely dissipated, must be very much weakened by subsequent events.

The emperor left Paris for Plombières on the 1st of July; and during his residence there, he was occupied with the differences between Austria and Piedmont, the insurrection in Spain, the state of Naples, and the conduct of Russia, since the signature of the treaty of peace. Austria, alarmed by the tone assumed by count Cavour at the Paris conferences, had increased her army in Lombardy, and carried her advanced posts very near to the Piedmontese frontiers.—In Spain, the resignation of Espartero, the appointment of marshal O'Donnell as the head of the ministry, and the attempt of the latter to disarm the national guard, caused an insurrection at Madrid, which broke out on the 14th of July. It was suppressed in that city on the 16th; but extended to the provinces, where the insurgents made a more determined struggle. These events occasioned, as a measure of precaution, the formation of an army of 25,000 men, on the line of the Pyrenees. A powerful camp was also formed in the department of the Var, to observe Italy; but the camp at Boulogne was broken up. At the final review of the troops which formed it, in the last week of July, marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers expressed his regret at parting with them; and said—"I know not what the future may reserve for us; but, if it answer to my desires, we shall meet again. In that case, I shall rely upon you, as you may rely upon me. We are animated by the same sentiments of devotion to our country and the emperor; and we shall ever have for our rallying-cry, '*Vive l'Empereur!*'"

Simultaneously with the movements in Lombardy and Spain, the attention of the French government was called to the state of Naples,

arising out of the cruel and arbitrary conduct of the king. On this question France and England again acted in unison. They instructed their ambassadors to remonstrate with Ferdinand; and to recommend the adoption of a more lenient and liberal policy. When the governments of Paris and London found that these remonstrances had no effect, they threatened to withdraw their ambassadors, and suspend diplomatic relations with the Neapolitan court. As no attention was paid to this threat, the ambassadors were withdrawn in October; and a combined squadron was assembled in the Italian waters, to protect the subjects of the two powers in Naples, if their safety were endangered.

As respected Russia, count Walewski and earl Clarendon took different views; the former thinking that the czar meant faithfully to carry out the treaty of March 30th; whilst the latter contended, that the acts of the Russian officials evinced a desire to evade some of its conditions. Kars had not been evacuated; and although the czar had agreed not to keep any force, naval or military, in the Black Sea, he had ordered a small body of armed men to take possession of a rock called Serpents' Island, near the entrance to the Danube. This island was only valuable as the site of a lighthouse, useful for the Danubian trade, as well as that of Odessa; but England considered its occupation a violation of the treaty of Paris, by which it was restored to Turkey; and as an indication that Russia meant to assert, in the Black Sea, the supremacy which it had been one of the objects of the war to subvert. An English squadron was, therefore, sent into that sea, to remain till Serpents' Island was evacuated.

On the 9th of August, Napoleon returned to St. Cloud; and, on the 18th, with the empress and the imperial prince, departed for Biarritz. Before his departure, his imperial majesty created marshal Pelissier duke of Malakoff; and celebrated the *fête* of the 15th of August, by granting a full pardon to 240 civil prisoners, and commuting the punishments of 253. Similar acts of clemency were extended to 584 military offenders. The imperial family remained at Biarritz till the 30th of September; they reached Paris on the 2nd of October; and, on the 19th, left the capital again for Compiègne, where several grand hunting parties were given during their stay.

It was announced, in August, that count Kisseleff, minister of the household, had been again appointed ambassador from Russia, to the court of France. He did not arrive in Paris, however, till November. He presented his credentials to the emperor on the 12th, at the Tuileries, and was received with great courtesy. At the close of the ceremony, his majesty said, addressing the count—"As soon as the treaty of peace was signed, it became my constant care, without

weakening my former alliances, to modify, by kind acts (*adoucir par de bons procédés*), all that the strict execution of certain powers might make severe. I learned, with pleasure, that my ambassador at St. Petersburg, animated by these sentiments, had succeeded in winning the goodwill of the emperor Alexander. The same welcome, you may rest assured, awaits you here; because, independently of your own personal merits, you represent a sovereign who, knowing how nobly to impose silence on sad reminiscences, which war too often leaves behind, thinks only of the advantages of a sincere peace, by entertaining friendly relations."—Those relations, however, did not appear, at the moment, to be established on a very sound basis. In addition to the non-evacuation of Kars, and the occupation of Serpents' Island, the remodification of the frontier of Bessarabia, which the emperor of Russia, by the treaty of Paris, had agreed should take place, presented another cause of difference. That remodification had been, pursuant to that treaty, settled by commissioners of the allied powers, and Russia dissented from the line they had delineated; particularly to the cession of Bolgrade, which was included by that line in the territory of Moldavia. Both England and Austria insisted upon the complete execution of the commissioners' award; and whilst the former refused to withdraw her ships from the Black Sea till Bolgrade was ceded, and the Serpents' Island evacuated, Austria continued her military occupation of the Danubian principalities. France wished England to recall her ships; and that the Austrian troops should leave Moldavia and Wallachia; and the differences between the powers caused the usual interchange of diplomatic notes, with no result. In November, Russia proposed, that the questions in dispute should be referred to a conference of plenipotentiaries from all the contracting parties to the treaty of March 30th. This was assented to by the other powers; and it was agreed that the conference should take place at Paris—the plenipotentiaries to meet before the close of the year.

These circumstances—and the fact that France and England took different views of the conduct of Russia—caused some coolness between the two governments, only the year before such firm allies: a hostile feeling, also, began to supplant that of friendship between the two peoples, chiefly caused by the intemperate effusions of the press. Some English journals—prompted by the French red republican refugees—contained articles relative to the emperor and empress, which were perfectly unjustifiable; on the other hand, several French journals attacked the English government and people in various ways; ascribing to both almost every evil act and motive that could characterise one nation's conduct to another. These articles produced a

very bad effect in England, because it was known, that a hint from the Tuileries could have prevented their appearance. However, that hint was not given; and the belief became very general in England, that the emperor was tired of his alliance, and wished to break off his connexion with this country. This was an erroneous inference; for Napoleon seems to have had a sincere wish to continue on terms of intimate friendship with queen Victoria. It was, however, a very natural one; and was a consequence of the system adopted with respect to the French press. When it was seen that journals were "warned," and even entirely "suppressed," for articles reflecting upon acts of the government, it could not but be supposed that the language used with respect to England, was not unacceptable at the Tuileries.

M. Magne, the minister of finance, died soon after the prorogation of the legislature: his successor was M. Fould. This minister, before the year 1856 closed, published a report on the budget and civil list for 1857. It was to the effect, that extraordinary circumstances, in the past year, had occasioned the disbursement of large sums in acts of charity and munificence. This unforeseen expenditure had absorbed the entire surplus which remained from the civil list of the previous year; and he recommended the emperor, for the future, to restrain his liberality within the bounds of prudence.—This report had scarcely appeared, when another was published in the *Moniteur*, of the 30th of December, demanding a credit for 3,000,000*fr.* (£120,000), for public works in the provinces; and the report was followed by an imperial decree granting the money.

Before the year closed, a census of the population of the different departments was published; the total number of inhabitants, on the day the returns were taken, was 36,039,364.

The conference was opened on the 31st of December: it was composed of the ministers of the six powers—England, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey—resident at Paris; and count Walewski, the French minister for foreign affairs. They assembled at count Walewski's hôtel; and the purpose of their meeting was defined, by the *Moniteur*, to be—"To consult upon the means of putting an end to the difficulties which had interfered with the execution of Article 20, of the treaty of the 30th of March." The different cabinets had previously agreed upon the solution of the problem; and the plenipotentiaries had only to arrange the details. This was speedily done; for the new convention was drawn up, and the conference closed on the 6th of January, 1857. By this convention, it was decided, that the frontier line, dividing Bessarabia from Moldavia, should follow the valley of Trajan, up the river Yalpuck; that Bolgrade and Tobak should be ceded to Moldavia; and

that Russia should retain, on the right bank of the river, the town of Komrat, and about 300 versts square [140 square miles] of territory, containing 160,000 inhabitants. The territories to the west of the new boundary line to be re-established in their former situation, and annexed to Moldavia; the Delta of the Danube, to which the Isle of Serpents was adjudged to belong, to revert to Turkey. These boundaries were to be settled, and England to evacuate the Black Sea, and Austria the principalities, by the 30th of March. The commission for organising the future administration of the Danubian principalities, was then to enter upon its labours, and report to another conference to be held at Paris.

The New Year had scarcely opened; and the Parisians were still talking over the events, and examining the gifts, of *le Jour de l'An*, when they were startled by the murder of their archbishop, monsignore Sibour. On the 3rd of January, the prelate had assisted at the service of the mass, in the church of St. Etienne—had walked in procession from the chancel to the sacristy, and was in the act of turning round to bless the congregation—when a man rushed forward, threw up the cape of his robe, and exclaiming, "*A bas les Déesses!*" ran a large knife into his side. The prelate gave a loud scream as he fell to the ground, from whence he was carried into the sacristy, where M. Surat, the grand vicar, administered absolution. After he received the wound, he only uttered the words, "*Ah le malheureux!*" and died within the hour. The murderer did not attempt to escape. He was a Roman priest, named Vergès, who, for preaching against what he called "the foul doctrine," and "impious worship" of the immaculate conception, was finally suspended from exercising the functions of a priest—having, by former misconduct, brought upon himself the censure of his superiors, and been removed from his curacy of Servin. He was tried, on the 12th of January, for the crime, which, he said, he intended as another protest against the doctrine; and that was why he cried "*A bas les Déesses!*" He conducted himself with great violence in court; and an attempt was made to establish his insanity, which failed. He was executed on the 30th, when all his former violence had disappeared. The prelate whom he murdered was eminently liberal in his ecclesiastical opinions, and decidedly opposed to the followers of Loyola; besides being very amiable in the relations of private life. His assassination caused considerable excitement, and great grief, not only in Paris, but throughout France.—Cardinal Morlot succeeded him as archbishop of Paris.

On the 23rd of January, when England was carrying on a war with Persia, Ferouk Khan, an ambassador from the shah, was received at the Tuileries—sent by the court of Ispahan, to offer congratulations upon the friendly relations between France and Persia being again consolidated by

the treaty, which had been signed in 1855. The ambassador conveyed, in language more accordant with the simple diction of the Europeans, than the florid language of the East, the compliments and good wishes of his sovereign; and the emperor, in reply, expressed his satisfaction "at the conclusion of a treaty of commerce between the two countries, as commercial relations, firmly established, always cement the friendship of nations;" his "regret that war had broken out between Persia and one of his closest allies;" and his "most ardent wishes that the mission of Ferouk Khan might hasten the return of a lasting peace." A few days after, the treaty of commerce was published in the *Moniteur*. It placed France upon the level of the most favoured nation; her consuls to reside at Teheran, Bushire, and Tauris.*

The legislative session of 1857 opened on the 16th of February. The emperor's speech was much longer than those he had delivered for the last three or four years; resembling, in that respect, his addresses when president of the republic. His majesty took a favourable view of the state of the country, the prosperity of which, he said, was "an undeniable fact." "Notwithstanding the war and the dearth, the onward movement had not slackened. The product of the indirect taxes—the sure index of the public wealth—had surpassed, in 1856, by more than fifty millions, the amount, in itself so exceptional, of 1855. Since the establishment of the empire, those taxes had spontaneously increased, without taking new taxes into account, 250,000,000f. (£10,000,000). One portion of the community, nevertheless, must suffer greatly, unless Providence should send a good harvest; and for their distress, "the millions given in private charity and by the government, would be but feeble palliatives." The inundations of the previous year were mentioned; but everything, his majesty said, "led him to hope that science would ultimately succeed in conquering nature. It was, with him, a point of honour, that, in France, the rivers should be made to return, like the revolution, to their channels, no more to leave them." The senators and deputies were informed, that the loans had been sufficient to defray the expenses of the war; that the budget would be presented, duly balanced; and that all the departments of the public service would be provided for, without having recourse to public credit. Much of the then beneficial state of things, the emperor ascribed to "the devoted and active assistance the senate and deputies had afforded him since 1852;" and to the form of government—"based on the will and interests of the people"—they had enabled him to consolidate.

* The princess Lieven, who was, for so many years, one of the *élite* of London and Paris—mixing with, and exercising great influence upon, political and diplomatic circles—died at Paris, on the 26th of January.

"It was a difficult task to perform," he said, "to accustom the country to new institutions. To supersede the licentious freedom of the tribune, and those stirring contests that announce the fall or elevation of ministries, by free and calm, but serious debate, was a signal service to the country, and to liberty itself; for liberty had no enemy more formidable than excesses of passion, and violences of speech."

In its short session, the legislature provided for calling out 100,000 men as the annual contingent. The legislative body repealed a tax imposed during the war on registration dues, substituting a duty on moveable property; passed a project of law for bringing into cultivation the landes of Gascony; and sanctioned a complete military code, which the minister of war introduced, and which consolidated and harmonised all the scattered laws passed respecting the army since 1790. The war authorities made a considerable reduction in the army, though it was kept beyond a peace establishment; but the war estimates were not reduced, as the emperor announced, in his speech, on the 16th of February, that he should apply the saving made by the employment of fewer men, to improve the pay of the lower ranks of the line—a measure which the dearness of provisions rendered indispensable. He also raised the salaries of some of the officials in the civil departments; who, amidst the hardest privations, had set a good example of probity and devotedness. The grant of a dotation of 100,000*f.* (£4,000) a-year to the duke de Malakoff, was also one of the measures passed during the session. The last project of law before the chambers, was one for renewing, for thirty years, the charter of the Bank of France. There was considerable difference of opinion on one or two of the conditions of renewal, between the legislative body and the council of state, which was the cause of the measure being under discussion in the former assembly till almost the last day of its sitting. The law, as passed, doubled the capital of the bank, by allotting 91,250 new shares, at a fixed price of 1,100*f.* (£44) per share, to the holders of the original shares; and the bank, in return for the renewal of its privileges, undertook to keep a reserved fund, of not less than 100,000,000*f.* (£4,000,000); and to make advances to the treasury, not exceeding 80,000,000*f.* (£3,200,000).—The budget was laid before the legislative body soon after it assembled. The expenditure for 1858 was estimated at 1,717,156,190*f.* (£68,686,247); and the receipts at 1,737,115,171*f.* (£69,484,606); leaving a surplus of 19,958,981*f.* (£798,359). The expenditure showed a large increase upon that of 1857, notwithstanding the recommendations of the finance minister to observe economy; and the promises of the emperor to do so. The budget was adopted, however, unanimously, on the 22nd of May—242 members being present.

A conference was opened, at Paris, on the 5th of March, to adjust serious differences which had arisen between Prussia and Switzerland, respecting the principality of Neufchâtel—a small canton, embracing portions of the heights of the Jura, and the western shores of the beautiful lake which bears its name. This principality was restored to Prussia by the treaty of 1815; but it was, at the same time, annexed as a canton to Switzerland. In 1848, the inhabitants threw off the Prussian connection; and the principality remained, from that time, really independent, though, nominally, a part of the Prussian monarchy. The king of Prussia put his cause into the hands of his allies, being willing to give up the substantial power, if he retained the nominal honorary title of prince of Neufchâtel. A protocol was signed in London, during lord Derby's administration in 1852, for submitting the matter to negotiation; the king undertaking, in the meantime, not to take any other measures to support his claim. But lord Derby went out of office; the negotiation did not take place; and, in September, 1856, some parties in Neufchâtel raised a royalist insurrection, for the purpose of restoring the authority of Prussia. This movement was put down by a Swiss military force; and a good many prisoners were taken. Hence angry discussions arose between the two countries, which were very nearly ending in war. Hostilities were averted by the interference of France and England; and the contending powers assented to the conference. It was held at the hôtel of the minister for foreign affairs; and attended by count Walewski, for France; lord Cowley, for England; count Kisseleff, for Russia; baron Hubner, for Austria; count de Hatzfeldt, for Prussia; and Dr. Kern for Switzerland. There was great difficulty in coming to any adjustment, as Prussia and Switzerland made separate propositions, which were met by others from the four mediating powers. At length, in the *Moniteur* of the 27th of May, it was announced, that, on the previous day, a treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries, regulating, in a definitive manner, the Neufchâtel question, by the renunciation, on the part of the king of Prussia, of the sovereign rights which treaties had given him over the principality—the Swiss government engaging to respect the independence of the inhabitants; and to grant an amnesty to all parties concerned in the insurrection of the previous September.

On the 30th of April, the grand-duke Constantine arrived in Paris, and was welcomed by an immense crowd. His highness's arrival was the signal for *fêtes* and rejoicings—the emperor, at that time, being very anxious to stand on good terms with the imperial family of Romanoff. A grand review of the garrison of Paris, which comprised 50,000 men of all arms, was held, on the 6th of May, in honour of the

grand-duke. His highness left Paris on the 17th of May; and, on the following day, the king of Bavaria arrived. These royal visits were very gratifying to the emperor, who, though he appeared to glory in the title of "parvenu" (from the use he more than once made of it), had, nevertheless, a great desire to be considered as standing upon a footing of intimate friendship with the members of the imperial and royal families of Europe.

During May, violent storms and extensive inundations again devastated the interior departments of France. At Verdun, the intensity of the rain, and fury of the wind, exceeded anything remembered by the oldest inhabitant. The communes of Beaufort, Luneville, Sternay, Cesse, Luzy, and Martincourt, all suffered. At Beaufort, nothing—not even a single ear of wheat—escaped the devastating effects of the elements: and the crops of flax, the principal support of the inhabitants, were entirely destroyed. Enormous hailstones fell; and in one street in Beaufort, not a single pane of glass was left unbroken. The church was also stripped of its slates, as if it had been battered by grape-shot. Tarbes, more to the south, was similarly visited; and the communes of Juillan, Azereix, Odos, Horgues, St. Juan, Passavant, Aissey, Guillon, Villiers-le-Sec, Hyevre-Pareise, Bois-la-Ville, Audincourt, Valentigney, Mandeure, and Sochaux, all suffered. The most violent storms occurred on the 22nd and 23rd of May.

The legislative body was prorogued on the 28th of May; and dissolved on the 29th. On that occasion, the *Moniteur* took a review of its labours; and thus summed up its claims to the gratitude of the country.—"If it has indulged in less noise than other deliberative bodies, it has accomplished its duties all the better; and has taken a more considerable part in all the good that has been performed during that memorable period. Despoiled of the dangerous privilege of making and unmaking ministries—of obstructing the march of government—of transforming the tribune into a pedestal for ambitious vanity—the legislative body has deliberated on all projects of law amidst the silence of political passions, in the most complete independence of the influence of government, as well as of political parties. In losing the right to interrupt the debate by amendments, which often overrun the meaning of a proposal, the deputies have not forfeited that of modifying or rejecting measures of which they disapprove. Never, on the contrary, has the right of introducing amendments been exercised more extensively, or more efficiently—never has the examination of projects of law been more profound—never have contradictory opinions on important projects been offered with greater liberty or talent.

The elections were ordered to take place on the 21st of June, and to continue two days. A

senatus consultum fixed the number of deputies at 267; being one for every 35,000 electors; and an additional deputy for those communes in which the number of voters, though not reaching 70,000, exceeded 52,500. On the 1st of June, the minister of the interior issued a circular to the prefects respecting the elections. He told them, the "emperor called to the ballot 9,000,000* of electors, and demanded from all of them a free and loyal vote;" as he "desired the free and sincere practice of universal suffrage." The votes were to be secret—the balloting urns would be openly examined—"the truth and independence of voting were therefore guaranteed." Having given these details, the minister said—"In presence of this liberty secured to all, and when candidates and electors can all proclaim their preferences, the government cannot alone remain silent and indifferent. It will state frankly to the country the names of those who enjoy its confidence, and who appear to merit that of the people; as it proposes laws to the deputies, it will propose candidates to the electors, and the latter will make their selection." The minister stated, that "the government considered it just and politic, to present for re-election all the members" of the late legislative body, "which had so well seconded the emperor, and served the country:" but, "in face of those openly avowed candidatures, opposition ones might be freely started;" and "the candidate and the elector would enjoy perfect freedom. If, nevertheless," said the minister, "the enemies of public peace should think of finding in this latitude, an opportunity for a seditious protest against the institutions—if they should attempt to make of it an instrument of disturbance or annoyance"—then "the prefect would know his duties, and justice would as severely perform her's."

This course the French government has adopted at subsequent elections—of proposing its own candidates; supporting them by every species of influence it could command, and throwing every impediment in the way of the opposition. At first, the press was prohibited from commenting upon the circular, and the course the government proposed to pursue; but the prohibition was soon removed; and the papers took up the question with great warmth. Those in the interest of the government eulogised the emperor and his measures, and supported his men; whilst the legitimist, Orleanist, and red and moderate republican journals, all contended, that there could be no fair play for any candidate not recommended by the government, and supported by the prefects.—The discussion continued till the elections took place; the result of which was in accordance with all the former appeals to universal suffrage. The total number of votes recorded, was 6,136,664.

* The number on the lists was 9,446,955.

Of these, 5,471,888 were for the government; 571,859 for the opposition; and 92,917 were lost; 3,359,291 electors abstained from voting. Very few opposition candidates were returned. The department of the Seine, however, chose five out of ten—general Cavaignac, MM. Goudchaux, Ollier, Darimon, and Carnot—to the great mortification of the government.

On the 24th of June, the emperor left Paris for Plombières, accompanied by M. Mocquard, his private secretary; general Fleury, aide-de-camp; and M. de Latour d'Auvergne. He remained there till the end of July, discarding, during that time, all attention to business, as far as it was possible; but he found that he could not, altogether, abstain from attention to public affairs. Notwithstanding his undoubted popularity, secret conspiracies, not only against his authority, but his life, had been constantly at work from the time of the *coup-d'état*. We have already seen their effect in former years. In 1857, in consequence of communications made to the police, repeated arrests were made in January and February; and, in the last week of March, seventy or eighty persons were taken into custody. In the first week of May, a number of those arrested were tried, on a charge of having formed part of a secret society, organised to create an insurrectionary movement, on the 24th of February, in the Place de la Bastille. A conflict was to be provoked by one of the conspirators throwing a wreath of flowers at the base of the column of July. He was to stab the police agent, who would attempt to arrest him; and this was to have been the signal for one band to have rushed to the neighbouring guard-house, and seized the muskets; while another went to the *cafés*, where, it was arranged, leaders would be found, and the number of conspirators increased. The plan was frustrated by the arrest of seven persons, on the Place de la Bastille, on the day the conspiracy was to have exploded: daggers, pistols, and cartridges were found upon them. Others were subsequently arrested; and fourteen were put upon their trial, which concluded on the 8th of May. Two were acquitted; the other twelve were found guilty, and sentenced to fines and imprisonment, of various amount and duration—the heaviest punishment being inflicted on one Pilette, a barrister, who was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment, and a fine of 1,000*f*. In June, a number of workmen were tried, and several were convicted, and sentenced to various punishments, for belonging to a secret society, called the *Militante*, whose object was also to overthrow the government.

On the 10th of June the police became aware that the conspiracy had extensive ramifications. It was ascertained, that some of the French refugees in London, and several Italians, were agents in the revolutionary movement; which

embraced, not only France, but Italy, Hungary, and Spain: in all those countries the leading men were to be assassinated, and republics established. But the French police were on the alert. About thirty Italians were arrested at Marseilles, and on the frontiers of the Var, of the Jura, and of Switzerland; and the insurrection which broke out in Naples and Genoa, was arrested in France. Letters from Mazzini, and a key to his cypher, were found upon some of the prisoners; and were sent to the emperor at Plombières, who had to turn his attention to the best means of providing for the safety of the present, and the security of the future.

As the particulars connected with the arrests and the conspiracy began to gain publicity; and when the day was fixed for bringing some of the prisoners to trial, attention was directed to the origin of the revolutionary movement: and the press, generally, pointed to one source. "Every attempt that has been made in France," it was remarked by a writer in the *Pays*, of July 14th, "has been made by Italians; and the men who will appear at the bar of the assize court of the Seine, next month, are also Italians. Such a state of things calls for a vigorous repression. It is from London that all these attempts emanate, and it is in London that the evil must be attacked at its source. Energetic measures are called for to give satisfaction to the interest of nations allied to England, and to the public conscience, which has been so long outraged by revolutionary excesses." This feeling, that the protection afforded to refugees in England, was too general and indiscriminating, gained ground in France; and a very decided expression was given to it a few months subsequently.

On the 6th of August, three Italians—Tibaldi, Bartolotti, and Grilli—were tried, at Paris, for participating in the conspiracy against the life of the emperor. From the statements published, it appears that the plot was formed by four individuals—Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Campanelli, and Massarenti. These men were represented, in the "act of accusation," to be residing in London, where they conceived and organised their conspiracy, which they called "the affair of Paris;" and it was determined to send four emissaries to the French capital to execute it—two to go together; and one party was to act independently of the other. Bartolotti and Grilli formed one of these parties; and Tibaldi was charged with being the medium through which, in Paris, they were furnished with arms. The chief evidence produced was intercepted letters, signed "Gisi," "Joseph," and "Giuseppe," which were said to be written by Mazzini; and the confession of Grilli, who acknowledged that he met Massarenti at a tavern in London, who told him that Mazzini would give him fifty Napoleons to assassinate the emperor: the affair was finally arranged with him, Bartolotti,

Massarenti, and Mazzini. The latter told Grilli and Bartolotti to make themselves acquainted with the habits of the emperor, and to strike the blow whenever they found a favourable opportunity. Massarenti gave each of them fifty Napoleons. After two days' trial, the three prisoners were found guilty: Tibaldi was sentenced to transportation; and Bartolotti and Grilli to fifteen years' imprisonment.—Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Massarenti, and Campanelli, were, on the 3rd of September, tried, according to French forms, in their absence; found guilty, and sentenced to deportation.

The emperor returned to Paris on the 29th of July: * he and the empress left the capital, a few days after, for England; and, on the 6th of August, they arrived at Osborne, on a visit to queen Victoria. Count Walewski accompanied the emperor; and they were met at Osborne by count de Persigny, lord Palmerston, and the earl of Clarendon. The visit was strictly private; there were no "receptions," no *fêtes*, no presentation of addresses; and the imperial pair quitted the Isle of Wight on the 10th. It was confidently stated, in the French papers, that several political questions were discussed during this visit; the most important being connected with a schism that had arisen between France, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia, and the Porte, on the question of the future government of Moldavia and Wallachia. The inhabitants of the two principalities wished to see them united under one head—a course to which the sultan was decidedly opposed. The wants and wishes of the Moldavians and Wallachians were to be made known through two elective assemblies. The elections to the Moldavian assembly were alleged to have taken place under improper influence and interference; and the French, Russian, Prussian, and Sardinian ambassadors, at Constantinople (who supported the union of the principalities), demanded that they should be annulled. The Porte, supported by the British and Austrian ministers, refused to comply with this demand; and the ambassadors of the other four powers took down their flags, and suspended their diplomatic intercourse with the sultan. At Osborne, it was arranged that the state of these principalities should again come before the Parisian conference for final arrangement; and that the Moldavian elections should be annulled—thus giving a triumph to French diplomacy in the East. On the 4th of September the flags were again mounted at the embassies, and diplomatic relations resumed, as a consequence of the above arrangement.

The emperor reached Paris again previously to the 14th of August. That day was appointed for the inauguration of the new buildings, uniting the Louvre with the Tuileries; which, begun

* Beranger, the celebrated lyric poet of France, died at Paris, on the 16th of July.

in 1853, had been just brought to a conclusion. The day was one of great festivity. At 6 o'clock A.M. there was a salvo of artillery from the Invalides. Soon after, provisions were liberally distributed to the poor of Paris; and towards eight, the churches were filled—it being also the *fête* of the Assumption. The theatres were opened gratuitously to the public; and a military pantomime, representing a victory of the French army in the recent campaign against the Kabyles, was represented in the Champ-de-Mars. In the grounds of the palace there was a banquet, which is described as having "the air of a '*fête de famille*,' as much as that of a national demonstration, for all distinction of rank was, at that moment, obliterated; and the minister and the workman sat side by side at the same table." The admixture of court costumes, covered with stars, with the simple blouses of the workmen, had a singular appearance. The emperor was present; and after the banquet, he invested the directors of the works, and many of the workmen, with decorations. In doing so, he alluded to the character of the works; and congratulated those present on the completion of "a truly national undertaking, ardently desired by all classes of Frenchmen for a period of three centuries."—The *fête* of the 15th of August was celebrated as usual: and although the day was very wet, immense crowds assembled at the Barrière du Trône, in the Champ-de-Mars, where the military pantomime, performed on the previous day, was repeated. The theatres were again open gratuitously, and were crowded, as usual. The emperor had had a medal struck commemorative of the French victories, from 1792—1815, to be distributed to the surviving soldiers and sailors who served during the period. Some of those veterans received this medal on the 15th; and, on the following day, the emperor assembled a number of officers round him at the Tuileries—including prince Jerome and marshal Vaillant, the minister at war—on whom he conferred the decoration with his own hands.

On the 17th of August, the emperor and empress left Paris for Biarritz, where the former remained a week, and returned to Paris. A resident in the French capital at that time, remarks, that "the unwearied activity of the emperor—one day at Biarritz, the next at the Tuileries, and then shooting at St. Germain—is very generally remarked. He travels by night, and works by day, and his labours are not the lightest; for though he has the greatest confidence in his ministers, yet every movement of the huge state machine is regulated by himself."

A splendid camp had been forming, during the summer, at Chalons, and was brought to a conclusion in August. It attracted a great many tourists, military and civil. All were

struck with the tent of the emperor, which was, in reality, a palace; and excited general admiration. The camp was connected with the town by a railway; and the aspect of the vast plain, by which Chalons is surrounded, was changed, as if by magic, from the dreary to the romantic. A theatre, called "the Theatre of the Prince Imperial," was erected, where soldiers trod the stage, and where the emperor had to pay the fifty centimes charged for admission.—His majesty went to Chalons early in September. On his arrival he issued a general order to the troops, recommending that strict attention to discipline which would render "the camp not a vain spectacle, offered to public curiosity; but a serious school, that could be turned to profit, by persevering labour; which would make the result of their studies evident, if ever their country should need them."—His majesty led a very regular life at the camp. He rose early, and spent the morning in his cabinet. From noon till 3 P.M., during which time the troops were engaged at their exercise, he was on horseback. He then retired to his cabinet again, till the dinner hour, half-past six, arrived. Covers were laid every day for thirty; there were about 150 superior officers in the camp, and each was invited in his turn. After dinner, some whist tables were formed; but the party did not remain late. While the emperor was in his cabinet, the telegraph was generally kept actively at work.

On the 17th of September, the duke of Cambridge visited the camp, and remained several days—military reviews and *fêtes* taking place in his honour. After his departure, on the 23rd, the emperor left Chalons for Stuttgart, to meet the emperor of Russia. He arrived at the capital of Würtemberg on the 25th; and was received by the king at the railway station. There was, also, a great concourse of the inhabitants there, and in the streets through which the *cortège* passed to the palace; whose shouts, and other joyous demonstrations, indicated the pleasure with which they hailed their imperial visitor. The emperor of Russia had arrived the previous day; and on the evening of the 26th, the party was increased by the unexpected presence of the empress of Russia and the queen of Greece.—Napoleon remained at Stuttgart till the 29th. He was attended by count Walewski, and the emperor of Russia by prince Gortschakoff. Emperors and ministers had repeated conferences, the tendency of which can only be guessed at; as "no chiel" was present, "taking notes," at the interviews.—A

* The duchess de Nemours died October 28th: she was daughter of the grand-duke Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; and was, consequently, cousin to her majesty and the prince consort. She was married in 1840; and died a few days after giving birth to a daughter: leaving three other children—the count d'Eu,

letter from Stuttgart says—"In the matter of popularity, both with the court and the people, the emperor Napoleon has made infinitely greater progress than the emperor Alexander. It is assumed, that the empress of Russia, and her sisters-in-law, were averse to the empress Eugénie's appearing here, from the apprehensions, that her greater youth, beauty, and mental attainments would throw them into the shade, and compel them to acknowledge the personal superiority of one whom they regard as an inferior."—When the emperor left Stuttgart, he returned to Chalons, where he was joined by the empress; and a grand review of the troops, on the 8th of October, preceded the partial breaking-up of the camp, which took place on the 12th: 5,000 men remained there, in huts, through the winter.

When count Walewski returned to Paris from Stuttgart, he issued a circular to the French ambassadors at the different courts of Europe, informing them, that a complete *entente cordiale* had been established between France and Russia; that the two emperors were resolved to maintain, by all possible means, the peace of Europe; and to use every endeavour to bring about a good understanding between all the European powers: further, it was hoped, that, through the exertions of the French emperor, and loyal explanations from all parties, a cordial reconciliation would be effected between England and Russia.

The centre of France was again subjected to inundations in the autumn; which, in many districts, particularly in the valley of the Arderlie, were, in the month of October, most disastrous. Several villages were swept away; and the loss in grain and cattle was very great. At Besseges, the houses were filled with water to the first storey; 450 feet of the quay of the railroad were carried away; and walls, twelve feet thick, were levelled with the ground. The bridge of Lalle was destroyed; the coal-mines were filled with water; and several manufactories were so injured, that it was some time before they could resume work. Though not so extensive in its devastations as the floods of 1856, this of 1857 was equally disastrous in the district over which it extended.*

On the 11th of November, the death of M. Abbaticci vacated the office of keeper of the seals and minister of justice. A state funeral was accorded to him on the 14th; and, on the 17th, M. de Royer, procureur-general of the Court of Cassation, was appointed his successor. He was succeeded, as procureur-general, by M.

the duke d'Alençon, and the princess Marguerite.—General Cavaignac, who took such a conspicuous part in the events of 1848, and at the last election had been elected a member of the legislative body for the department of the Seine, died on the 29th of October—creating a vacancy for that department.

Dupin, who had before held that office; but who resigned it when the estates of the Orleans family were confiscated, in 1852. His resumption of it did not raise him in public opinion.

The newly-elected legislative body met on the 28th of November. The emperor was not present; but M. Fould, the minister of state, read a short message from his majesty; in which he merely announced, that, after the verification of their powers, the chamber would be prorogued to the 18th of January, 1858.—The count de Morny, the president, also addressed his colleagues; telling them, that “the firm establishment of the credit and the commerce of France had proved their solidity; and the nation was now reaping the fruits of its prudence. France, after three successive loans—after three years of scanty harvests—having followed up the execution of public works, and having endowed Paris with wonderful monuments—was not touched with the disasters which afflicted so many other states. All this indicated prodigious resources, and must give to the whole world a high idea of her power.”—The deputies, after the count concluded, proceeded to take the oath, which was refused by MM. Goudchaux and Carnot, who, in consequence, could not take their seats. The chamber was prorogued, when that business was got through, to the day mentioned in his majesty’s message.

This year M. de Lesseps brought prominently forward his plan for uniting the Mediterranean and Red Sea, by cutting a canal across the isthmus of Suez. Such a means of communication had been long talked about; and it had been brought under notice, in the report of what was called an “internal commission,” appointed, in 1855, to inquire into the best means of forming a junction between the two seas. That commission, on the 3rd of January, 1856, reported to the viceroy in favour of a canal across the isthmus. The idea was taken up by M. Lesseps; but, from the first, the project met with no encouragement in England; and, on being applied to, lord Palmerston positively refused to give it his support or sanction. As M. de Lesseps progressed, it appeared that his scheme was likely to excite considerable division among the cabinets. Russia and Sardinia were favourable; but M. de Buol, on the part of Austria, admitting that the canal, if constructed, would be advantageous to commerce, declared that grave political measures were involved in the proceeding, which required great consideration. The viceroy of Egypt was, personally, favourable to the canal; but the consent of the sultan, as suzerain, was requisite; and that was withheld. The affair, however, was taken up energetically by the French authorities; and the projector did not despair of success, notwithstanding the decided and powerful opposition he had to encounter.

The opposition given by England to the Suez canal—united with the differences of opinion manifested by the English and French governments upon the question of the Danubian principalities, and on some other points—caused a revival of the old feeling of enmity to this country, to a considerable extent, amongst the French people. It was especially manifest in the press. It was the year in which the Indian mutiny broke out, and the French journals exulted in the crimes of the sepoys; attributing their conduct to the misgovernment of the East India Company, and predicting nothing but loss and dishonour to England from the war. One Paris journal, the *Union*, proposed that India should be converted into an Asiatic Poland—taken from England, and divided amongst the commercial nations of Europe and America. There were only two papers—the *Journal des Débats* and the *Presse*—that attempted to render justice between England and her dependencies in the East. The emperor did not share this feeling. He was desirous of aiding and assisting his ally in any way that circumstances would admit of; and a subscription being opened in London, for the relief of the sufferers by the mutiny, his majesty, on the 6th of September, transmitted, through the count de Persigny, £1,000 as his personal contribution to the fund; and £400 “subscribed by his family.” In his letter to M. de Persigny, conveying the money, the emperor said, “We have not forgotten the generous subscription of the queen and the English people at the time of the inundations.”

With the other European countries (except Austria), France was, at the close of 1857, upon the most friendly terms. Prince Napoleon had visited the court of Berlin in May, and established an excellent understanding between the king of Prussia and the emperor.—With respect to Russia, as the emperor took the same views as the czar on the Eastern questions, in their then aspect—Alexander was quite disposed to a closer alliance; and his amicable feeling resulted in a treaty of commerce and navigation between France and Russia, which was signed at St. Petersburg, on the 14th of June, by count Morny and prince Gortschakoff. It replaced the treaty of 1846, and contained stipulations, which, it was anticipated, would largely extend the exchanges already made between the two countries. Besides abolishing the extra duties previously levied on goods on board French vessels; guaranteeing the marks on French manufactures from imitation; and laying down the principle of a convention, embracing literary and artistic property—the treaty conferred on French subjects the privilege of acquiring real property in Russia; and placed them upon the same footing as natives, with regard to imposts and taxes of all kinds.

Algeria was again visited by war in 1857; the Kabyles, who had submitted, and entered into engagements with the French government, endeavouring to free themselves from the yoke of the invader. The tribe of Beni-Raten was the first to move. The leaders of that tribe are charged with having violated their engagements; set at nought obligations which they had accepted; raised the standard of insurrection; excited disturbance in their own country, and attacked the tribe of Tizi-Ouzou.* That tribe was joined by several others; and the insurrection spread so widely, that an army of 24,000 men, divided into three columns, each with its complement of cavalry and artillery, was deemed necessary to subdue it. Marshal Randon, who arrived at Algiers on the 10th of May, took the chief command. Before he put the troops in motion, he issued a proclamation to the Kabyles; offering all the tribes, except that of Beni-Raten, pardon and oblivion for the past, if they desired it, as they had only been led astray. To that tribe, who had sought for the struggle, it was announced, that punishment must be meted out before clemency was granted. The territory of the Beni-Ratens was attacked on three points, on the 23rd of May, by the columns under generals Renault, McMahon, and Jusuf. In these Algerine campaigns, the strategic operations varied little. The Arabs always took up their position upon one of the many lines of hills with which the country abounds, and retreated from height to height as the enemy pressed upon them. When they reached the highest points, they fought desperately—often for a long time after hope had fled; for the superior arms and tactics of the French gave them advantages which the Arabs could not overcome, except when they had greatly the superiority in numbers, which was seldom the case. In the campaign of 1857, the three attacks were successful: the Arabs defended their positions with obstinacy; but they were driven from them with great loss. The French also suffered considerably, having one officer and 64 privates killed; and three officers and 414 privates wounded. After these successes, marshal Randon stationed his outposts on the verge of the central territory of Kabylia. There was another engagement on the 25th of May, when the Beni-Ratens, again defeated, made their submission, agreeing to pay 700,000f. (£28,000) towards the expenses of the war; to construct a road across their territory; and to deliver up two hostages from each village, as guarantees for their observance of peace. The other tribes, shortly after, gave in their submission;

* Proclamation of marshal Randon.

and the construction of roads, and of a powerful fortress, by which the permanent occupation of the district was to be secured, were commenced. The road was so planned as to open to commerce, and to military movements, the whole of the districts lately attacked. The fortress was erected in the centre of Kabylia, and called Fort Napoleon. It was connected with Algiers by electric telegraph; and the command given to general Chapuis.—In the course of the following month, the Beni-Menguillet and the Beni-Yeni—the two most formidable tribes in Kabylia—were attacked and subdued. On the 25th of June, marshal Randon informed the minister of war, that two divisions of the army had ascended to the top of the mountains; that the two villages of Ait Larba and Sidi Lassen, the largest in all Kabylia, were vigorously carried; and that the French “were masters of the entire country.”—General Montauban was equally successful against some tribes in Oran, which had commenced hostilities; and in July, marshal Randon returned to Algiers, addressing a proclamation to the troops before he left them; in which he stated, that there was not a single tribe which was not subject to French law: “from the crests of the Djurdjura, in the very depths of the south, the flag of France waved victoriously, and the name of the emperor was bowed to with respect.”

The construction of railways was first commenced in Algeria in 1857. In April, the minister of war made a report to the emperor on the subject; recommending that the first lines laid out should be—first, a line running parallel to the sea, and uniting the chief towns in the three provinces; and, secondly, lines starting from the principal ports, and joining the first line, so as to place Bona and Philippeville in communication with Constantina; Bougia with Setif; Tenez with Orleansville; and Mostaganem and Arzew with Pelizane. Three other lines were suggested as likely to command such a traffic as must ensure success: viz.—1st, between Algiers, Blidah, and Amourah, serving the great Arab markets of the plain of the Chetiff; 2nd, between Constantina and Philippeville, now the most frequented commercial transit; and 3rd, between Oran and St. Denis du Sig, which would convey the rich productions of the surrounding plains. It was recommended, by the minister, that the lines should be conceded to private companies, on certain conditions. The emperor accepted the report; measures were taken to carry it out; and, ere long, the first railroad was commenced; and the above, and some others, are, we believe, now [close of 1861] in working operation.

CHAPTER XI.

OPENING OF 1858; GAIETY IN THE CAPITAL; TREATY WITH SIAM; ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE EMPEROR; ARREST OF THE ASSASSINS; DETAILS OF THEIR PLOT; THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ATTEMPT; CONGRATULATIONS TO THEIR MAJESTIES; OPENING OF THE LEGISLATURE; FEELING AGAINST ENGLAND; ITS EFFECT IN THAT COUNTRY; COUNT WALEWSKI'S DESPATCH OF THE 20TH OF JANUARY; THE ENGLISH CONSPIRACY BILL; DEFEAT AND RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTRY; FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE ON THE REFUGEE QUESTION; TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE CONSPIRATORS; ORSINI'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR; THE REGENCY; LAW OF PUBLIC SAFETY; RESIGNATION OF M. BILLAULT; THE FIVE MILITARY DEPARTMENTS; INSURRECTIONARY MOVEMENTS; THE DUKE OF MALAKOFF, AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND; MINISTRY OF ALGIERS AND THE COLONIES APPOINTED; THE QUEEN AT CHERBOURG; THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES; NAVIGATION OF THE DANUBE; TRIAL OF MONTALEMBERT; DIFFERENCE WITH SWITZERLAND AND PORTUGAL; WAR WITH CHINA.

A GENTLEMAN, writing from Paris on the 2nd of January, 1858, says, the *Jour de l'An* was, perhaps, never kept a stricter holiday in the French capital, than it had been on the previous day. The people crowded the streets; all the shops were closed, except those where *bon-bons* and other new-year's gifts were disposed of; and for those articles there was an immense demand. The emperor and the empress, at twelve o'clock, proceeded, in state, to the chapel of the Tuileries, where they heard mass. After the religious ceremony they held a reception, which was numerously attended. The emperor appeared very affable; he conversed with several of the ambassadors—his language being conciliatory, and strongly expressive of a feeling that the peace of Europe would not be disturbed. The weather had set in intensely cold, and its severity continued for several weeks. The Seine, from the archbishop's palace to the lock of the Monnaie; the canal St. Martin, the reservoirs in the grounds of the Tuileries, and the lake in the Bois de Boulogne, were frozen over. The ice was thick and strong; it was covered daily by the numerous skaters; whilst elegant sledges were seen in the Bois de Boulogne and on the Boulevards—the empress frequently using these pleasant winter vehicles, when she recovered from a slight indisposition, which kept her within the palace for the first two or three days of January. In the interior the cold was as intense as at Paris; it produced a scarcity of employment, and caused much distress; but this did not interfere with the gaieties of the capital, where a most brilliant season was anticipated—more than the usual number of *fêtes* being announced: even some of the old noble families, whose *salons* had been closed since 1830, declared their intention to give a series of routs and balls.

The attention of some few people in Paris was drawn from the surrounding gaieties, by the publication, in the *Moniteur* of the 11th of January, of a treaty, which had been concluded between France and Siam on the 15th of August, 1856; and the ratifications of which were exchanged at Bangkok on the 24th of August, 1857. It provided for the import of French

merchandise into Siamese ports, at a maximum duty of three per cent.; for the unimpeded preaching of French missionaries all over the kingdom; for the right of the French to buy land in Siam, and to employ the Siamese in their service; and for the protection of Siamese subjects by French consuls and ships of war abroad. The next announcement in the official journal had reference to a very different subject.

The public were informed, through the usual channels, that, on the evening of Thursday, the 14th of January, the emperor and empress would attend the performances at the Italian Opera. The usual preparations were made for their reception; and at half-past eight the *cortège* arrived at the theatre. The first carriage, occupied by officers of the emperor's household, had passed the peristyle, and was followed by a squadron of the imperial guard, escorting the carriage which contained their majesties and general Roguet, one of the emperor's aides-de-camp. That carriage had reached the entrance; and the coachman had slackened his pace, being about to drive into the reserved passage at the extremity of the peristyle. Just at that moment, an explosion, resembling the discharge of a cannon, was heard. It was followed, at the interval, perhaps, of a minute between each, by two others. The effect of the first was to extinguish the gas-lights in front of the theatre; and the second and third followed so rapidly, that there was no time to alight from the carriage till after the last. At that moment, as may be well imagined, all was confusion. The third explosion had taken place under the imperial carriage, which was slightly raised up, and considerably shattered. The emperor was struck by one of the fragments in the face, and slightly scarred; the empress received a scratch under the left eye, from a piece of glass from the carriage window; and general Roguet was severely cut, near the ear: his wound bled considerably.

The shock had scarcely subsided, when the carriage door was violently forced open, and two men presented themselves; one of whom said, there was no time to be lost, and their majesties must descend at once. The empress,

thinking the men were assassins, covered her face with her hands, and exclaimed, "*Nous sommes perdus.*" The emperor retained his self-possession; and remarked, "The step is not let down for me to get out." One of the men was a police agent, the other an outrider of the emperor's; and finding they were friends, the empress immediately rallied. Both their majesties got out of the carriage, and, followed by general Roguet, proceeded to enter the theatre. A numerous audience was assembled to witness the performances; which, singular enough, consisted of selections from *Guillaume Tell*; *Gustave* (king of Sweden, assassinated at a masked ball); *Marie Stuart* (put to death by queen Elizabeth); and *La Muette di Portici* (founded on the insurrection at Naples, under Masaniello). The detonations had been heard in the interior, following each other with great rapidity. They were, at first, attributed to explosions of gas in the theatre; and the audience rose in great alarm, many of them preparing to make their escape. "It was in the midst of the general consternation, and when, as yet, the real nature of the imminent danger which their majesties had incurred, had not transpired, that the august personages made their appearance; and a knowledge of the dreadful attempt became, like lightning, disseminated through the house. Then arose such a shout of congratulation as no person who heard it will ever forget, followed by the most energetic expressions of indignation. Their majesties seemed the most composed persons of all the numerous assemblage—the empress rivalling the emperor in perfect tranquillity of demeanour."* The performance proceeded, and their majesties remained till the close, which did not take place till half-past twelve o'clock. When they departed, they found that the occupants of the houses in the neighbourhood had spontaneously illuminated them, to express their joy at the really wonderful escape of their majesties; and as the imperial *cortège* passed along the Boulevards to the Tuileries, loud cheers arose from the people, who had collected in great numbers on the route.

Whilst the performances were going on, the police were employed in looking after the assassins, and in assisting the wounded persons, who were found to be very numerous: in the latter task they were zealously seconded by medical men, and by those of the crowd who were unhurt. It soon became known that the police had been prepared for some attempt upon the imperial person. Several months previously, information had been received from Jersey, to the effect that a plot had been concerted to assassinate the emperor by fulminating grenades, of a power hitherto unknown, which would explode by striking against the pavement; and were to be thrown under the impe-

* Galignani.

rial carriage. Time passed away, however; the attempt was not made; and the announced plot was, probably, forgotten. But, a few days before the 14th of January, the government was informed, in a communication from London, that "a man named Pierri, a native of Florence, and formerly an officer in the Italian legion, had just quitted England, for the purpose of carrying into execution a plot concocted against the life of the emperor." A later communication stated, that Pierri had "proceeded to Paris, by way of Lille, accompanied by an elderly man, and carrying with him a machine of hollow cast-iron." A description of Pierri's person accompanied the first communication; and he was arrested in the Rue Lepelletier (in which the opera-house stands) a few minutes only before the first explosion. A fulminating shell was found upon his person, with a five-barrelled revolver, loaded and capped; a Bank of England note for £20, and 375f. in French money. Soon after, a six-barrelled revolver, also loaded and capped, with marks of blood upon it, was picked up by a *sergent-de-ville*, in the Rue Rossini, near the spot where Pierri was apprehended.

The police, in making their search, after the explosions, entered a refreshment-house kept by a man named Broggi; and there they found a young man, who seemed to be greatly distressed: he was shedding tears; and some words he dropped about his master, caused him to be arrested. The account he gave of himself was, that he was an Englishman named Swiney; that he served a Mr. Allsop, also an Englishman; and that he lived at the Hôtel de Saxe-Cobourg, Rue St. Honoré. On going there, and searching his room, a passport, in the name of Swiney, was found. From information he gave, the police then went to No. 10, Rue Monthabor, where a man called Thomas Allsop was discovered in bed. A passport, in that name, a visiting card, with the same name, and 8,125f. in money, were in his portmanteau. Allsop, who had a wound in his head, was also taken into custody.—Another party of the police had gone to the Hôtel de France et Champagne, Rue Montmartre, where Pierri had said he lodged, with a companion. In a double-bedded room in that hôtel, a man was in bed, half dressed, who said his name was Silva. He proved to be Pierri's friend; and being also arrested, the four were lodged, for the night, in the prison de Mazas.—Several other persons were taken into custody during the night, on suspicion; but, after examination, only the above four were detained for trial.

It appeared that they were Italians; that the real name of the pretender Allsop was Felice Orsini; that of Swiney, Antonio Gomez; and that of Silva, Carlo de Rudio. They had all been connected with those Italians who had, for so many years, been endeavouring to free

their country from the yoke of Austria; and Orsini was a member of the secret society of the Carbonari, to which the emperor of France had belonged. The plan to assassinate his majesty, there can be little doubt, had been formed because he had broken his pledge to that society; and had, by maintaining the French troops at Rome—and thus defending the possessions and territorial power of the pope—prevented one part of the projected plan, alike of the Carbonari and of those strugglers for independence who did not belong to that society, from being carried out. They had all been in various difficulties, and found themselves in England, struggling for a living. There they connected themselves with the Italian and French refugees, who, it is known, were active in getting up intrigues against the existing authorities in Italy and France. Amongst their earliest acquaintances were a Dr. Simon Bernard, a Frenchman; and Mr. Thomas Allsop, who had been a friend and follower of that eminent poet and philosopher, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Bernard appears to have supplied them with money; and, through Mr. Allsop, the explosive shells were made by Mr. Taylor, an engineer of Birmingham, under the representation that they formed part of a newly-invented gas apparatus. Ten shells were made; they were of cast-iron, in the shape of a pear, and, in the widest part, between four and five inches in diameter. It was ascertained, from the shell found on Pierri, that they were separated into three portions, the centre one being the largest, and containing the detonating material; whilst the ends were simply covers, adjusted to the main piece. In those covers tubes were fixed, armed with caps, which communicated with the inside, and caused the explosion. It is asserted that Mr. Allsop believed the shells were intended to be used in Italy; and that he was ignorant of the conspiracy to assassinate Napoleon. The British government, however, offered £200 for his apprehension, as an accomplice of Orsini; but he escaped pursuit. Bernard sent the missiles to France, through a Mr. Joseph George, whose brother kept the *café Suisse* at Brussels. Joseph was instructed to leave them at the *café*; and they were sent from thence to Paris, in the charge of a man named Zuguero, who was a waiter at the *hôtel*, and took a horse from Brussels to Paris, which Orsini, who, with Bernard, had followed George to the Belgian capital, had bought in that city. Zuguero was told to deliver the shells to the owner of the horse, who preceded him to Paris; and, at the custom-house on the frontier, where he declared them to be gas apparatus, the missiles were deemed of so little value, that no duty was charged. At Paris, horse and shells were delivered to Allsop—*alias* Orsini; who filled the latter with a combustible material, composed by himself; and concealed

them in his carpet-bag, wrapped in wet paper, till they were wanted. In Paris, on the 10th of January, Orsini, Pierri, Gomez, and Rudio were assembled.

A committee, of which Bernard was one, appears to have met in London, and directed these proceedings; and they promised Rudio, who was married, that his wife and child should be taken care of if he fell. The four conspirators expected that other parties, and especially Dr. Bernard, would have accompanied them to Paris; but they were left to themselves; and they resolved to make their attempt on the night when the emperor went to the opera. According to Rudio—"On the evening of the 14th of January, Orsini, Pierri, Gomez, and himself—each having a bomb, a poniard, and a loaded revolver—set out on the enterprise. Pierri was apprehended before the carriage came. Gomez threw the first shell too soon; he also threw the second out of time: Orsini threw the third [and he was wounded in the head, from the explosion]; then Rudio cocked his revolver, and crept towards the carriage of the emperor on his hands and knees; determined, that, if 'the curse of Rome' [as he termed Napoleon] had escaped the shells, he would shoot him down." But "he heard the sound of approaching cavalry, and a regiment of lancers came rapidly along the street. To escape being trodden under the horses' hoofs, he had to stand back, and the carriage was at once surrounded by the troops."* Rudio then made his way to his lodgings, where he was taken, as already stated.

Although the intended victim escaped, a great many persons were injured by this atrocious attempt. It was judicially ascertained, that 156 individuals were struck by the fragments of the shells, and the stones which were torn up by the explosions. The number of wounds inflicted was 511; and nine of the wounded died; whilst several received injuries which they will feel through life. Amongst the victims there were twenty-one women, eleven children, thirteen lancers, eleven *gardes de Paris*, and thirty-one police agents. Two horses in the imperial carriage, and twenty-four belonging to the lancers, were struck; two being killed on the spot, and three died the next day. The imperial carriage was greatly injured; all the under part, and the front, having the appearance of being blown to pieces. The large tented roof over the entrance to the theatre, though very strong, was perforated in many places; and the windows of the vestibule, and those of the houses on the opposite side of the street, were all broken to shivers: that the emperor and empress should have escaped, is, therefore, very remarkable.

* Rudio was sent to Cayenne, from whence he escaped and got to England: he made the above statement at a meeting, principally of refugees—held at Birmingham, on the 19th of August, 1861.

Early on the morning of the 15th of January, the emperor visited the Rue Lepelletier, accompanied by two or three members of the household. He was struck with the extent of the devastation; expressed great regret at the personal injuries sustained; and, at the time, and subsequently, his majesty and the empress did all in their power to ameliorate the suffering of which the unsuccessful attempt on their lives had been the cause. Information of that attempt and its failure had been telegraphed to the various courts of Europe; and congratulatory replies arrived during the morning. The first received was from England; and the queen also wrote an autograph letter to the emperor, expressing her sincere pleasure at his escape. His majesty wrote an autograph letter in reply. Similar interchanges of courtesy took place with the pope, and the emperors of Austria and Russia—each of whom wrote to the emperor; the congratulations of the other sovereigns being conveyed through their ambassadors.—The members of the senate, the legislative body, and the council of state, met the same day, and agreed to addresses to his majesty, which were presented at the Tuileries on the 16th, when the diplomatic body also attended, to offer their congratulations. They were conveyed through the papal nuncio; who assured the emperor, that he and his colleagues “offered up sincere and ardent prayers, that God might continue to shield him with His almighty protection, and accord to his reign a long duration.” The congratulations of the senate, the legislative body, and the council of state, conveyed through the presidents, MM. Troplong, de Morny, and Baroche, were expressed in ardent terms. All agreed, that the conspiracies they were called upon to guard against, did not proceed from France: and M. Troplong asked—“Since the odious revolutionists, trampling under foot all the duties of hospitality, had shown in common their rage for destruction, why the various governments and people did not lend each other, in legitimate defence, the assistance of a joint support, to suppress such attempts?” Count de Morny said, that the members of the legislative body, “when they saw such abominable attempts prepared abroad, asked themselves, how neighbouring and friendly governments were powerless to destroy those laboratories of assassination? And how the laws of hospitality could be applied to wild beasts?”—M. Baroche hoped, that “the community of danger would lead to a natural and extensive solidarity between all nations; and that those cowardly assassins who abused the hospitality they found in friendly nations, and the protection afforded by their laws, in order to organise conspiracies, and construct infernal machines, would be at length, by mutual consent, driven out of civilised Europe—to which they were, at the same time, a danger

and a disgrace.”—The emperor acknowledged the congratulations of the public bodies very cordially; but replied in general terms to what was urged respecting the foreign origin of the conspiracies. “We shall remain faithful,” he said, “to that policy of moderation and reconciliation which we have continued to employ towards European states; but it will be necessary to concert with the legislative body, in order to adopt measures calculated to preserve, as far as human foresight can anticipate, the security of France.”

On the 18th of January, the legislative chambers were opened. The empress accompanied the emperor to the hall of assembly, where the latter delivered a long and able address, which was repeatedly interrupted by the expressions of approbation from the senators and deputies. His majesty commenced by taking a very favourable view of the state of France. He enumerated the miles of railway already opened, and announced the commencement of several new lines; also the opening of the floating dock of St. Nazaire, and the canal from Caen to the sea; the improvements in several of the ports and in Paris; and the construction or restoration of religious edifices. Whilst these material improvements were effected, “public instruction, protected by the state, was being developed by the side of free education; the number of colleges had been increased to 1,500; education had become more moral and religious, with a tendency toward sound humanities, and useful sciences; the college of France had been reorganised; and elementary instruction was spreading far and wide. It was the wish of the government that the principle of freedom of worship should be sincerely admitted, without forgetting that the Roman catholic religion was that of the great majority of Frenchmen. Therefore this religion had never been more unshackled, nor more respected. The municipal councils met without hindrance, and the bishops enjoyed the full plenitude of their sacred office; the Lutheran, protestant, and Jewish confessions paid their just proportion of taxes to the state, and were equally protected.” The relations of France with foreign powers were said never to have been on a better footing; and, with regard to the late attempt on his life, the emperor observed—“I thank Heaven for the visible protection with which it shielded the empress and myself; and I deplore that so many victims should be made when only one life was aimed at. Yet these plots bring their lessons with them. Firstly, they prove the weakness and impotence of the parties who have recourse to assassination, and such desperate means; secondly, that no assassination, even if successful, ever served the cause of those who hired the assassin. Neither those who slew Cæsar, nor those who assassinated Henry IV., derived any advantage

from their crime. God sometimes allows the just to fall; but he never allows crime to triumph. * * * Let us, then, look confidently towards the future. Let us attend calmly to our daily work, for the welfare and greatness of our country. God protects France!"

The speech concluded, the members retired to their respective chambers, and commenced the business of legislation.

On the 20th of January, several projects of law were submitted to the legislative body, including one for calling out 100,000 men from the class of 1858. The budget for 1859 was also presented by the minister of finance. There was again a considerable increase in the expenditure, which was estimated at 1,766,707,277f. (£70,668,291): the estimated income exceeded that sum, being set down at 1,773,919,114f. (£70,956,764); leaving a surplus of 7,211,837f. (£288,473). There were some animated debates on the budget—the expenditure for public works in Paris being objected to; and the application of the sums proposed to be set apart for that object condemned. However, on the 30th of April, the entire financial scheme was carried by 256 votes to 3.

In the *Moniteur* of the 20th, appeared the first of the repressive measures which were prompted by the attempt on the life of the emperor. It was a report, which M. Billault had, two days' previously, addressed to his majesty. The minister of the interior, in this document, set forth the necessity imposed upon the government, of taking steps to prevent the recurrence of such attempts as, on the 14th of January, had startled the world. "The flagrant danger," it said, "was to be found in that sect which, recruited, in broad daylight, at a few leagues from the French frontiers, sent, in a few hours, into the very heart of Paris, its hired assassins, and instruments of destruction." To meet the emergency, various measures would be submitted to his majesty; but there was one which the laws permitted to be adopted at once—viz., to prevent "certain journals, in the hands of a few but indefatigable agitators, from continuing to be the daily exponents of the doings of demagogues—almost the official organs of their direct or indirect attempts at disturbance." Two journals were pointed out as calling for the application of the law of 1852—the *Revue de Paris*, which "opened its columns to the most detestable doctrines of the demagogues;" and the *Spectateur* (formerly the *Assemblée Nationale*), which, while "it expressed its horror at the attempt of the 14th of January," had given offence, by attributing the prevalence of the detestable passion of assassination to the departure from "that salutary law of the monarchy, which, by placing the principle of hereditary right above all changes and all ambitions, rendered such a crime useless, and, in some measure, took away all pretext for

its commission." The minister recommended that both these journals should be suppressed; and his report was followed, in the *Moniteur*, by an imperial decree, ordering them to be, and to remain suppressed, in accordance with that recommendation.

The public attention, not only in France but throughout Europe, was now directed to the question of—what is the extent of the hospitality which should be afforded to refugees? And a tone hostile to England was assumed by the French army, a part of the press, and no small portion of the people. Whilst the English residents in Paris, Caen, Pau, and other places in France; and the corporation of London, and other public bodies in England, were meeting, and agreeing to addresses, expressive of the joy they felt at the escape of the emperor and empress from the recent atrocious attempts; and of their hatred and detestation of the crime and the criminals;—in France, addresses, conveying similar sentiments, were flowing into the Tuileries from all quarters; but they also contained expressions very offensive to Englishmen, who were designated as the harbourers and protectors of assassins. The national guard of the Seine protested "against the asylum accorded to vile scoundrels, whom all civilised nations ought to brand and drive from their territory." The 19th military division declared, that "the odious and cowardly attempt had filled their hearts with indignation and rage against those who, by giving an asylum to the sanguinary anarchists, made themselves their accomplices." The address of certain colonels of the line went still further. They expressed their readiness to march to England, and drag forth the criminals from their asylum, if the English government would not expel them. Some of these officers begged for their regiments the honour of marching in the van of the army charged with the task of "demanding a reckoning from the land of impunity, where the den is situated of those monsters who lurk under the shelter of its laws." The soldiers of the 22nd, in their address, stated, that "it seemed to them impossible to consider as friends, governments capable of giving an asylum to bandits, who preached regicide with impunity, and who defied humanity and civilisation, by massacres such as those of the Rue Lepelletier."—The majority of the journals contained articles similar in sentiment, though couched in a somewhat milder tone; and it was urged that, while France did not complain at an asylum being granted to illustrious princes, or to other sufferers from political struggles, it was believed that this protection ought not to be extended to conspirators. But "popular opinion declared, that, were there in France, as in England, men sufficiently infamous to recommend in their clubs, in their papers, in their writings of every kind, the assassination of a foreign sovereign, and actually

to prepare its execution, a French administration would not wait to receive the demands of a foreign government, nor to see the enterprise set on foot. To act against such conspiracies, to anticipate such crimes, public notoriety would be sufficient to set their law in motion, and measures of security would be taken immediately."

The emperor showed no desire to join in the manifestations made by his officers and the people. He and the empress attended the ball given by lord Cowley, in honour of the marriage of the princess-royal, on the evening of the marriage-day, the 25th of January; when her majesty wore a dress "trimmed à l'Écossais," especially in compliment to the royal bride; and the emperor wore the order of the Garter. The members of the imperial family, all the French ministers, the marshals of France, and the high civil and legal functionaries were present. About the same time, a brass field gun—one of the most perfect specimens produced up to that time, in the royal gun foundry at Woolwich arsenal—mounted on a suitable carriage, with ammunition-waggon, and a couple of limbers, made of fine old English oak—were presented by the queen, as a mark of her esteem, "to his imperial majesty, Napoleon III." Notwithstanding the reciprocal feelings of regard and friendship thus evinced by the sovereigns for each other, the passions of their subjects were very near causing a rupture between the two countries. The language of the French army and the French press produced violent retaliatory articles and speeches in England; and when, on the 27th of January, the *Moniteur* published a series of the addresses from the troops, containing the language we have quoted, the British cabinet thought it time to interfere. The earl of Clarendon called the attention of the count de Persigny to the subject, pointing out the effect which the addresses had on the English people; and the construction which would inevitably be put upon the publication of such documents in the official paper of the French government. The count immediately communicated this conversation to M. Walewski; who, on the 6th of February, replied to the ambassador. He pointed out the opposition of the addresses to "the language which the emperor's government had not ceased to hold to that of her Britannic majesty;" and attributing the appearance of the objectionable words in the *Moniteur*, to "inadvertence, caused by the number of the addresses"—he added, "The emperor enjoins you to say to lord Clarendon, how much he regrets it." This despatch, read in both houses of parliament, and published in the papers, caused the feeling in England, roused by the military addresses, to subside; but considerable public displeasure was soon after caused by an act of the British ministry, which ultimately compelled that ministry to resign.

On the 20th of January, count Walewski had forwarded despatches to the French ambassadors at London, Brussels, Turin, and Berne, on the refugee question. In that addressed to M. de Persigny, his attention was called to the circumstances connected with the attempt on the emperor's life; and the foreign minister reminded him, that that attempt, like those of Pianori, and the plot in which Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, and Campanelli directed the assassins whom they had furnished with arms, "had been devised in England." In recording those circumstances, M. Walewski, at the same time, declared, that "the government of the emperor was persuaded of the sincerity of the sentiments of reprobation which they created in England. He was equally convinced, that, with such proofs in their possession of the abuse of hospitality, the English government and people would understand, at once, to what extent France was justified in directing their attention to them." Appreciating the liberality with which England was disposed to exercise the right of asylum, in regard to foreigners, the victims of political struggles—yet, when assassination was elevated to a doctrine, preached openly, and practised in repeated attempts, the French government felt it a duty to ask—"Ought the right of asylum to protect such a state of things? Was hospitality due to assassins? Ought English legislation to contribute to favour their designs and their plans? And could it continue to shelter persons, who, by their flagrant acts, had placed themselves beyond the pale of common right, and under the ban of humanity?" In putting these questions, count Walewski said, he was only re-echoing the sentiments of France. He refrained from indicating, in any way, the measures which ought to be adopted; but, as "the repetition and the wickedness of the guilty enterprises exposed France to a danger against which he and his colleagues were bound to provide," they asked "her Britannic majesty's government to assist them, by affording a guarantee of security, which no state could refuse to a neighbouring state, and which France was authorised to expect from an ally."

Nothing was known of this despatch by the English public for several weeks.—On the 8th of February, lord Palmerston moved for leave to introduce a bill to amend the law relating to conspiracy for the commission of murder, by constituting that offence a felony. The reason for introducing the measure was, avowedly, the late attempt at assassination in Paris; and the impossibility of dealing with such offenders as Orsini, Rudinow, and Bernard, under the law as it stood. The motion was opposed; but it was carried by a majority of 299 to 99. In the course of the debate, the despatch of the 20th of January was alluded to, and lord Palmerston promised to lay it upon the table of the house.

It then transpired, that it had never been officially answered; though it appears, that, in conversation with the French foreign minister, earl Cowley—expressing the sentiments of her majesty's government—had “vindicated the right of asylum which Great Britain had ever afforded to strangers of all ranks and nations;” and “declared, in terms as explicit as they were determined, the impossibility of infringing on that great principle of the constitution.” At the same time, he pointed out, how “utterly inefficient any enactment must be, to prevent men of desperate minds from entering upon desperate undertakings.”* The English people were ignorant, however, of what passed between the statesmen at Paris; and a very general feeling—frequently expressed in violent language—was entertained against the Palmerston government, under the impression that the conspiracy bill was the consequence of count Walewski's despatch, and that it was introduced at the dictation, and to avert the displeasure, of the French government.—On the second reading being proposed, on the 19th of February, Mr. Milner Gibson moved an amendment, expressive of the readiness of the house, at all times, to assist in remedying any defects in the criminal law; but regretting that, previously to inviting the house to agree to the bill for amending the law of conspiracy, her majesty's government had not replied to count Walewski's despatch of the 20th of January. There was an animated debate on this amendment; in the course of which, several speakers alluded to count Walewski's despatch in strong terms of censure, as they considered it imputed to the English people the offence of countenancing the crimes of conspiracy and assassination, which their laws were powerless to prevent. At the close of the debate, the amendment was carried by 234 votes to 215: the Palmerston ministry resigned. Lord Derby was authorised, by her Britannic majesty, to form a new cabinet; and he selected the earl of Malmesbury for the foreign department.

Count Walewski, on reading the debate upon the second reading of the conspiracy bill, immediately had an interview with earl Cowley, whom he authorised to express his astonishment and regret at the interpretation put upon his language; and at “its being believed, with the knowledge he had of England,” that he was “capable of applying, as a generality, an imputation which the context of his despatch ought to have proved could only have been intended for a definite class of strangers.” The ambassador, in communicating this message to lord Clarendon, added, that count Walewski “had evinced so much concern that the deplorable events which had occurred should not interrupt the friendly relations existing between the two

countries, that it was not to be supposed he would intentionally have said aught that could be construed into an attack upon the liberties of the British nation.”† As soon as the Derby ministry was organised, the earl of Malmesbury wrote to earl Cowley,‡ requesting him to take the earliest opportunity of assuring count Walewski, that her majesty's advisers were “earnestly desirous of maintaining, in their integrity, those close and friendly relations which, since the restoration of the empire, had marked the alliance between Great Britain and France, to the great benefit of both countries.” To maintain those relations, however—whilst highly gratified by the full and frank assurances given by count Walewski to earl Cowley—the noble lord thought, that some causes of misapprehension should be removed; as, if unexplained, they “would continue to produce painful effects upon the public mind of England.” Count Walewski, by stating, in his despatch, that the late attempt, “like others which preceded it, had been devised in England”—and that “assassination, elevated to a doctrine, was preached openly, and practised in repeated attempts”—and in asking, “whether the right of asylum should contribute to favour such designs and plans?”—had, “not unnaturally, been understood to imply, not only that the offences enumerated were not recognised as such by the English law, but that they might be committed with impunity; and that the spirit of English legislation was such, as designedly to screen and shelter the offender from punishment.” His lordship showed that such was a wrong construction of the English law; and pointed out, that “since the late atrocious attempt, proceedings had been instituted in two cases—one for complicity in the late murderous attempt; another for a publication, ‘elevating assassination to a doctrine.’”—Count Walewski assured earl Cowley (who read lord Malmesbury's despatch to him on the 8th of March), that “nothing could have been further from his intention, than to convey, in his despatch of the 20th of January, any imputation whatever on the morality or honour of the British nation.”—In a despatch to count de Persigny, of the 11th of March, his excellency expressed the same sentiment: but added, that as, at the time he wrote, “no repressive measures had been taken in London, public opinion in France, without taking into account the nature of the institutions of England, was astonished that so much audacity should have remained unpunished.” His despatch of the 20th of January was intended “to signalise a state of things which ought to be regretted,” not to “express any opinion as to the measures calculated to remedy it;” and “it never entered his thoughts to consider English legislation as designedly

* Despatch from earl Cowley to lord Clarendon, dated February 20th, 1858.

† Despatch from earl Cowley to earl Clarendon, dated February 23rd, 1858.

‡ On the 4th of March.

sheltering the offender." Having given those assurances, the count added, that "his majesty's government would abstain from continuing a discussion, which, by being prolonged, might prejudice the dignity and the good understanding of the two countries."

Three days before this last despatch was written, a pamphlet had been published at Paris, under the title of *The Emperor Napoleon and England*, professing to be written by M. de la Guéronnière, but which was reported, and believed, to have been dictated and revised by the emperor. In this *brochure*, bitter complaints were made of the unfriendly feeling which, it was alleged, England entertained against his imperial majesty and his policy; and the advantages conferred on England by the French alliance, were insisted upon.—The correspondence between earl Malmesbury and count Walewski was understood, however, to have put the relations between the two countries on a more satisfactory footing; as the disavowals of the French foreign minister removed the only causes of complaint which could be urged against the despatch of the 20th of January. From that time, the relations between the two countries began to assume something of their previous cordiality; but nothing more was heard of the English conspiracy bill; and Dr. Bernard, the individual alluded to in lord Malmesbury's letter, as being arrested "for complicity in the late murderous attempt," was acquitted by an English jury.

The despatches which count Walewski addressed to the ambassadors at Brussels, Berne, and Turin, were all to the same purpose—each requesting that measures should be taken to arrest the movements of the refugees, and to prevent their active conspiracies against France.—The federal commissioners, at Berne, in consequence of this request, dissolved the Italian Society of Mutual Assistance, established at Geneva; and ordered the foreign members to return to their own country, or to retire into the interior. Every French refugee was also placed at the disposal of the federal council, for the purpose of being removed from the French frontier; and, after some inquiry made by the government, twelve French, and seventeen Italian refugees were expelled from the territory of the republic. The government of Belgium suppressed the *Drapeau*, a Brussels paper, which had expressed an approval of the attempt at assassination; prosecuted two other journals, for articles of a similar tendency, though not quite so strongly expressed; and a measure was adopted, by the legislature, for altering the criminal law of Belgium, so as to make it operative against such refugees as conspired to take away the life of a foreign sovereign.—At Turin, the government refused to expel the refugees; but a measure was introduced into the Turin

chamber, for altering the law of conspiracy. In its provisions, it resembled that proposed to the British parliament by lord Palmerston; and, after some angry debates, it was passed.

With respect to the four conspirators, they were tried on the 25th and 26th of February, before the Court of Assize of the Seine. The hall where the trial took place was crowded by many of the *élite* of Paris, who were admitted by tickets. Lord Cowley, and several other members of the diplomatic body, were present; as were several judges of the Court of Cassation, and other superior courts. The members of the bar also attended in great numbers. The procureur-general to the imperial court of Paris conducted the prosecution; M. Jules Favre defended Orsini; the other prisoners were defended by MM. Nogent St. Laurens, Mallinet, and Nicolet. In the course of the two days, the facts already detailed in connection with the attempt of the 14th of January, were satisfactorily established, either by the examinations or confessions of the prisoners, or by the corroborative testimony of witnesses. The speeches of their counsel, especially that of M. Jules Favre, were ardent, eloquent, and impressive; but they could not controvert the evidence adduced. The proceedings closed at five o'clock on the second day. The jury retired; and at half-past seven returned with their verdict of guilty. The judges then retired to deliberate on the sentences. At the end of another half-hour they again entered the court, and sentenced Orsini, Pierri, and Rudio to die the death of paricides; Gomez was sentenced to hard labour for life. The three condemned to death appealed to the Court of Cassation; and on the 11th of March the appeal was heard. They had chosen no counsel to support the appeal; but the court appointed MM. Bret and Fournier to the performance of that duty. When the case came on, however, M. Bret announced, that, after considering the facts, and finding that an objection to the composition of the jury, supposed to be fatal, had no foundation, it was the painful duty of himself and colleague to say, that they had no arguments whatever to offer to the court. After hearing the procureur-general, Dupin, in support of the conviction, the court dismissed the appeal. On the 13th, Orsini and Pierri were executed; but it was announced to Rudio that his punishment was commuted to penal servitude for life.

Subsequently to the trial, a letter which Orsini had addressed to "Napoleon III., emperor of the French," on the 11th of February, appeared in the papers. In this remarkable document, after stating, that "the depositions he had made were sufficient to send him to the scaffold," and that he "should submit to his fate without asking for pardon," the writer made an appeal for Italy, "the desire for whose

independence had hitherto made him pass through so many perils, and submit to every sacrifice." He did not ask "that the blood of Frenchmen should be shed for the Italians; but," he continued, "Italy asks, that France shall not intervene against her; and that France shall not allow Germany to support Austria in the struggles in which she may, perhaps, be soon engaged. This is precisely what your majesty can do, if you are so inclined; on your will, therefore, depends the welfare or misfortune of my country—the life or death of a nation, to which Europe is, in a great measure, indebted for her civilisation. Such is the prayer which, from my cell, I dare address to your majesty, not despairing that my feeble voice may be heard. I beseech your majesty to restore to Italy the independence which her children lost in 1849, through the very fault of the French." After reminding the emperor, that "the Italians joyfully shed their blood for Napoleon the Great," and that "they were faithful to him to the last," Orsini concluded as follows:—"May your majesty not reject the last prayer of a patriot on the steps of the scaffold! May you deliver my country, and the blessings of 25,000,000 citizens will follow you to posterity." Who can say what effect this letter had in producing that change in the relations between Austria and France which soon afterwards took place? Orsini was of opinion that it had made an impression upon the emperor. In a second letter, written on the 11th of March, after the publication of the first, he declared that that act, "whilst it was a clear proof of Napoleon's generosity," also "showed him (Orsini) that the prayers which he had offered on behalf of his country, found a response in his majesty's heart." He declared, that "although, by a fatal error of mind, he had been led to organise the attempt of the 14th of January," yet "assassination, in whatever garb it might be disguised, did not enter amongst his principles." He asked to have the lives spared of the two accomplices condemned with him; and begged the Italians, "when some day they were made independent, to give a worthy compensation to those who had suffered any injury from the attempt of the 14th of January." He left some property; and two children, both females, who were taken care of by his friends.

In consequence of the attempt on the life of the emperor, two important measures were submitted to the legislature: the first related to the regency; the second, to the prevention and punishment of conspiracies, and attempts at assassination. On the 1st of February, the emperor sent a message to the senate; the object of which was, to remove an uncertainty respecting the regency created by the *senatus consultum* of the 17th of July, 1856. By that document the empress was declared regent, unless the emperor,

in a public or secret decree, named any other person. To ensure the regency to the empress, in the event of the imperial prince succeeding to the throne during his minority, the emperor, by letters patent, which accompanied the message, conferred on the empress the title of regent; that she might bear the title, and exercise the functions of the office, from the day of the accession of his successor, conformable to the provisions of the *senatus consultum*. In default of the empress, the princes of the imperial family to succeed her in the regency, in the order of succession to the crown. By a decree, which accompanied the message and letters patent, a privy council was created, to form, with the two princes nearest in the order of succession, a council of regency, upon the accession of the prince imperial under age. The members named (seven in number), were cardinal Morlot, the duke de Malakoff, M. Achille Fould, M. Troplong, count de Morny, M. Baroche, and the count de Persigny. When these documents had been read, the president announced that the senate ordered them to be deposited in its archives. The same day, the message, letters patent, and decree, were communicated to the legislative body by M. Fould; and M. Baroche presented to that body the project of a law, entitled, "the law of public safety," which was prefaced by a very long exposition, or preamble. It occasioned somewhat angry debates, both in the council of state and the legislative body; but was passed before the month expired, as proposed originally by the president of the council of state; the number of affirmative votes being 227 to 24 noes. It provided, that persons inciting publicly, in whatever way, to offences against the state or the emperor, if no effect follow the incitement, are to be imprisoned from two to five years, and fined from 500f. to 10,000f. For agitating and inciting to hatred and contempt of the imperial government, the imprisonment is fixed at from one month to two years, and the fine at 100f. to 2,000f. For manufacturing, not being duly authorised, explosive engines, or explosive powder; for selling or distributing such articles, or for having them in possession, an imprisonment of from six months to two years, and a fine of 50f. to 3,000f., are awarded. All persons convicted of the foregoing offences to be deprived of their civil rights, if the court see fit, for a term equal to that of their imprisonment. Individuals condemned for any crimes or offences which the previously existing law provided for, may, for the sake of public security, be compelled to live in one of the departments of the empire, or of Algeria, or be expelled from the territory of France; as may every individual transported, or expelled, or fixed in his sojourn, in consequence of the events of May and June, 1848; of June, 1849; and of December, 1851: any individual so expelled, or whose sojourn has

been fixed in Algeria, returning to France without authorisation, may be sent to a penal colony. The powers of the law to terminate on the 23rd of March, 1865, unless they are renewed before that date.

On the 4th of February, M. Billault resigned the ministry of the interior, and was succeeded by general Espinasse. The appointment of a military man to that office created great surprise, and was regarded by many with suspicion. A day or two after his appointment, the general addressed a circular to the *préfets* of the empire; in which he alluded to the "anxiety the public would feel respecting the accession of a military man to purely civil functions;" and he expressed his desire to "assign its real signification to a fact, the character of which should be neither exaggerated nor attenuated." The tone of the circular indicated, that more activity must be displayed by the police, as the late "odious attempt had awakened the apprehensions of the country;" and the authorities "owed to that country the guarantees of safety it demanded. There was no intention," said the new minister, "of having recourse either to discretionary measures or to superfluous severity: what was required was, an incessant surveillance, attentive, jealous in preventing, prompt and firm in repressing, and always calm, as befitted force and right; to prove, in a word, to the population, justly alarmed, that the well-inclined might be reassured, and that the wicked alone must tremble." As a consequence of general Espinasse's appointment, by a decree of the 7th of February, the police department was detached from the office of the interior; and the direction of the entire police of the empire was placed in the hands of the prefect of the Seine—an office to which, a few days after, M. Boitelle, formerly *chef d'escadron* of cuirassiers, was appointed, *vice* M. Pietri, resigned.

On the 14th of February, the *Moniteur* contained a decree (dated Jan. 27), dividing the empire into five military districts; the respective head-quarters to be placed at Paris, Nancy, Lyons, Toulouse, and Tours. The command of the first was given to marshal Magnan; of the second, to marshal Canrobert; of the third, to marshal count de Castellane; of the fourth, to marshal Bosquet; of the fifth, to marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers. These officers bore the title of *Commandant Supérieur*; and the consequence of the measure was, that all France was placed under military surveillance. A large sum was voted by the legislative body, for the secret police, home and foreign; and French detectives were sent to all countries in which any refugees resided.—On the 19th of February, a *senatus consultum* appeared, prohibiting any person from offering himself as a candidate for a seat in the legislative body, without making, at least eight days before the voting took place, a

declaration to the *préfet*, that "he swore obedience to the constitution, and fidelity to the emperor." Candidates coming forward without taking this obligation, to be subject to fine and imprisonment.—The ministers appeared to think that these repressive and preventive measures would have the effect of making a repetition of the crime of January 14th almost impossible.

The failure of that attempt did not, however, induce the secret conspirators immediately to suspend their meetings, or to abandon their schemes. The former were continued in Paris, as well as in the interior; but information was conveyed to the police, either by traitors or spies; and, on the 24th of February, fifty persons, whose names were given as ring-leaders, were arrested in the capital; twenty at Lyons, twelve at Marseilles, and about 160 in various parts of the empire—the movement having extended into forty different departments.—These arrests did not prevent the disaffected in Paris from making an attempt at insurrection in the night of the 5th of March. It was suppressed; and twenty arrests were made in consequence. This movement, insignificant as it proved, was, probably, part of a general scheme; as, on the following night, at Chalons, forty men surprised a small post of infantry, and seized their arms. They then went to the railway station, of which they endeavoured to take possession; shouting at the time, "*Vive la République!*" The station-master, his clerks and assistants, succeeded in driving them back; and they took up their position at the head of a bridge over the Saône, near the station, and by which a communication was kept up between the town and the barracks. Some officers living in the town, cut their way through the small band; and the garrison, which was in entire ignorance, till then, of what was going on, being summoned, the insurgents—if they deserve the name—were dispersed, and fifteen were made prisoners. The *Moniteur* described this affair as "part of a plan of systematic agitation;" and, in consequence of it, many additional arrests were made. At the time that this event occurred, several hundred persons, apprehended on suspicion of being connected with secret societies, and concerned in conspiracies, were collected in the Château d'If, at Marseilles, waiting their removal to Lambessa, the penal colony in Algeria.—In April, fifteen prisoners were tried at Troyes, for belonging to a secret society, having possession of arms, gun-powder, balls, &c., and distributing seditious proclamations. They pleaded that they were Icarians, and that their scheme was only one of communism, which they contemplated carrying out in America. The tribunal decided that the society was political; and eight being found guilty, were fined and imprisoned; seven were acquitted.—In September, thirty-five persons

were tried before the conventional court of Chalon-sur-Saône, for being implicated in the disturbances of the 6th of March; for being affiliated to secret societies; and for having an unlawful possession of arms, ammunition, &c. Most of them were found guilty, and received the punishment awarded by the new law of safety to such offences.

The various measures adopted to secure public safety in France, and to punish those who contemplated revolution, kept the French people throughout the empire in a state of perpetual agitation; and formed the subject of much discussion by the press. The journals, supposed to be the organs of the Tuileries, assumed a tone of hostility to England, which, though apparently at variance with the personal sentiments of the emperor, has never been entirely discontinued. As to his majesty himself, though supposed to be the peculiar object aimed at by an extensive conspiracy, he was not, apparently, at all alarmed at his position; and he did not suffer the serious circumstances in which the empire was placed, to interfere with the gaieties of the court. Numerous balls, and several grand dinners, were given at the Tuileries; one of the latter, on the 16th of March, when the prince imperial entered on his third year, being the most magnificent of the series. At one time, the emperor seems to have resolved upon endeavouring to induce some of the "expelled" of 1851 again to tender their allegiance. It was announced, in the *Moniteur*, that generals Changarnier and Bedeau might return to France. Those officers refused to avail themselves of the act of amity, and no further step was taken in that direction.—On another point, the emperor appeared to be most anxious to preserve the English alliance. After the correspondence on the despatch of the 20th of January, it was thought that the count de Persigny had better retire from the London embassy. He did so; and the duke de Malakoff, who was on such familiar terms with the English army in the Crimea, was sent to replace him, as ambassador to the court of St. James. The duke arrived in London on the 16th of April, and was most cordially welcomed. On the 6th of May,* the members of the Army and Navy Club invited his excellency to dinner at the club-house, St. James's-square. General Williams, the defender of Kars, presided: and the duke met many of his old companions-in-arms. The spirit displayed in the speeches delivered on this occasion—which were animated by a friendly feeling to France, and expressive of great anxiety to maintain the alliance between the two nations, on terms honourable to both—was very gratifying to Napoleon; who, according to an article on

the change of ambassadors, which appeared in one of his official organs, selected the marshal as his representative at queen Victoria's court, because "he personified the alliance between the two nations; and was, in his person, a living monument of dangers and glory common to both."—About the time that the duke de Malakoff received his appointment, the lands at St. Helena, forming the sites of Longwood and the tomb of Napoleon I., were made over to the emperor and his heirs for ever. There were twenty-six acres thus conveyed, which had been purchased of the owners by the crown of England, at an expense of £5,100, to enable the transfer to be effected. Before the year closed, the queen presented to the emperor the last relic of Napoleon, preserved at St. Helena. The funeral car, used to convey his remains to the tomb, was sent to Paris on the 5th of November.

Though the legislative session extended far into the year, there were no measures of general interest passed, in addition to those already mentioned, except one, imposing pains and penalties on those who assumed titles without authority; a practice which had become very prevalent. The members of the legislative body remained incomplete for several months, in consequence of the death of general Cavaignac, and the refusal of MM. Goudchaux and Carnot to take the oath to the emperor. When the election of their successors took place in June, the government was greatly annoyed at the success of M. Jules Favre, who was returned for one of the arrondissements, in opposition to the candidate who had the support of the authorities.—In June, general Espinasse, the minister of the interior, resigned. He was succeeded by M. Delangle, the president of the imperial court at Paris; in whose place, M. Devienne, procureur-general of the imperial court of Lyons, was appointed.

The emperor, for some time, had the condition of the distant dependencies of the empire under his consideration; and, on the 24th of June, his majesty, wishing to give to those parts of his dominions "a fresh proof of his solicitude for their interests, and to favour, as much as possible, the extension of their prosperity," issued an imperial decree, creating a ministry for Algeria and the colonies; and giving charge of the new department to his "well-beloved cousin, prince Napoleon." At that period, Algeria had made considerable progress. Early in the year, by command of the emperor, some thousands of soldiers, from the army of Algiers, were set to work on the line of railroad traced out between Algiers and Blidak; and operations were commenced on a second line between Philippeville and Constantina, which had been

* On the 18th of May, the duchess d'Orleans expired at her residence at Richmond, very much regretted. It was thought her royal highness's death would remove

the obstacles to the fusion between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; but they remain as widely apart as ever.

conceded to a company. Fort Napoleon had become an important centre of communication, both for the Kabyles and the French: the French soldiers fitted up the interior very conveniently; improved the roads in its vicinity; and planted upwards of 2,000 chestnut trees in the surrounding grounds.

During the spring and summer of 1858, the emperor and empress entertained, at Paris, St. Cloud, and Compiègne, several royal visitors—prince George of Saxony, the queen of Holland, and the prince of Würtemberg, being amongst them. But the most distinguished of the imperial guests, during the year, were queen Victoria and the prince consort.—Some additional works, which had been undertaken at Cherbourg, were completed; and the emperor had promised to be present at the opening of a new dock, and a military fort, early in August. These works were regarded with great jealousy in England; they were said to be designed against this country; and were adduced as proofs of the existence of an intention, on the part of France, at the first opportunity, to break the alliance, and once more wage war with her old enemy. The emperor invited the queen and prince consort to join him at Cherbourg; and to see and examine the certainly magnificent achievements of human art and industry in that port, with a view of convincing those august personages, that his feeling of friendship for England was as warm as ever. The invitation was accepted as frankly as it was given; and the visit passed off as pleasantly and as agreeably as the former interviews between the same august personages had done.

The emperor and empress left St. Cloud about 10 A.M. on the 3rd of August, and arrived at Cherbourg at 5 P.M. on the 4th. They were attended by brilliant suites; and were received with great ceremony, as well as with a hearty enthusiasm. After having received the keys of the town, and an address from the mayor and municipality, their majesties proceeded to the prefecture, where the Cherbourg ladies were presenting to the empress an address and *bouquets*, when the guns from the harbour announced the arrival of the *Victoria and Albert* yacht, having the queen of England, her royal consort, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Cambridge on board. Her majesty was received with a general salute from nine line-of-battle ships and a heavy frigate, stationed in the harbour, which was returned by several English ships of war, that formed the escort of the royal yacht: and the roar of 2,000 pieces of cannon produced a striking effect. Shortly after, the emperor and empress went on board the *Victoria and Albert* under a general salute, and remained till near ten o'clock.

The next day, the queen and prince consort breakfasted with their imperial host and the

empress at the prefecture; and after inspecting all the works of the harbour—a model of which the emperor presented to her majesty—the royal party and their attendants (including the earl of Malmesbury, the English secretary for foreign affairs, and Sir John Pakington, first lord of the admiralty) dined with the emperor and empress, on board the *Bretagne*, a noble four-decker, which formed one of the Cherbourg fleet. The repast was both splendid and elegant; and at the conclusion of the entertainment, the emperor proposed the health of the queen, prince consort, and the members of the royal family; observing, that “in proposing the toast on board the French flag-ship, in the harbour of Cherbourg, he was happy to display the sentiments that animated his breast. Indeed, facts spoke for themselves. They proved, that the hostile passions, excited by some unfortunate incidents, had been unable to alter either the friendship that existed between the two crowns, or the desire of the two peoples to be at peace with each other. Therefore, he had the firm hope, that, were it desired to revive the passions or the rancour of a former period, the attempt would fail, in presence of the good sense of the public, as the waves broke against the dyke which, at that moment, protected the squadrons of both empires from the violence of the sea.”—Prince Albert, in reply, by desire of the queen, declared, that “her majesty felt deeply the fresh proof of the emperor’s friendship in proposing her health, and in uttering words which she would ever cherish. His majesty was aware of the sentiments of friendship entertained for him by the queen, and he (the prince) need not dwell upon them. His majesty was also aware, that the continuance of a good understanding between the two countries, was the constant object of the queen’s wishes, as it was of his. She was doubly happy, by her presence at that moment, to join her efforts to his majesty’s, in endeavouring to draw closer the friendship between the two nations. That friendship was the basis of their prosperity, and the blessing of heaven would not fail it.”—A few minutes after eight o’clock, the royal party left the *Bretagne*, amidst an illumination of intensest brilliancy, effected by lights shown from the port-holes of the ships; the reverberations of a salute, which resounded for miles around; and the cheers of the thousands of French and English seamen, who, like bees, clung to the shrouds, manned the yards, or thronged the decks of the ships.

On the 6th, the prince of Wales landed, and examined the ships in the harbour. During the time his royal highness was thus engaged, the intelligence was received that the Atlantic telegraph was laid, and that the Old and New Worlds were united. Several messages were interchanged, and then the cable broke, and it has not yet been renewed, though the hope of

successfully accomplishing the communication is not abandoned. At noon, on that day, the English squadron departed, her majesty having been much pleased with her visit.—The following day, the arsenal and military port were opened, in presence of the emperor and empress, by letting the water into the “great basin,” called Dock Napoleon III.; and a large vessel, called the *Ville de Nantes*, was launched.—On the 8th, before leaving Cherbourg for Brest, the emperor inaugurated a statue of Napoleon I.; and after the ceremony, he said, “it seemed to be a part of his destiny, to accomplish, in time of peace, the great designs conceived by the emperor during war.” He expressed his wish for peace. France “did not now make war, except when compelled to defend the national honour and the great interests of the people.” And that course was the one in which he desired to continue. This speech, and all that transpired at Cherbourg, had a good effect; and tended to confirm the belief that his majesty really and sincerely desired peace.

A conference of plenipotentiaries, and an international commission, were, at that time, sitting at Paris, to adjust two questions arising out of the Crimean war—the organisation of the Danubian principalities, and the navigation of the Danube. The conference met on the 27th of April, and did not conclude its labours till the 20th of August. The different views of France and Russia, and Austria and Turkey, were blended in a compromise proposed by England. A convention was drawn up, which provided, that the two provinces should be called “the united principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia,” each to have its own hospodar elected for life; and a representative assembly, whose members were to hold their seats for seven years. A central commission for the two principalities, of sixteen members, to be chosen for the same term of seven years; four by each hospodar, and four by each assembly, out of its own body. This commission, with the hospodars, to form the executive, and to frame measures to bring before the elective assemblies; the legislative power for each principality to be in the hospodar and assembly—the central commission having a controlling voice over both. Moldavians and Wallachians, of all christian professions, to enjoy equal political rights; the suzerainty of the sultan to be recognised; but the principalities to carry on their administration freely, and without any interference on the part of the Sublime Porte. The French government represented this convention as, in effect, carrying out their views; and, in a circular, which count Walewski addressed to the French diplomatic agents at foreign courts, after the conference broke up—he stated, that “the arrangements constituted a real union in substance, and recognised several important principles; such as an elective assembly voting the

laws, and controlling the budget; responsible ministers; equality before the law; equal enjoyment of political rights; the abolition of class privileges, and the irremovability of the magistracy.” It was not an arrangement, however, likely to be permanent: at the end of three years the two principalities were under one hospodar; and a conference has been sitting at Constantinople, during 1861—whose labours are not yet ended—to reconcile, if possible, the interests of the Porte with the wishes of the people of the two principalities.

With respect to the navigation of the Danube, early in the year, an acrimonious correspondence had been carried on between France and Austria, because the latter had refused to carry out the treaty of Paris, with respect to that river. The international commission, appointed under the provisions of the treaty, met at Paris, and continued their meetings for several months. On the 4th of September their report appeared—a long and diffuse document, in which regulations were laid down for carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect; and it was decided, that St. George’s Channel was that which ought to be adopted for the navigation of the Lower Danube.

The emperor and empress spent the autumn of 1858 at Compiègne and Plombières; a large party of diplomatists was collected at the latter place, where the affairs of Italy—which were then beginning to excite much of the attention of the European powers—were discussed. The country, during that season, was perfectly quiet; no more was heard of conspiracies; and there was only one domestic incident, which, before the close of the year, attracted public attention: that was the trial of M. de Montalembert. In October, the count published a pamphlet, entitled, *A Debate on India, in the English Parliament*; in which he drew a comparison, not particularly flattering, between the liberty of speech allowed to members of the legislature in England, and the restraint imposed upon them in France. This *brochure* was considered, by the minister of the interior, to be a “seditious libel;” and the author and the publisher, M. Douniol, were tried before the court of correctional police of the Seine—found guilty, and sentenced, on the 24th of November, the former to a fine of 3,000f. and six months’ imprisonment; the latter to a fine of 1,000f., and an imprisonment of one month. M. de Montalembert appealed against his sentence to the imperial court of Paris; and although the emperor, on the 2nd of December, the anniversary of the *coup-d’état*, issued a decree, relieving him from the penalties, the count refused to avail himself of the indulgence thus offered, and persisted in prosecuting his appeal. It was heard on the 21st of December; and the verdict of guilty was confirmed; but the term of imprisonment was reduced from six to

three months.—On the 28th, the emperor issued another decree, annulling the penalties awarded against the count, and remitting the imprisonment in the case of the publisher. M. Douniol, however, certainly—if either deserved punishment—the most innocent of the two, was left to pay his fine of 1,000f.

During the year, a negotiation was carried on with the government of Switzerland, respecting the valley of Dappes, or Dappenthal, which lies between the Dôle and the Mont des Tuffis, on the frontiers of the two countries; but being really a part of the republic. Annexed to France by Napoleon I., it was restored to Switzerland by the treaty of 1815. Its recovery had always been desired by France; and, after some conversations between the Swiss ambassador at Paris, and the minister for foreign affairs, an offer was made, on the 13th of October, to pay Switzerland 350,000f. (£14,000), if she would surrender her sovereignty over the tract, which contains two or three small villages. The government of Berne refused, however, to give up the territory, which remained the subject of dispute. Its violation, by a party of French troops, is now (November, 1861) the subject of fresh discussions between the two powers; and, as France has offered to leave the question to “friendly intervention,” the event may lead to its final adjustment.—At the same time that the negotiation relative to the Dappenthal was pending with Switzerland, the French government had a serious difference with Portugal, arising out of the seizure of a French vessel by the Portuguese authorities of Mozambique. For some time, the French colonists in Algeria, under the authority of the home government, had sent vessels to Africa, for the purpose of engaging “free labourers” for the colony—a proceeding which was, in fact, only a modified slave-trade. The Portuguese prohibited this traffic at their ports; and the French vessel, *Charles et Georges*, being found off the coast of Mozambique, with a cargo of Africans on board, was seized by the Portuguese authorities, the captain imprisoned, and the vessel confiscated. The French government demanded the release of the vessel and the captain, and the payment of an indemnity to that officer and the owners; and sent a squadron to the Tagus to support its demands. By the advice of England, the Portuguese government, on the 25th of October, complied with those demands; declaring, however, that the proceedings of the authorities in Africa were perfectly correct and justifiable, and that it only yielded to a force it could not resist. When this affair was concluded, the emperor, on the 30th of October, addressed a letter to prince Napoleon, minister of the marine and the colonies, withdrawing his sanction from the attempt to obtain negro labourers from the African coast. The enrolment of those labourers had been

described, he said, “as only the slave-trade in disguise;” and he would not sanction a renewal of that traffic on any terms. He recommended that an effort should be made to obtain Indian coolies as free labourers; and a treaty concluded with England, in the following year, sanctioned the engagement of those labourers in the British possessions.

In 1857 and 1858, a small French and English force was engaged in hostilities with China. The original cause of quarrel arose out of the boarding of a vessel with a colonial register, which gave it an English character, by a Chinese officer and soldiers, for the purpose of arresting some of her crew, said to be pirates. It was the opinion of most impartial persons, that the boarding of the *Arrow* (the name of the vessel) was no *casus belli*: however, it produced a war between Great Britain and China; and as France had complaints against the latter power, the emperor resolved to join her Britannic majesty in the effort to obtain redress. It was, in pursuance of this resolution, announced in the *Moniteur*, of May 7th, 1857, that M. the baron le Gros had been appointed, by the emperor, to repair to China, in the capacity of minister extraordinary. Proceeding in company, and to a certain extent acting, with lord Elgin, the English ambassador, he was to demand, from the Chinese government, reparation for wrongs peculiar to France alone. Amongst other injuries and offences committed against that power, was the murder of a missionary, M. Chappeldelaine, who, in 1856, was put to death under circumstances designated as “most atrocious.” M. le Gros was also to demand a fresh treaty of commerce. A land and sea force was sent to act with the English. The squadron consisted of small vessels, which could ascend the rivers. The land force was composed of 3,000 infantry and artillerymen; it was accompanied by twenty-five sisters of the order of St. Vincent de Paul, to act as nurses in the hospitals. Before the expedition sailed, advices were received from M. de Courcy, the French *chargé d'affaires* in China, stating, that the government of Peking appeared disposed to afford satisfaction for the murder of the abbé Chappeldelaine; and had made a commencement by disgracing the mandarin who was responsible for that crime. As there were other causes of complaint, however, the expedition sailed; and on the 14th of October, baron le Gros joined lord Elgin at Hong-Kong.

The campaign which ensued was of short duration. Unable to obtain redress from Yeh, the Chinese commissioner at Canton, orders were given, on the 14th of December, to the naval and military commanders, by the French and English ambassadors, to commence hostile operations against Canton. On the 16th, the united force occupied the island of Honan, opposite the

Chinese capital. The troops landed there consisted of about 800 British soldiers, 2,500 marines, and 1,500 men of the naval brigade. The French numbered scarcely 1,000. The time, from the 16th to the 27th, was occupied in making preparations for the bombardment of the city, which was commenced on the 28th. The allies had some good field-pieces, and kept up nearly an incessant fire during that day and night. On the morning of the 29th the assault was made; the assailing force being divided into three columns, two English and one French. The assaults were all successful; and, by half-past two in the afternoon, Canton was entirely in the power of the allies. In the vain hope that Yeh would now make those concessions the plenipotentiaries demanded, the allies did not take possession of the city till the 5th of January, 1858. On that day, the Chinese and Tartar divisions of the capital were both occupied by French and English troops; the Tartar governor was made prisoner by the former; and Mr. Parkes, the English consul, at the head of a party of sailors, captured Yeh, who was soon after sent to Calcutta, where he died, in May, 1859.—That order might be maintained at Canton, the Tartar governor was, on the 6th, restored to the exercise of his authority, assisted by colonel Holloway, captain Martineau, and Mr. Parkes, as a council; and it was resolved to hold Canton, as “a material guarantee,” till the government of Peking acceded to the terms of the allies.

After the capture of Canton, the two ambassadors, and that part of the force which it was not considered necessary to leave there, returned to Hong-Kong. Having been joined by the Russian and American ambassadors, count Punitin and Mr. Reed, it was arranged that the

four should proceed to the north, in order to communicate with the emperor of China.—The expedition left Hong-Kong early in April, and arrived at the gulf of Pechili on the 14th. The ambassadors were unable to effect any satisfactory communication with the authorities; and the passage of the river being defended by several forts, called the Takoo forts, about eleven miles from its mouth, they were attacked, and captured, on the 29th of April. The squadrons being reinforced there, an advance was made up the river; and the allies reached Tien-Tsin, about eighty miles to the south of Peking, on the 20th of May: they were followed by count Punitin and Mr. Reed, in the Russian steamer, *America*. Two Chinese commissioners were sent to Tien-Tsin to treat with the plenipotentiaries; and four separate treaties were concluded, between China and France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States of America. The French treaty was signed on the 27th of June. It provided for the opening of additional ports for commerce between the two countries, under a regulated tariff; for the residence of a French minister at the court of Peking; for the toleration of the christian religion, and of missionaries throughout the Chinese empire; for liberty for French subjects, furnished with a consul's passport, to travel through that empire; and for the suppression of piracy.—The treaty signed, whilst waiting for its ratification, baron le Gros visited Japan. At Jeddo, he concluded, on the 9th of October, a treaty of amity and commerce, between the emperor Napoleon III. and the emperor of Japan; lord Elgin having just previously succeeded in persuading the government of Jeddo to depart from its previous system of isolation and estrangement from foreign powers, by agreeing to a similar treaty with England.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ITALIAN QUESTION; THE EMPEROR AND THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR; THE MARRIAGE OF PRINCE NAPOLEON AND THE PRINCESS CLOTILDE; OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION; THE BUDGET; NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ITALIAN QUESTION; THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM; MILITARY PREPARATIONS IN FRANCE AND SARDINIA; THE WAR IN ITALY; PRELIMINARIES OF VILLAFRANCA; THE EMPEROR'S RETURN TO PARIS; TRIUMPHANT ENTRY OF THE TROOPS FROM ITALY INTO THE CAPITAL; THE AMNESTY; SPEECHES OF M. DE MOÏNY AND M. DE LA GUERRONNIERE AT THE COUNCILS-GENERAL; TREATIES OF ZURICH; THE LIVERPOOL MERCHANTS AND THE EMPEROR; POLICE ARRANGEMENTS; DIALOGUE BETWEEN A FRENCHMAN AND AN ENGLISHMAN; PAMPHLET OF “LE PAPE ET LE CONGRES;” ITS EFFECTS; AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA.

IMPORTANT changes in the distribution of power, and in the alliances of the European states, took place during the year 1859; to the proper understanding of which, a brief *résumé* of events connected with the “Italian question” will be necessary.

Ever since the peace of Vienna, the influence of Austria had been extending in Italy. That power, unfortunately, did not confine herself merely to the exercise of the legitimate rights which she derived from the treaties of 1815; but had acquired an absolute supremacy in the

councils of the duchies of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Her troops occupied the legations; and even at Naples, the course of affairs was very much guided by her advice. By steadily pursuing this policy, and gradually extending not merely her influence but her authority into all the Italian states, except Piedmont, Austria was violating the spirit, though not the letter, of the treaty of Vienna; and, by establishing her predominance in the peninsula, was endangering that balance of power which it was the object of the arrangements concluded in 1815 to restore and preserve. She had not pursued her course without interruption. Repeated attempts had been made to shake off her yoke; and, since 1848, the object of the Italian patriots had been, the union of Italy, first as a republic; and then, when the wild doctrines, and the wilder measures of Mazzini, alarmed the more sober Italians, as a kingdom, with Victor Emmanuel for the first king.

While the Crimean war was raging, the emperor of the French, anxious to secure the co-operation of Austria, concluded, in December, 1854, a treaty with Francis Joseph, by which France was bound—if Austria joined in the war with Russia, and the opportunity was seized, either by Sardinia, or her own subjects, to attack her Italian dominions—to send troops to her assistance, if required. This treaty was to terminate with the war which gave rise to it.—After the treaty of peace was signed at Paris, in 1856, count Cavour endeavoured to induce the other powers to make a declaration in favour of establishing a temporal sovereignty in the legations, and generally, of Italian independence. He did not succeed; but the language then used with respect to the predominance of Austrian influence, its ill effects, and the disgust it excited amongst the Italians, alarmed the government of Vienna. From that time the relations between France and Austria, though friendly, became less cordial; whilst those between the former power and Sardinia gradually grew more intimate and confidential.

In 1856 and 1857, a diplomatic war was kept up between Austria and Sardinia—which ended in the mutual withdrawal of ambassadors from Vienna and Turin. In the early part of 1857, the “National Society” of Italy was formed at the capital of Piedmont; and its committees and sub-committees were soon spread throughout Italy. The object of this society was, to expel Austria from the peninsula; to transfer her dominions to Victor Emmanuel; and to compel the other Italian sovereigns either to join in the crusade against the house of Hapsburg, or to resign their authority. The government of Turin also encouraged deserters and refugees from Venetia and Lombardy; who were received in Piedmont, and formed into a military corps—the members of which made no secret of

their object—which was to overthrow the dominion of the foreigner, and terminate the rule of Austria in Italy. At that time, the archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor Francis Joseph, was governor of Lombardo-Venetia. He was disposed to adopt liberal measures; but was compelled to carry out the orders he received from Vienna, which aimed at curing the dislike of, and extinguishing the enmity to, Austrian rule by severity. The consequence was, that both increased: and before the year closed, the discontent became general and immense. The archduke had been very popular when he first assumed the government; but the kindly feeling towards him entirely disappeared.

In November, 1858, the emperor and empress of France went to Plombières. There the ministers followed them; and whilst count Cavour was invited from Italy, the earl of Clarendon and lord Palmerston (though not then in power) were sent for from London. At this gathering of diplomatists and statesmen, there can be no doubt that the Italian question was discussed, if no measures were decided upon. But rumour avers, that a treaty was then concluded between France and Sardinia, in which the cession of Savoy and Nice was agreed to by the latter, as the price to be paid for the support of the former; and to draw still closer the alliance between the two countries, a marriage between the princess Clotilde, daughter of the king of Sardinia, and the prince Napoleon, son of prince Jerome, and cousin to the emperor, was arranged.—During this time, a considerable increase of the Sardinian army had taken place. Austria had also augmented the number of her troops in Lombardo-Venetia; and when 1858 closed, war between the two powers appeared imminent. Indeed, in a pamphlet, printed at Paris, and attributed to M. de la Guéronnière, entitled, *L'Empereur Napoleon III. et l'Italie*, it was averred, that the question of Italy could no longer be kept in the background, but must be settled in accordance with the wishes and the wants of the Italian people. As (according to the author) the press, parliament, and statesmen of the United Kingdom had encouraged the revolutionary movement of 1849, no opposition could be anticipated, in that quarter, to an anti-Austrian movement. What France would do was only indistinctly hinted at: “she desired peace,” it was said; “but, if forced to make war, Europe need not be moved; she need not be uneasy; as her independence was not in question. The only end of the war [which, whilst anticipating, the author, with singular inconsistency, averred “was not probable”] would be to prevent revolutions, by yielding legitimate satisfaction to the wishes of the people, and by affording to their rights of nationality the guarantee of recognised principles.”—The origin of this pamphlet was ascribed to the Tuileries;

and it exercised, therefore, considerable effect upon public opinion.

Under these auspices the year 1859 opened. The first day of that year was observed, in Paris, with the usual festivities; and the customary reception at the Tuileries took place. But, at the latter, the emperor, instead of being courteous to *all*, and speaking only words of friendship and harmony—after looking round the diplomatic circle, singled out the Austrian ambassador; and, accosting him, said—"I regret, M. Hubner, that our relations with your government are not so good as they were; but I request you to tell the emperor, that my personal feelings for him are not changed." As soon as this little episode was known in Paris, it produced great excitement. It was looked upon as the forerunner of war with Austria; and an assurance in the official *Moniteur*, of the 7th of January, "that nothing in diplomatic relations authorised the fears" which the "alarming reports" that prevailed showed to be entertained in all classes of society, did not tend to restore public confidence. Five days after this paragraph appeared, on the 12th of January, the marriage of the prince Napoleon with the princess Clotilde was announced. The bride was in her sixteenth, the bridegroom in his thirty-seventh year. In many respects, besides age, it was looked upon as a most unsuitable union; but it was considered as confirming all the rumours respecting the engagements entered into between the emperor and count Cavour at Plombières. It was certainly an excellent alliance for the family of Bonaparte, as it established a connection, not only between that family and the house of Savoy, but with the house of Hapsburg (the mother of the princess having been an Austrian archduchess); and also with the Bourbons, who are allied to the Savoy by marriage. The young princess received her name as a reminiscence of a French ancestress—the princess Clotilde, sister to Louis XIV. It was rumoured, at the time, that Victor Emmanuel ratified the engagement made for him by his minister with extreme reluctance; and that he was, at last, only induced to do so on the receipt of an autograph letter from the emperor of Russia, advocating the alliance.

Though the marriage was announced, in the *Moniteur* of the 12th of January, as an arrangement already determined upon, the formal demand of the princess's hand for the cousin of the emperor was not made till the 23rd, when general Niel acted as the amatorial ambassador. The king gave his consent; and, on the 30th, the marriage ceremony was performed at Turin. The prince brought his bride—who is described as not beautiful, but as having a very sweet and amiable expression, a faithful mirror of her charming character—to Paris; where, coolly welcomed by the people on her arrival, she met with a most cordial reception from all her new

relatives. The marriage was celebrated by a grand banquet given in the "Salle des Marechaux," at the Tuileries, on the 7th of February; and by a municipal ball, at the Hôtel-de-Ville, on the 14th. On both occasions the magnificent halls were gorgeously decorated. At the ball, the rooms were crowded; and the scene was as splendid as it was animated—numerous uniforms being interspersed with the black coats of the gentlemen; whilst the toilettes of the ladies could not be exceeded for richness and elegance. An eye-witness says—"On entering the Hôtel-de-Ville, the visitor was at once lost in labyrinths of evergreens and flowers, where green vines were entwined, until he was completely surrounded with verdure. Fountains were throwing up their bright jets in every direction; coloured lights were disposed in such a manner as to reflect in the mirrors an endless perspective of beauty; music was heard, but the performers were unseen; all was fairy-like and captivating;" and all present seemed deeply impressed with the brilliance of the spectacle.

The session of the French chambers was opened, on the 7th of February, in the "Salle des Etats," in the new Louvre—a magnificent room, measuring 138 feet by 69, and about 40 feet in height. At one end is the grand entrance; at the other the throne, which is covered with crimson velvet, spotted with the imperial bee, in gold. A gallery, supported by a rod of gilt fluted columns, is carried along both sides and ends of the hall. The walls are painted to resemble variegated marble; and the decorations are of the Renaissance period. A large fresco painting, by M. Charles Louis Müller, ornaments the roof. It represents the triumph of christianity and civilisation—France being the presiding genii of the latter. At one end is the apotheosis of Charlemagne; at the other, that of Napoleon I. These pictures are rich in colour; and are surrounded by allegorical figures, painted to resemble white marble, from which spring scrolls, in gold, that intersect the windows, and form the leading decorations of the room. This hall, when the session was opened, presented a very brilliant appearance. The emperor was seated on the throne; the empress, the princess Clotilde, and their ladies in waiting, occupying a tribune on the right; the cardinals, ministers, admirals, and generals were in another tribune on the left; and those who could not find room there, took their places on the right and left of the throne. The senators, deputies, and councillors of state had seats arranged for them upon the floor; the judges of the various tribunals, in their robes, were on raised benches at the far end. The gallery over the throne was reserved for the members of the diplomatic corps and their ladies; the other galleries were occupied by the public, admitted by ticket. Immediately on the right of the

emperor, were prince Jerome and prince Louis Bonaparte; on his left, prince Napoleon and prince Murat; all of whom were seated.

The emperor, in his speech, after alluding to "the vague uneasiness, the subdued agitation, which, in the midst of general calm and prosperity, without any well-defined cause, possessed certain minds, and shook public confidence"—and averring, that "the heir of the emperor Napoleon reascended the throne, not to renew an era of conquests, but to inaugurate peace"—adverted to the relations he held with foreign countries. "The alliance with England, he had employed all his perseverance to consolidate. He had found a happy reciprocity of sentiment on the part of the queen of Great Britain, as well as on the part of statesmen of all opinions." Since the peace, "his relations with the emperor of Russia had also assumed a character of the most frank cordiality, because they had been in accord on all points under dispute." Between the cabinet of Vienna and his own, he regretted to say, differences existed; and, that being the case, "it was not extraordinary that France should draw closer to Piedmont, which had been so devoted during the war—so faithful to French policy during peace. The happy union of his well-beloved cousin, prince Napoleon, with the daughter of king Victor Emmanuel, was not one of those unusual events for which some hidden reason must be sought; but the natural consequence of the community of interest between the two countries, and of the friendship between the two sovereigns."—Italy, and her abnormal position, had, for some time, justly disquieted diplomacy. That, however, was not a sufficient motive for believing in war. He hoped peace would not be disturbed; and he called upon the chambers calmly to resume the usual course of their labours.

In the legislative body, count Morny, the president, took his tone from the emperor; and, when he formally inaugurated the session of that body, on the 8th of February, his speech was decidedly of a pacific tendency. On the 12th of February, the minister of finance, in presenting the *projet de loi* on the budget, also made a pacific speech. In that document, the total expenditure was estimated at 1,795,367,481*f.* (£71,814,699), being an increase of the sum demanded, for the previous year, of 28,660,204*f.* (£1,146,408). The revenue, according to the anticipations of the finance minister, would realise 1,817,609,385*f.* (£72,704,375); an increase of 43,690,271*f.* (£1,747,610) over the last year; and leaving a surplus of income over outgoings, of 22,241,904*f.* (£889,676). The ministerial proposals met with some opposition; but they were adopted before the session broke up. The dotation to prince Napoleon was also increased, in consequence of his marriage, from 300,000*f.* (£12,000), to 800,000*f.* (£32,000) per annum.

If the emperor and his ministers really anticipated that peace might be preserved, they were soon undeceived. The few words addressed to M. Hubner, on the 1st of January, were spread, by telegraph, all over Europe. They produced the impression that a war between Austria and France was inevitable—an impression which was not dissipated by the speech addressed to his chambers, by the king of Sardinia, when he opened the session on the 10th of January; and which gathered strength as time progressed. The months of January, February, March, and a great part of April, were spent in a constant interchange of notes between the diplomatic agents of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sardinia, and in personal interviews between those agents and the foreign ministers of the courts to which they were respectively accredited; but to disinterested observers, if such there were, these diplomatic efforts never appeared to promise a pacific result. The emperor of France, indeed, personally declared to earl Cowley, that, "as long as Austria remained within her own frontiers, she was mistress to do as she pleased;" and, "with regard to Sardinia, if she provoked hostilities unjustly, and placed herself in the wrong, she must expect no support from him."* But count Buol, in a conversation with lord A. Loftus, about the same time, declared, "that it was impossible to come to an understanding with France on Italian affairs, as they started from two different points. First, Austria did not consider France to be an Italian power. Secondly, France sympathised with and protected the cause of nationalities; whereas, Austria supported that of sovereigns, governments, and established order." Then, whilst Austria maintained, that the ambitious and encroaching policy of Sardinia had occasioned the existing state of things; Sardinia retorted, that it was the tyranny of Austria which had excited the hatred of the Italian people against her. To a question, put by lord Malmesbury, of what Sardinia really required of Austria? count Cavour replied—1st. The recognition of the absolute independence of the states of Central Italy.—2nd. The conferring on Parma and Modena, institutions similar to those of Piedmont.—3rd. The re-establishment, in Tuscany, of the institutions of 1848.—4th. The administrative separation of the provinces of the Roman states, situated between the Adriatic, the Po, and the Apennines; and the development, in them, of the municipal and provincial institutions, which were established in principle, if not put into practice, by the pope himself, on his return from Gaëta.†

There was little probability of these propositions being acceded to by Austria; with whose

* Despatch from lord Cowley, dated Jan. 10th, 1859.

† Despatch from count Cavour to the marquis d'Azeglio, March 1st, 1859.

foreign minister earl Cowley was, at the time the despatch of count Cavour was written, holding a personal negotiation; his lordship having proceeded to Vienna at the instance of the British government, with the full approbation of the emperor of France, upon a mediatorial mission. The earl had no definite instructions; but being in possession of the views of the French emperor, and of his own cabinet, he was to ascertain whether Austria would accede to the following conditions:—"1. The evacuation of the Roman states by the Austrian and French troops.—2. The reform of the administration in those states, either upon the plan put forward by the great powers in 1831, or on that proposed by France and Austria, in 1856-'7.—3. Security for the maintenance of better relations between Austria and Sardinia.—4. The abrogation or modification of the Austro-Italian treaties of 1847; by which the former was bound to interfere with and suppress any popular manifestation in Central Italy."

Austria did not appear at all indisposed to assent to these propositions (the acceptance of the first being rendered easy, by a request just made by the pope, that the Austrian and French troops might be withdrawn from his territories within the year), except the 3rd, upon which count Buol said, the British government must address itself to Turin, as it was not from the conduct of Austria that the present critical state of affairs had arisen. Before, however, any decision could be come to, Russia proposed, that a congress of the five powers—Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia—should be held, to discuss and adjust the affairs of Italy. To this the other powers assented; and the four propositions of Great Britain, were accepted as the bases of the deliberations. But then questions arose as to whether Sardinia and the Italian states should be admitted to the congress? and whether Sardinia should not, as Austria demanded, be called upon to disarm? The first was settled by agreeing to refer it to the congress to decide. On the second there was much diversity of opinion; but, at last, Great Britain proposed, that "there should be a preliminary, general, effective, and simultaneous disarmament, to be carried out by a military or civil commission, separate from the congress; and that, as soon as the commission had assembled, and begun its task, the congress should meet." To this proposition France agreed, "*purement et simplement*;" and Sardinia, finding that her ally had done so, consented to submit to the previous disarmament. Great Britain had made her proposals on the 18th of April. Sardinia gave her admission on the 19th. On that very day, count Buol had sent a despatch to count Cavour, demanding that Sardinia should put its army on a peace footing without delay, and disarm the Italian volunteers. Three days were

allowed for an answer. An evasive answer, or a refusal, to be followed by war.

This was a rash step on the part of the cabinet of Vienna, and the British government solemnly protested against it; "assigning to Austria, and fixing upon her, the last responsibility for all the miseries and calamities inevitably consequent upon a conflict, which was on the eve of being averted; but which, once begun, would infallibly produce a more than an ordinary amount of social suffering and political convulsion."* Austria, however, had some excuse. She never could be assured of the sincerity of France; and the activity in the dockyards and arsenals of that power, which had existed from the beginning of the year, was one cause of her doubts. That activity spread alarm throughout Germany; and was far from being regarded with approbation in France itself, where the idea of war was very unpopular with every class. With a view to allay some symptoms of discontent, and restore confidence, the *Moniteur*, of the 5th of March, announced, that "the emperor had promised the king of Sardinia to defend him against any aggressive act on the part of Austria—nothing more." It denied the report, that "France was making considerable warlike preparations;" and said, that the regular effective force on the peace footing, adopted two years ago, had not been exceeded. The activity in the arsenals and dockyards, it added, was owing to the facts, that the artillery was all to change, and the ships to transform—operations, for the accomplishment of which, several years would be necessary. However true this might be, it did not account for the activity which was observable in a large manufactory of military equipments, in the neighbourhood of Paris, during the entire month of March. In that establishment numerous workmen were engaged, who were employed, from 6 A.M. to 9 P.M. every day, in executing orders for the government. Troops were also marched towards the Alpine frontier; and in the south of France 120,000 men were collected, who were ready, at any moment, to take the field.—In the second week of March, the prince Napoleon resigned his office of minister of Algeria and the colonies, in which he was succeeded by M. de Chasseloupe; and it was rumoured, that he took this step to join the army which was intended to invade Italy.

Sardinia had also, in the month of March—as the Austrian government had summoned to their quarters all the soldiers of the Italian regiments who were on furlough—extended her army to the war establishment; whilst the refugees from Lombardy and Central Italy, and the deserters from the Austrian army, were formed into battalions of volunteers—the command being given to Garibaldi, who was summoned to Turin; and

* Lord A. Loftus to count Buol, April 26th, 1859.

was perhaps, except Kossuth, the Hungarian, the most bitter enemy to the house of Hapsburg.—On the 26th of March, count Cavour arrived in Paris. He had interviews with the emperor, earl Cowley, and count Walewski; and strenuously resisted all the entreaties and arguments pressed upon him in favour of the disarmament of Sardinia; declaring, that “he and his sovereign would be lost if they were to consent to so humiliating a proposal.” On his return to Turin, he was received with the warmest demonstrations of welcome; and shortly after, subscriptions were opened at Rome, Florence, and other cities, to aid “the national cause;” to support which, volunteers, in considerable numbers, were sent to Piedmont. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that Austria, under these circumstances, thought that war was determined upon: still, as she was prepared for war, if it did break out, it would have been much better if she had remained passive, and let her enemies have taken the initiative in the strife.

Whatever were the intentions of the French emperor before, as soon as it was known that the Austrian *ultimatum* was dispatched to Turin, he began to make preparations, openly and avowedly, for war; nor was Sardinia less active. It was known at Turin, on the 22nd of April, that the demand to disarm had been received at Milan, and forwarded to Turin by an aide-de-camp of general Gyulai, who had taken the command, at the former city, in the absence of the archduke Maximilian. On that day a royal decree appeared, dividing the Sardinian army into five *corps d'armée* of infantry and one of cavalry. Four of those corps were already in the field, in two divisions—one commanded by general Sonnaz, the other by general Alfonso della Marmora; Victor Emmanuel commanding-in-chief.—The next day the legislature met; and count Cavour stated, that he was informed, by the British representative, “that the cabinet of Vienna had resolved to address to Piedmont a direct invitation to disarm;” and the chamber assented, without deliberation, to a bill which the minister presented, investing the king with all legislative and executive powers during the war. In the afternoon of the 23rd of April, baron Ernest von Kellersberg, aide-de-camp to general Gyulai, arrived at Turin, with the Austrian *ultimatum*. He was dispatched with the negative answer on the 26th. On the 27th, after attending a religious service at the cathedral, Victor Emmanuel issued a proclamation to his troops, telling them, that Austria threatened to invade their territory because order reigned there; and calling upon them to make the independence of Italy their battle-cry. On the 29th, he addressed another proclamation to his people; in which he stated, that Austria attacked Piedmont with a powerful army; and that, having

handed over to his beloved cousin, prince Eugène, the government of the state, he himself drew the sword. Count Cavour, at the same time, appealed to the princes of Italy, calling upon them to make their election between their own country and the foreigner. They replied—the dukes of Modena and Tuscany, by leaving their capitals for the Austrian camp; and the duchess of Parma, by repairing to Switzerland; the people of the duchies declared for Sardinia. Such was the feeling raised in the duchies in favour of Victor Emmanuel, by the secret operations of the committees of the National Society, that it is more than doubtful, if the sovereigns had pursued any other course, whether they could have retained their dominions.

On the return of his aide-de-camp, general Gyulai ordered his army to cross the Ticino, in three divisions—one of 30,000 men, of which he took the command; a second, of 60,000, under general Benedek; and a third, of 30,000, under general Zöbel. The British ministers, however, had made another effort to avert war. On receiving the intelligence of the dispatch of the Austrian *ultimatum*, they accompanied their protest against it (in which they were joined by Prussia and Russia), with the offer of a direct mediation between the belligerents, upon the basis of the four propositions submitted to count Buol by earl Cowley. Austria, with apparent frankness, accepted the proposal; and the emperor postponed his declaration of war till a telegram from Paris announced the answer of Napoleon. It was a refusal; things had then gone too far, he said, to be settled by mediation; the sword must decide the quarrel. On the 28th of April, the emperor Francis Joseph addressed “a manifesto” to his people; in which he stated the events of the last few months, and told them that he had ordered his army to enter Sardinia. The next day, count Buol dispatched a circular to the Austrian representatives at foreign courts, recapitulating the acts of aggression of which Sardinia was accused—protesting against “the pretension of forming new states, according to nationalities, as the most dangerous of all utopian schemes;” and stating, that the emperor had drawn his sword “because guilty hands had attacked the honour and dignity of his crown.”

By this time the French army was in motion towards what was to be the seat of a brief campaign. On the 23rd of April—the telegraph having that day conveyed to Paris the intelligence that Austria had sent its *ultimatum* to Turin—several *corps d'armée* had been ordered to concentrate on the borders of Piedmont. The following arrangements as to the military commands were, at the same time, announced in the *Moniteur*. Marshal Magnan remained commander of Paris. The duke of Malakoff was appointed to command a numerous body of troops,

called the "army of observation," with his headquarters at Nancy. The army at Lyons was placed under general Castellane; and the army of the Alps being divided into five *corps d'armée*, the command of the 1st was conferred upon marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers; of the 2nd, on general McMahon; of the 3rd, on general Canrobert; of the 4th, on general Niel; and of the 5th, on prince Napoleon. There was also a division of the imperial guard, commanded by general St. Jean d'Angely. The 1st and 2nd corps were assembled at Marseilles and Toulon, where they were embarked on board transports, and conveyed to Genoa. The 3rd marched across Mont Cenis to Susa, and was conveyed from thence to Turin by railway. The 4th proceeded *viâ* Grenoble, across the Col de Genève, also to Susa. The 5th was embarked for Florence, with directions to advance through Tuscany. Marshal Vaillant was appointed major-general of the army of the Alps; being succeeded by marshal Randon as minister of war.

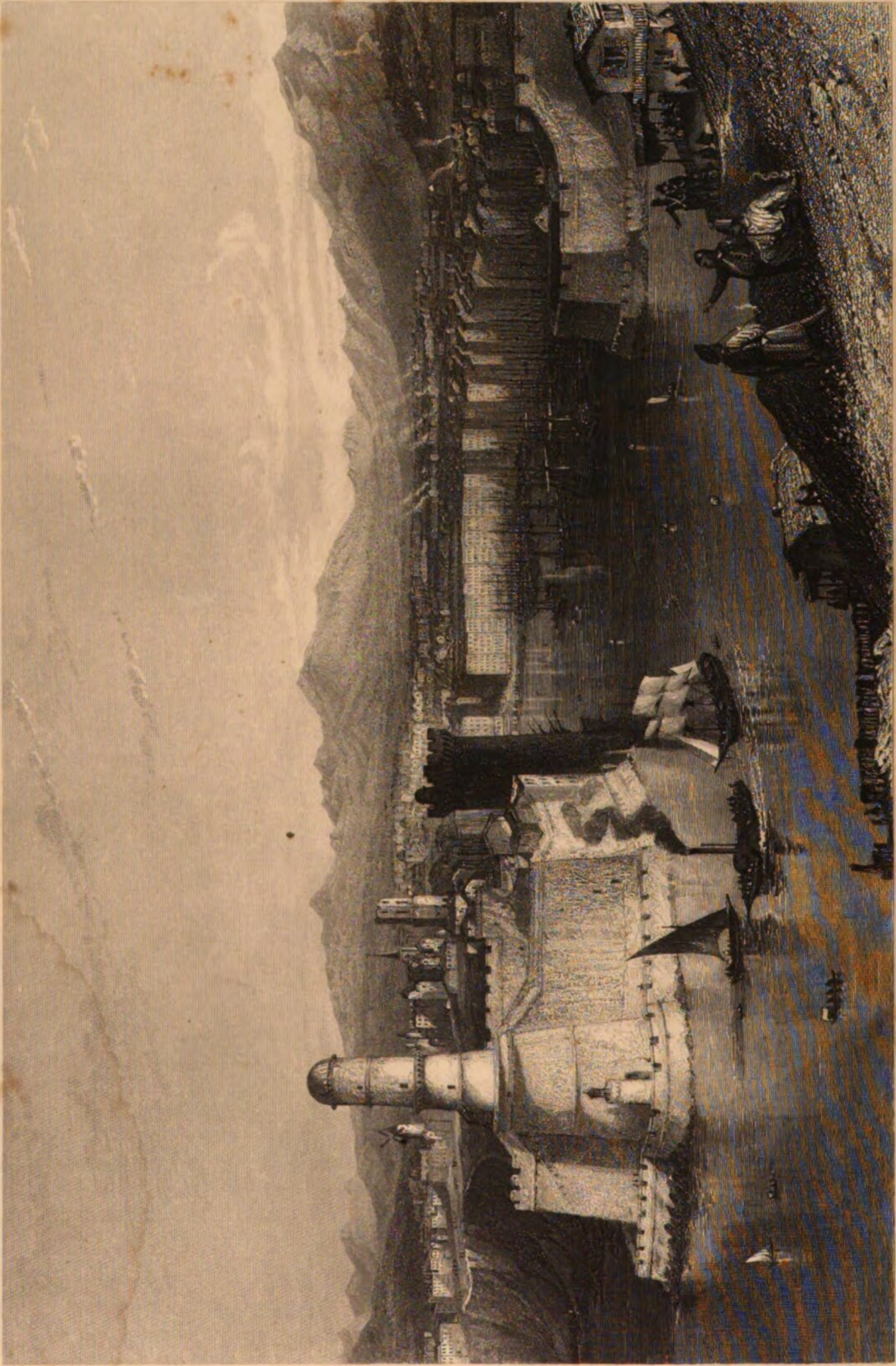
On the 26th of April, the senate and legislative body assembled. Count Walewski submitted to them copies of the despatches which had passed between the various courts, and, in an able speech, traced the progress of the negotiations; contending that, as they progressed, France had practised the utmost moderation; and that, if the emperor made war, it would be because he was forced and constrained to do so by the aggressive conduct of Austria. Count Morny, in addressing the legislative body, expressed the hope that war would be limited to Italy, and would not be one of revolution or conquest. At the same sitting, M. Baroche submitted a *projet de loi*, for raising a loan of 500,000,000*f.* (£20,000,000); and for increasing the contingent of 1858 to 140,000 men.

On the 29th of April, count Walewski dispatched a circular to the French diplomatic agents, justifying the conduct of France, and defending the steps the government had adopted. In this circular, the agreement of the other cabinets—"in the face of a danger which they had all, for some years, secretly foreseen"—was adduced, as a proof that they were all aware that the question was ripe for solution. The emperor and his ministers "had the proud conviction, that a congress assembled under the conditions which the cabinet of St. Petersburg had proposed for its convocation, and confining itself to the plan traced out for its deliberations by the government of her Britannic majesty, would have fully solved the difficulties which prudence could no longer permit to be unheeded." Austria, however, had addressed to the court of Turin a summons, which led the king of Sardinia to demand, that France—which, refusing to sustain that power in aggression, had promised its support for defence—should send troops to her aid. This demand had been

complied with; and "the government of the empire could only see in the general position of the affairs of Italy, a great European question, the settlement of which demanded the co-operation of all its allies."

On the 3rd of May, the emperor sent a message to the legislative body; in which his majesty said—"Austria, in causing her army to enter the territories of the king of Sardinia, her ally, declared war against France; as she violated treaties and justice, and menaced the French frontiers. That power had brought matters to such an extremity, that she must rule up to the Alps, or Italy must be free to the shores of the Adriatic. Hitherto moderation had been the rule of his (Napoleon's) conduct; now energy became his first duty. France must arm, and resolutely tell Europe—"I desire not conquest, but I desire firmly to maintain my national and traditional policy.'" The objects of the war were declared to be—to restore Italy to herself; to remove from the pope that foreign pressure which weighed upon the whole peninsula; and to establish order, based upon legitimate and satisfied interests. The message concluded with the announcement, that the emperor would soon leave Paris, to place himself at the head of the army: "he left in France the empress and his son. Seconded by the experience and enlightenment of the last surviving brother of the emperor, she would show herself equal to the grandeur of her mission."—The same day, a second circular was sent to the French diplomatic agents abroad, for the purpose of being communicated to the courts to which they were accredited. Its object was, to inform the respective governments, that the commanders of the military and naval forces had orders to respect all neutral territory; to respect neutral rights; and to adhere, in all things, to the principles recognised by the protocol of the congress of Paris, of April 16th, 1856.—These preliminary announcements were closed by the publication, in the *Moniteur*, of an imperial decree, conferring on the empress the title and authority of regent during the emperor's absence at the theatre of war. Her majesty was to preside, in his name, at the privy council, and the council of ministers; but she was directed to take, on the resolutions and decrees submitted to her, the counsel of prince Jerome Napoleon, who was, in the absence of her majesty, to preside at the ministerial consultations.

On the 5th of May, the 4th regiment of Voltigeurs left Paris for Italy; and the scene somewhat resembled those witnessed in London, when the guards and other troops departed for the Crimea. The regiment marched down the Rue de Rivoli, which was thronged with people, and drew up before the window of the *entresol* of the Pavilion Marsan. There stood the emperor, the empress, and prince Jerome. The imperial



Drawn by T. Allen.

Engraved by A. Williams.

Entrance to the Port of Marseilles.

The French troops embarked at this port in aid of the Italians in May 1869.

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prince was on a chair, next the balcony; and he was so eagerly attracted with the gay spectacle in the street, that the emperor was obliged to hold him by the arm, to prevent his precipitating himself amongst the soldiers. There were large groups of people in various parts, anxious to see the troops; and, whilst the latter raised loud cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" the same cry, mixed with shouts of "*Vive la Garde!*" and a few exclamations of "*Vive l'Italie!*" came from the former. The emperor and empress repeatedly saluted the troops and people; as did the little prince, by touching his forehead with the back of his hand. And so the soldiers passed along; the people being evidently divided in opinion as to the right or the propriety of the movement.

The emperor quitted Paris for Marseilles on the 10th of May; the next day the duke de Malakoff left London for Nancy, to take the command of the army of observation; and the count de Persigny returned to his old quarters, as ambassador to the British court. His majesty embarked for Genoa, which port he reached on the 12th. On landing, he addressed to his army the following order of the day:—"Soldiers! I come to place myself at your head, to conduct you to the combat. We are about to second the struggles of a people now vindicating its independence, and to rescue it from foreign oppression. This is a sacred cause, which has the sympathies of a civilised world. I need not stimulate your ardour. Every step will remind you of a victory. In the Via Sacra of ancient Rome, inscriptions were chiselled upon the marble, reminding the people of their exalted deeds. It is the same to-day. In passing Mondovi, Marengo, Lodi, Castiglione, Arcola, and Rivoli, you will, in the midst of those glorious recollections, be marching in another Via Sacra. Preserve that strict discipline which is the honour of the army. Here—forget it not—there are no other enemies than those who fight against you in battle. Remain compact, and abandon not your ranks to hasten forward. Beware of too great enthusiasm, which is the only thing I fear. The new *armes de précision* are dangerous only at a distance. They will not prevent the bayonet from being what it has hitherto been—the terrible weapon of the French infantry. Soldiers! let us all do our duty, and put our confidence in God. Our country expects much from you. From one end of France to the other, the following words of happy augury re-echo—"The new army of Italy will be worthy of her elder sister."

The contest which now ensued was of short duration. By the 1st of May the Austrian army had crossed the Ticino; its line extending along the Agogna river from Vespola, on the north, to San Nazzario, on the south, and thence to the eastward, along the Po. This position was gradually extended and advanced till the 8th of

May, when the head-quarters were assembled at Vercelli; and the greater part of eastern Piedmont, from north to south, was occupied by the invaders.*

At this time the Sardinian army was posted from Turin to Genoa, with its face to the east; its centre being at Alessandria. The head-quarters were at Occimiano, between Casale and Valenza. As the French crossed the Alps, or advanced from Genoa, they joined the main body, generally keeping in advance. Before they arrived, if the Austrians had been properly commanded, they might have occupied Turin; and, in all probability, a different result would have attended the campaign. But, while the French were advancing to the seat of war, the Austrians remained inactive, and allowed the emperor's troops and the Piedmontese to concentrate; thus not merely depriving the Austrian army of the superiority in numbers it before possessed, but transferring that superiority to the allies. From that time general Gyulai (who retraced his steps by abandoning Voghera, and recrossing the Po) had to act upon the defensive, with the additional disadvantage of not knowing where he would be attacked. The emperor Napoleon, who arrived at Alessandria on the 13th of May, took the command-in-chief of the allied army; and although it was his first campaign, he evinced no inconsiderable share of strategic skill. He resolved to make the attack on the Austrian right, and massed his troops on his own left; following the Austrians in what was now their retreat. After several skirmishes, which produced no results, the first action took place, on the 20th of May, at Montebello. The Austrians were defeated, with the loss of about 1,500 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners. The Sardinian left was then extended to Vercelli, the Austrians being driven from that place by general Cialdini.

The Sardinians gradually concentrated at Vercelli, the French occupying the posts they vacated on their advance. On the 30th of May, the former crossed the Sesia at several points; drove the Austrians from Palestro; and, on the 31st, beat a corps of 20,000 men, who attempted to recover possession of that post.—On the 1st of June, the allies made a demonstration to the east, which caused the Austrians to continue their retreat by Vigevano, Bereguardo, and Pavia. This backward movement was made in the most orderly manner; and the enemy was closely followed by the French and Sardinians.—On the 3rd, the Austrians recrossed the Ticino; and the same day general McMahon crossed that river, and established himself on the Austrian territory.—On the 4th, Napoleon

* Those who wish for a detailed account of the war, will find a full narrative of all the events of 1859, in *Italy, Past and Present*; published by the London Printing and Publishing Company.

resolved to make an attack upon the enemy, in concert with general McMahon. His majesty, at the head of the imperial guards and the Zouaves, crossed the Ticino by the bridge of Buffalora, and advanced to Magenta, which stands on the direct road from Novara to Milan. McMahon directed his march to the same place; and both divisions of the allies had to force their way against the determined resistance of the Austrians. McMahon decided the fate of the day, by driving the right wing of the Austrians, after a fierce conflict, from Magenta. Driven back, also, from every other point, they withdrew, on the approach of night, to Abbiate Grosso, leaving 6,000 prisoners, chiefly Italian deserters, in the hands of the enemy. Their loss was, as estimated by the French, 5,713 in killed and wounded: that of the victors was stated, by the same authority, to be 2,958. For his share in this victory, general McMahon was created a marshal of France, and the title of duke of Magenta was conferred upon him.

On the 5th of June, marshal Hesse arrived at the Austrian camp, and superseded general Gyulai in the command of the army. He resolved to evacuate the indefensible city of Milan; and whilst the Austrian civil authorities went to Verona, the Italian municipality, on the 6th, proceeded to the allied camp; tendered their allegiance to Victor Emmanuel, and solicited him to take possession of their city. The next day the Austrians made a simultaneous retreat on their whole line, from the Ticino to the Adda, evacuating Piacenza and Pavia. They did not make this movement without fighting; but the only important action was on the 8th of June, when a body of several thousand men, under general Benedek, which was isolated from the main army, was attacked by the French at Malegnano. The fighting continued that day, and part of the next; the Austrians lost 1,500 men, but were not prevented from continuing their retreat.—On the 14th of June, the emperor Francis Joseph arrived, and took the command-in-chief: on the 18th the army crossed the Mincio, and was cantoned in the Quadrilateral—so called from the four fortresses of Legnano, Verona, Mantua, and Peschiera, which were considered to constitute it the key of Lombardo-Venetia; and, on the 20th, the emperor established his head-quarters at Villafranca.

The emperor Napoleon and the king of Sardinia made their triumphant entry into Milan on the 8th of June. The same day the former issued a spirited proclamation to the people of Italy, calling upon them to “unite for one sole object—the enfranchisement of their country; to seek military organisation; and to hasten, all of them, to place themselves under the flag of king Victor Emmanuel, who had already so nobly shown them the path to honour.” The same day the king assumed the sovereignty of

Lombardy, and organised a provisional government to act till peace was proclaimed.—On the 10th, the Austrians having withdrawn their troops from Bologna and the legations, a provisional government was formed at that city; Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king; and messengers were sent to him with the announcement that the papal sovereignty was rejected for his.*

After a few days' repose, the allies followed the movements of the Austrians, occupied Lonato and Castiglione, and prepared to take up strong positions on the west side of the Mincio, as it appeared to be the intention of the enemy to concentrate their forces, and make a stand, on the eastern bank of that river. On the 23rd of June, however, the Austrian emperor, in opposition to the advice of his generals, resolved to recross the river, and attack the allies. The movement was made in the night; and at day-break on the morning of the 24th, the allies found, to their surprise, that the enemy was near them, with an immense force, extended in a line not less than twelve miles in length; their right wing abutting on Pozzolengo, Solferino, and Cavriana; their left upon Guidizzolo and Castel Goffredo; and batteries of artillery crowning all the heights as far as Volta.—On that day the great battle of Solferino was fought, commencing at 5 A.M., and continuing eleven hours: the Austrians fought desperately; but they were outnumbered, and out-generaled; and the emperor Francis Joseph, finding that further resistance was useless, quitted the field at four o'clock, when the army began to recross the river. A heavy storm of thunder, hail, and wind, favoured their retreat; and they resumed their cantonments in the Quadrilateral, in front of Verona. Their loss, however, was immense; at least 15,000 were killed and wounded; 6,000 were made prisoners; and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies. The victory was hardly won: the French had 12,000 privates and sub-officers, and 720 officers, and the Sardinians, 6,000 rank and file, and many officers, put *hors de combat*.

On the 28th of June, the allies, having replaced the bridges destroyed by the Austrians in their retreat, crossed the Mincio without opposition. On the 30th, the emperor Napoleon established his head-quarters at Villafranca; at which time, Peschiera, on the Lago di Garda, was invested by the Sardinians; Verona by the mass of French troops; and a strong force was detached to watch Mantua, and prevent any attack from its garrison.—On the 1st of July, prince Napoleon joined the allied army, with 35,000 troops from Central Italy; and expectation

* On the 10th of June, the celebrated Austrian statesman, prince Metternich, died at Vienna, in his 87th year; just when the political system, which he had mainly established, was collapsing in every direction.

was at its height, anticipating the result of an attack upon the famed defences of Venetia, when all Europe was startled with the intelligence, that, on the 8th of July, in consequence of overtures from the emperor Napoleon, an armistice was concluded between the belligerents, to extend to the 25th of August. The astonishment was further increased by the announcement, that, on the 11th of July, the two emperors had held a private interview at Villafranca, from which Victor Emmanuel was excluded; and that, before they separated, the following preliminaries of peace were agreed to.

“Between his majesty the emperor of Austria and his majesty the emperor of the French, it has been agreed as follows:—The two sovereigns will favour the formation of an Italian confederation.—That confederation shall be under the presidency of the holy father.—The emperor of Austria cedes to the emperor of the French, his rights over Lombardy, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera; so that the frontier of the Austrian possessions shall start from the extreme range of the fortress of Peschiera, and shall extend in a direct line along the Mincio, as far as Grazio, thence by Scorzarolo and Luzzara to the Po—whence the actual frontiers shall continue to form the limits of Austria.—The emperor of the French will hand over (*remettre*) the ceded territory to the king of Sardinia.—Venetia shall form part of the Italian confederation, though remaining under the crown of the emperor of Austria.—The grand-duke of Tuscany, and the duke of Modena, return to their states, granting a general amnesty.—The two emperors will ask the holy father to introduce indispensable reforms into his states.—A full and complete amnesty is granted, on both sides, to persons compromised in the late events, in the territories of the belligerent parties.”

On the 12th of July, Napoleon announced the conclusion of peace to his army—telling his “soldiers that the principal end of the war was obtained; and Italy would become, for the first time, a nation. Venetia, it was true, remained to Austria; but would, nevertheless, be an Italian province, forming part of the Italian confederation;” and “Italy, being henceforth the mistress of her destinies, it would be her own fault if she did not progress in order and liberty.” The troops were further told, that “they would soon return to France, and their grateful country would receive, with delight, the soldiers who carried the arms of France to such exalted glory; who, in two months, had freed Piedmont and Lombardy, and who only stopped because the struggle was likely to assume proportions which were no longer in relation with the interest which France had in that fearful war.”—The same day, Victor Emmanuel, who had been regarded as a cypher in

all these arrangements, issued two proclamations—one to his troops, praising their valour, and telling them, that “important affairs of state calling him back to his capital, he had entrusted general La Marmora with the command of the army:” the second to the people of Lombardy, whom he congratulated on having had their independence assured by the preliminaries of peace; and calling upon them “to trust to their king, who, established on solid and imperishable bases, would procure happiness for the new countries which Heaven had entrusted to his government.”—Francis Joseph also addressed a proclamation to his army; in which he said, that he “entered on the struggle for the sanctity of treaties, relying on the enthusiasm of his people, the valour of his army, and the natural allies of Austria.” He spoke in high terms of the heroism of his troops, fighting against an enemy superior in numbers; and which still “remained firm, courageous, and unflinching.” But, “without allies, he yielded to the unfortunate circumstances of policy, in presence of which it was his paramount duty not to uselessly shed the blood of his soldiers, and impose fresh sacrifices on his people.”—These proclamations took all the uninitiated by surprise; in the midst of which the sovereigns left the camps—Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel entering Turin on the 15th of July; and the emperor of Austria arriving at Vienna on the 16th.

The transactions at Villafranca caused great disquietude and gloom to overshadow Lombardy and Piedmont; and, indeed, all Italy: and various have been the attempts to account for the conduct of the emperor of the French, in thus stopping in his career when the tide of victory appeared to be set in his favour, and before his promise to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, had been half fulfilled. One statement—highly honourable to his feelings as a man—was, that he was so filled with horror and remorse when he saw the slaughter at Solferino, that he resolved, come what might, the war should end. In another quarter, we are told, that he apprehended Germany rising; and, judging from what he had to encounter with Austria alone for an enemy, he dreaded a large army falling upon his rear. The pope, also, had threatened to appeal to the Roman catholic sovereigns, to join in an armed intervention, for the purpose of maintaining the temporal power of the holy see; and it was understood, that Spain and Portugal had already proffered their aid. A third assigned cause was, that Napoleon feared revolution was at work, and could not tell where it might end. Whilst he and Victor Emmanuel had been fighting in Lombardy, Garibaldi—whom he much disliked—at the head of the volunteers formed of the refugees from Southern and Central Italy, had been gaining numerous

successes in the north. Louis Kossuth had arrived at the seat of war; disaffection had appeared in Hungary; and Mazzini and his followers were again in the field. It was his aim to make Italy independent, but not to revolutionise her; and he thought it better to restore peace, and thus put an end to those movements. There is yet a fourth motive attributed to the emperor—disappointment at the manifestations of the Italian people. There are those who affirm, that, by the secret arrangements entered into at Plombières, in November 1858, Victor Emmanuel was to have had all Northern Italy; that the duchies of Central Italy were to have been united into a kingdom for prince Napoleon; that Naples—where a young king, Francis II., who had succeeded to the throne,* was following in the steps of the old one—should be transferred to Lucien Murat; and that Savoy and Nice should be annexed to France. But, when the war commenced, wherever the republican spirit was not shown, there was a desire for one Italy, under Victor Emmanuel as king. Prince Napoleon, who, after he had landed at Genoa, had proceeded to Tuscany, to act as the lieutenant of his father-in-law, had made a very unfavourable impression on the Italian people; and, if the war continued, Napoleon saw that no other result could be expected, than to see Victor Emmanuel supreme over the entire peninsula. He had no wish to contribute to the raising up of such a powerful state as a neighbour; and therefore he resolved on peace. It is impossible to decide which of these causes it was that influenced Napoleon. Possibly, the three first-named might all co-operate, although there may be no truth in the fourth. He himself, it will be seen, ascribes his conduct to the new character the war was likely to assume, with Europe in arms against him; and we should have no right to doubt his word, and to suspect other motives, were there not so many circumstances constantly occurring, which show that there are secret motives for many of the transactions of the present day, which are not likely to be developed till this generation, and perhaps the next, have passed away.

The emperor returned to Paris on the 17th of July. Few events had occurred, during his brief absence, requiring notice.—On the 26th of May, the senate, the legislative body, and the council of state, presented addresses to the empress, assuring her of their support and zealous aid; to which her majesty made suitable replies. In the evening of that day she left the Tuileries for St. Cloud; announcing, that the ministerial councils would, during her term of power, be held alternately there and at the Elysée. The latter palace had been nearly rebuilt; and was rendered a very handsome and comfortable residence; and her majesty inti-

* Ferdinand II., king of Naples, died May 22nd, 1859.

mated, that she should frequently drive up from St. Cloud, and pass a few hours there.

On the 25th of June Paris was illuminated, on the receipt of the news of the victory at Solferino. The war, certainly not popular when it commenced, had been rendered so by the French successes; and the rejoicing was general. "In the more fashionable and wealthy quarters, almost every house was decorated with flags and coloured lanterns; the whole population seemed to have turned out, and the enthusiasm was great. The sight of sights, however, was the Faubourg St. Antoine, which is inhabited exclusively by the working, or, as they have been called, the 'dangerous' classes. There were no exceptions; every window was lighted up; and the *ouvriers*, and their wives and children, perambulated the streets, shouting patriotic songs."†

The emperor, after his return from Italy, did not stop at the capital, but passed on to St. Cloud, where he was received by the empress, the imperial prince, and the male and female members of the household—the child holding a wreath of laurel in his hand to present to his father. The greeting between the emperor and empress was very affectionate.—On the 20th of July, his majesty received, at St. Cloud, deputations from the three great bodies of the state; and each of the presidents made a brief, but animated speech, congratulating his majesty upon the brilliant events of the war, and upon his return to Paris. In his reply, the emperor alluded to the peace, and the reasons which induced him to conclude it. "Arrived beneath the walls of Verona," he said, "the struggle was evidently about to change its nature, as well in a military as in a political aspect. Obligated to attack the enemy, who was intrenched behind great fortresses, and protected on his flank by the neutrality of the surrounding territory, and about to begin a long and barren war, he found himself in the face of Europe in arms, ready to dispute his successes, or aggravate his reverses." Enumerating the obstacles he would have had to encounter, and saying, that "it would have been necessary to go on shedding precious blood, and to risk that which a sovereign should only stake for the independence of his country;" he added, that he "stopped; but it was neither through weariness nor exhaustion, nor through abandoning the noble cause which he desired to serve; but in the interests of France." Frenchmen "had a right to be proud of the campaign. They had vanquished an army, numerous, brave, and well organised. Piedmont had been delivered from invasion, and her frontiers had been extended to the Mincio. The idea of an Italian nationality had been admitted by those who combated it most. All the sovereigns of the peninsula comprehended the imperious want

† Letter from Paris, June 26th, 1859.

of salutary reforms. Thus, after having given a new proof of the military power of France, the peace concluded would be prolific of happy results."

On the 27th of July, the emperor presided at a united sitting of the privy council and the council of ministers; and, the next morning, the *Moniteur* announced that his majesty had decided that "the armaments, both on land and sea, should be reduced to a peace footing, with the least possible delay." This was followed by an order, dissolving the army of observation, but maintaining the divisions of infantry and cavalry at the camps of Chalons and Herfault. On the 23rd of August, an order appeared, directing the men whose term of service expired in 1859, to return to their homes after the 20th of September, and granting a three months' furlough to others.

The army of Italy, 60,000 in number, made a public entry into Paris, on Sunday, the 14th of August, passing from St. Maur—under triumphal arches, and amidst trophies and decorations innumerable—down to the Faubourg St. Antoine, and along the Boulevards to the Rue de la Paix. The empress and the imperial family awaited the troops, in the balcony of the Hôtel de l'Etat Major, on the Place Vendôme; and the Place was converted into an amphitheatre, for the accommodation of the three great bodies of the state, and other privileged persons. It was asserted, that it would receive 20,000 persons; and every seat was occupied. All along the line of route, not only every window, but the roof of every house, was as full as it well could be; and there were crowds in all the streets. The reception of the returned soldiers was warm, frequently enthusiastic; the heartiest demonstrations being made when the standards taken from the enemy were seen. The wounded, who were well enough to walk, led the *cortège*; and they were especially distinguished: before they reached the end of the line of march, they had each one *bouquet* at least; some had six or seven, which had been thrown to them by the spectators. The emperor, surrounded by his marshals, took his position in the Place Vendôme; and, before half the *cortège* had passed before him, a storm of thunder and lightning, with heavy rain, burst over Paris, drenching all exposed to it to the skin; but his majesty and suite stood their ground. It ceased a short time before the cavalry of the guard, which wound up the procession, reached their barracks. In the evening, the chiefs of the army were invited, by the emperor, to a banquet at the Tuileries. His majesty addressed them after the repast; saying, that "the joy he experienced at finding himself with the greater part of the officers of the army of Italy, would have been complete, were it not mingled with regret at seeing about to separate the elements of a force so well organised, and so renowned." He thanked them, as sovereign

and commander-in-chief, for their confidence; and attributed the principal share of the success which had crowned their efforts, to those experienced and devoted generals, who made his post, as commander, easy; and said, "it was flattering to him, who had never before commanded an army, to find such obedience on the part of those who had great experience in war." His majesty concluded by announcing his intention to cause a medal to be distributed to all who had taken a part in the contest; and he "hoped the glorious names engraved upon it, would sometimes recall him to their thoughts."

The next day the "*fête* of St. Napoleon" was celebrated by charitable distributions to the indigent of the twelve arrondissements of the capital, and by the usual open-air and theatrical performances. The emperor distinguished the day by granting "a full and entire amnesty to all persons sentenced for political crimes and offences, or those who had been the object of any measures taken for public security. It was also announced, in the columns of the *Moniteur*, that "all warnings which had been given to the newspapers in France and the colonies, would be considered as non-issued;" and that 922 soldiers had been either pardoned, or the term of their imprisonment commuted." The amnesty was accompanied by a decree, modifying that of January 27th, 1858, which divided France into five great military districts. In order to afford "a more equal distribution of the military forces," the empire was divided into six military arrondissements—Algeria forming a seventh. The commands were distributed as follow:—1st, marshal Magnan; 2nd, the duke of Magenta; 3rd, marshal Canrobert; 4th, marshal de Castellane; 5th, marshal d'Hilliers; 6th, marshal Niel; and 7th, general Martimprey. The head-quarters were at Paris, Lille, Nancy, Lyons, Tours, Toulouse, and Algiers.

The amnesty, dated on the 15th of August, was not published in the *Moniteur* till the 17th. On reading it, queen Victoria directed earl Cowley to express to the emperor her warm approval of this act of mercy; and this step was looked upon as indicative of increased cordiality between the two governments. The English people, however, still showed themselves doubtful and suspicious of the designs of Napoleon. We have already noticed the effect produced in England by the violent language of the French press; and the increased naval armaments of the empire had given rise to a very general belief, that, at a fitting time, occasion would be found to quarrel with this country; for it was asked—against what other can the services of a large fleet be required? This feeling gave rise to the volunteer movement in England—a movement which had greatly increased in vigour and intensity, when it was found, while the *Moniteur* was protesting that the army was upon a peace

establishment, and that only changes and transformations were going on in the dockyards and arsenals—that France was able, instantly, without a day being given for preparation, to send an army of upwards of 100,000 men, fully equipped, in every respect, to Italy. The sudden peace brought with it fresh suspicions; and the motives of the emperor were freely commented upon in the English legislature (which was in session when peace was concluded), and the English press—the French journals having previously contained some articles of a character anything but friendly, taking the volunteer movement for a basis to start from.

On the 21st of August, the session of the councils-general (nearly equivalent to our grand-juries) was opened. On taking his seat, as president of the council of the Puy de Dôme, count de Morny especially adverted to the warlike speeches in the English parliament; the articles of a similar tendency in the English newspapers, and the volunteer movement. These things were justified, he said, in England, by the tone of the French press, which was alleged to be that of the French government; and he represented the English as saying, that “the emperor retained, at the bottom of his heart, the desire to avenge Waterloo and St. Helena;” and that he had only concluded peace with the emperor of Austria (as he had previously done with the czar), to render Francis Joseph his friend, and an enemy of England. The count denied all this. He told his hearers, that, when he went as ambassador to Russia, his instructions were, “not to let any encroachment be made on the English alliance;” and the subsequent acts and objects of the emperor had been equally misrepresented; but, he said, “time, and the determination of the emperor to lead France into the occupations and labours of peace, would, he doubted not, triumph over chimerical fears.” The only war to be made on England was “a manufacturing and commercial war;” the only conflict between the two nations was to be one “of progress and civilisation, loyal, avowable, and which would be advantageous to all. That was what the emperor desired;” and he called on his hearers “to second the efforts of his majesty.”—On the same day, another of the emperor’s friends, M. de la Guéronnière, president of the council-general of the Haute-Vienne, endeavoured to lessen the disgust which was expressed, in many quarters, at the preliminaries of Villafranca. He described the agreement between the two emperors as a fitting sequel to the victories gained by the French armies. “It tore,” he said, “one of the most mournful pages of the treaty of 1815.” It “changed and reformed the conditions of the balance of power in Europe; and secured for France a preponderance, which Louis XIV., notwithstanding the sword of Turenne and the genius of Colbert, could not establish.”

But that agreement was only preliminary; and plenipotentiaries were then sitting at Zurich, for the purpose of founding upon it a definite treaty of peace. The baron de Bourqueney, and the marquis de Banneville, represented France; the count Colloredo and the baron de Meyrenburg, Austria; and the chevalier Desambrous, Sardinia. They held their first meeting on the 6th of August; and did not finish their labours till the 11th of November. On that day, the treaties, three in number, were signed. The first, concluded between France and Austria, stipulated for the cession of Lombardy to France. By the second, between France and Sardinia, the former ceded that province to the latter. By the third, to which the three powers were parties, peace was re-established between them.—It is unnecessary to repeat the details of these measures, which merely confirmed the preliminaries of Villafranca, with one addition, relating to the money payments—the debt of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom; the settlement of which had been the great cause of the delay in bringing the labours of the plenipotentiaries to a conclusion. It was finally determined that Sardinia should pay Austria 250,000,000f. (£10,000,000); and 60,000,000f. (£2,400,000) to France, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, which, according to count Walewski, amounted to more than six times that amount. The signing of the treaties was followed by an agreement entered into by the two emperors, to assemble a congress, for the purpose of communicating to the other powers the treaties just concluded; and to deliberate on the measures which held out the most likely prospect of founding the pacification of Italy on solid and durable bases. Invitations from France and Austria, to the different powers, to send plenipotentiaries to the congress, were dispatched from Paris on the 29th of November, and the day of assembling was fixed for the 5th of January, 1860.—We may here state, that the preliminaries of Villafranca, and the treaties of Zurich, were alike disregarded by the Italians. The majority of the people of the duchies and the Romagna—the committees of the National Society being still at work—refused to return to their allegiance to their old rulers. Central Italy declared for Victor Emmanuel; although there were two parties—the friends of the old *régimes*, and the Mazzinians—endeavouring to produce another result; and the inhabitants of the legations professed their preference for his rule to that of the pope.

The emperor and empress spent the autumn at St. Sauveur and Biarritz. There were the usual gaieties; and little occurred worthy of note till the emperor’s return to Paris, when the feeling of distrust in this country still existing to a certain extent, four Liverpool merchants—Messrs. Shaw, Irving, Mellor, and

Blackwell—had the temerity to address a letter to his majesty, requesting “to know what were his intentions with respect to England?” M. Mocquard, the private secretary of the emperor, replied to this missive, in his majesty’s name, on the 30th of November. He told the four merchants, that, “on the one hand, they were affected with an imaginary disease, which seemed to have attacked their country like an epidemic. On the other, they counted on the loyalty of him from whom they asked an answer.” He assured them, that, “up to that moment, there had been no word of the emperor, or an act, which would permit a doubt respecting his sentiments, and, consequently, his intentions towards England. His conduct, irrevocably the same, had not, for a moment, ceased to be that of a faithful ally. That which he had been, he wished to continue to be. In proof of the fact, there was the approaching community of distant perils between the soldiers of the two nations.”—In this last sentence the secretary alluded to the renewed hostilities in China, of which we shall give a *résumé* in the following chapter.

In the month of November, notwithstanding the engineering measures adopted, at the suggestion of the emperor, to prevent the fatal effects of the extensive inundations, which, of late years, had devastated various parts of the empire, serious disasters were again caused by the overflow of the Rhône, Isère, and other rivers in the south-eastern districts of France. Railway embankments and bridges were carried away, communication interrupted, and several lives lost, in addition to the property destroyed. The heavy rains, which swelled the rivers, were preceded by a hurricane, the most severe experienced in France since 1823.

In November, M. Billault was again appointed minister of the interior; and, on the 1st of December, the *Moniteur* published an imperial decree, restoring the police to the department of the interior, from which it had been separated when general Espinasse was placed at its head. The prefect of police was, from that time, “charged with the general direction of the public *sûreté*,” and the direction of the entire police of the empire was concentrated in his hands, under the immediate authority of the minister of the interior.—A day or two after, the official journal announced, that a commission was appointed to examine the coasts of France, and prepare a plan for their defence. The members were general the marquis de la Place, admiral Dupetit-Thouars, marshal Niel, general de la Hitte, and general Esclevin, of the marine artillery. This measure gave rise to fresh discussions in the papers of the two countries; and the tone which was then, and had been for some time, assumed by the French journals, was so unnecessarily offensive, that M. Billault addressed a confidential communication to all the

prefects in France, directing them to employ their authority to modify it. The angry diatribes, in consequence, ceased. Something yet more remarkable occurred.

In the letter of the Paris correspondent to the *Times*, dated December 22nd, and which appeared in that journal of the 24th, a conversation between an Englishman and a Frenchman was reported, which did not at first excite any great attention. The Englishman, without entertaining them himself, was described as drawing the attention of the Frenchman to the feeling so prevalent in England, that France entertained “bad intentions” towards that country. As particular facts denoting those intentions—“the development given to the French navy, out of all proportion to the requirements and greatness of the country”—the “building iron-plated ships at Toulon,” and “at Nantes hundreds of flat-bottomed boats”—the large supplies of coals which had been imported, and the activity at the arsenals—were insisted upon by the Englishman. The Frenchman explained them all. First—ignoring the “supernumerary” and “extraordinary” credits, which had, every year, been added to the sums voted in the budget—he pointed out “that not a centime could be expended without the vote of the legislative body, and the previous examination of the council of state;” and that the sums voted, “indicated no excessive expenditure on the part of the government.” With respect to the navy, it had been directed, by a royal *ordonnance* of November 22nd, 1846, that the naval force on the peace establishment, should comprise 328 ships, of which forty were to be of the line, and fifty frigates. When the great superiority of steamers over sailing vessels became manifest, the emperor, in 1855, named a commission, under the presidency of admiral Hamelin, to fix the basis of the new fleet necessary for France. The commission reported in favour of transforming the sailing ships into steamers. It was calculated that thirteen years would be required to complete the transformation; and an extraordinary credit for the navy, of 17,000,000*f.* (£680,000) per annum, was voted for the thirteen years. At that moment they had thirteen ships of the line, and thirty-five frigates to build, to complete the peace establishment fixed by Louis-Philippe. As to the plated vessels—which were claimed as “an invention of the emperor”—they were merely an experiment; and transports were building, because the merchant navy was not sufficiently developed to enable the government to procure steam transports when needed. As to the flat-bottomed boats, they were intended, when the English ministry seemed disposed to make coals a contraband of war, to promote the internal communication. French coals were brought to Nantes, and had to be taken to Brest by canals;

and the boats were intended to facilitate the transfer over the docks. As to the quantity of coals purchased and imported, they were required to supply the fleet in China, and in other parts of the globe: and the activity in the arsenals was the result of that state of transformation which the artillery, as well as the ships, had to undergo. The Englishman thanked his companion for his information, and said he should turn it to account.

We have said this letter did not, at the first, excite much attention—most persons looking upon it as an ingeniously-got-up fiction, not a reality. It was soon known, however, that Mr. Cobden was in Paris; that he had been introduced to the emperor by his friend, M. Michel Chevalier; and that the dialogue absolutely took place—the Frenchman representing the emperor himself, and Mr. Cobden being the Englishman. We believe, that when these facts became known, they had some effect upon public opinion in England; where, however, it was determined not to discontinue any of those measures which had been adopted solely for *defence*, not *offence*; for there is no feeling stronger in the breasts of Englishmen, than a desire to preserve peace with all the world, if the national honour can also be upheld.

We have stated, that invitations were sent by France and Austria to the other powers of Europe, to join a congress, to be held early in 1860, for the purpose of finally adjusting the "Italian question." Whilst the preparations for this meeting were in progress, and every day brought the accession of one or other of the powers, and the names of their plenipotentiaries, M. de la Guéronnière was busily engaged—there is no doubt under the auspices of the emperor—upon a pamphlet, which appeared early in December, entitled *Le Pape et le Congrès*. Its object was to show, that it would be for the benefit alike of the pope and of Italy, if his holiness were entirely to surrender his temporal sovereignty. Retaining the Vatican, the congress was to guarantee him an adequate revenue, sufficient to enable him to support his court with every requisite splendour; but he would be bishop of Rome—nothing more: Rome was to be made a free city, and endowed with municipal franchises; and the foreign troops, which alone kept him on his throne, "exciting against him all the susceptibilities of the national feeling," were to be withdrawn.

The appearance of this pamphlet, the proofs of which, it was known, the emperor had read and revised, produced the greatest consternation in the papal councils; and it was violently discussed by the French press. The liberal party approved, and the ultramontane condemned, the course of policy recommended. The pope, as soon as the *brochure* came to his knowledge, withdrew his consent to send a plenipotentiary

to the congress: the emperor of Russia, through his ambassador, M. Kisseleff, informed count Walewski, that, independent of the religious question, with which Russia would not interfere, the pamphlet propounded principles which Russia could not sanction at the congress. Austria is understood to have declared the same sentiments. And such was the impression produced, that, on the 23rd of December, the opening of the congress was postponed from the 5th to the 19th of January; and, before the year closed, an indefinite postponement took place. It never assembled.

On the last day of the year the emperor wrote an important letter to the pope, in reply to one which, on the 2nd of December, his holiness had addressed to him. The epistle was couched in terms of the greatest respect; but it was decided in tone. The emperor, finding what was the tendency of opinion in Italy, had advised the pope to consent to the separation of the Romagna, and the appointment of a lay governor, under his suzerainty. Pius refused to accede to these terms; and the emperor, in his letter, stated that it was not probable that the congress would be of opinion that he should have recourse to force to subdue the revolted provinces. He therefore, "painful as the conclusion might be, stated, with sincere regret, that the solution which appeared to him most conformable to the interests of the holy see, would be their surrender." To this proposal the pope refused to accede—as he "could not do so without violating the solemn oaths that bound him—without producing a disaster and a shock in the other provinces—without doing harm to, and putting to shame all catholics—nor without weakening the rights, not only of the sovereigns of Italy, unjustly despoiled of their domains, but also of the sovereigns of the whole christian world."

The peace of Algeria was disturbed, during the year, by inroads of the Moors, made in the months of August and September; keeping the whole western portion of the colony in an agitated state, and threatening the safety of the tribes under French rule. General de Martimprey marched against them, at the head of fourteen battalions of infantry, and fifteen squadrons of cavalry. The Moors were soon driven back beyond the frontiers; and then the general turned his arms against the tribes which had aided them. On the 27th of October, the Kabyles of Beni-Snassen were attacked, in defiles which had the *prestige* of never having been penetrated by a hostile force. The enemy was assailed by the Zouaves on one side, and the chasseurs of the 13th battalion on the other, who overcame all obstacles; and, after three hours' hard fighting, the 2nd Zouaves, about 5 P.M., planted their victorious eagles on the table-land of Ain Taffeurol, till then regarded as impregnable; and there the entire expedition bivouacked that night. The

next day, the Beni-Snassen tribe submitted; and the Mahia and Ouchda tribes soon after took the same step: all were compelled to pay indemnities for the losses their aggressive conduct had occasioned to the French. Before hostilities ceased, the cholera inflicted great ravages amongst the troops; carrying off, with numbers of the privates, general Thomas, and several superior officers. The total number of deaths was stated, in an "order of the day," issued by general de Martimprey after the progress of the disease had been arrested, to have been equal to about one-fifth of that of the entire expedition.—

Though defeated on land, the Moors, before the year closed (on the 25th of November), attempted to prevent French vessels from entering the river Tetuan; and cannonaded one called the *St. Louis*, which was obliged to retire. The next day, admiral Romain Desfosses, who commanded a French squadron off that part of the African coast, attacked the two forts which commanded the entrance to the river, with four steamers, and destroyed them. The garrison retreated into the interior. As soon as they were brought to his notice, Louis Napoleon disavowed the acts of his officers.

CHAPTER XIII.

1860—JOUR DE L'AN; ANNOUNCED ABOLITION OF THE PROHIBITIVE SYSTEM; COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH ENGLAND; THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL LETTER; SUPPRESSION OF THE "UNIVERS;" THE EMPEROR'S SPEECH ON OPENING THE SESSION; ANNEXATION OF SAVOY AND NICE; THE BUDGET; FINANCIAL MEASURES OF THE SESSION; THE EMPEROR AT BADEN; DEATH OF THE DUCHESS D'ALBA; SYRIAN MASSACRES, AND EUROPEAN INTERVENTION; LIBERTY OF DISCUSSION ALLOWED TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODY; ABOLITION OF PASSPORTS AS REGARDS ENGLISHMEN; AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA; WAR WITH CHINA.

THE year 1860, which it was, a few weeks previously to the 1st of January, supposed would be ushered in by a congress, whose task it would be to arrange the affairs of Italy, and complete the pacification of Europe—opened amidst the contentions, in the political world, which the pamphlet of M. de la Guéronnière had created. On the part of the friends of the old *régimes*, the hopes of the preliminaries of Villafranca being carried out were abandoned, as it was evident that the emperor had no intention of opposing what appeared to be the almost unanimous feeling of the people of Italy; whilst, at Rome, the pope positively refused to make any concession; and Francis II., at Naples, was pursuing a course which was expected to lead to his expulsion. Under these circumstances, the *Jour de l'An* was again looked forward to with great anxiety.—The emperor and empress came from Fontainebleau to the Tuileries on the last day of the old year; and the emperor received the diplomatic corps, and the great bodies of the state, on the 1st of January. The pope's nuncio offered the congratulations and good wishes of the ambassadors; and the emperor replied in these words:—"I thank the diplomatic body for the good wishes it has addressed to me on the advent of the new year; and I am especially happy to have the opportunity of reminding it, that, since my accession to power, I have always professed the most profound respect for recognised rights. Be, then, assured, that the constant aim of my efforts will be to re-

establish, everywhere, so much as depends upon me, confidence and peace."

The speech did not restore confidence in the public mind, which was still more disturbed by the announcement in the *Moniteur*, of the 5th of January, that M. Walewski had resigned the office of minister of foreign affairs, and was succeeded by M. Thouvenel—who, as ambassador at Constantinople, had distinguished himself as the opponent of the policy of England. The first week in the year was also distinguished by a grant of a salary of 100,000f. (£4,000) per annum to each member of the privy council; an act of favouritism and extravagance, as most people considered it, which the state of the finances did not warrant.

At this time, it would appear that important fiscal changes were on the *tapis*. We have seen that Mr. Cobden was in Paris, in confidential communication with the emperor: the former, also, kept up a constant intercourse with Michel Chevalier; and both these statesmen endeavoured to persuade his imperial majesty to introduce the free-trade principle into the commercial system of the empire. Whether Napoleon was their convert, or whether he had already been convinced that "protection" was carried to too great an extent in France, and only waited for a fitting opportunity to introduce a change, we cannot undertake to affirm: but a change was resolved upon. The first indication of the emperor's intention was given in a letter, which, on the 5th of January, he addressed to the minister

of state. In this document, his majesty said, that, "notwithstanding the uncertainty which still reigned upon certain points of foreign policy, it was easy to predict, with confidence, a pacific solution: and the moment had arrived when they could occupy themselves with giving a great impulse to the different branches of the national riches. * * * For a long time the truth had been proclaimed, that it was necessary to multiply the means of exchange, to render commerce flourishing; that, without concurrence, industry would remain stationary, and keep up those high prices which opposed the increase of consumption; and that agriculture itself, which prospered industry and developed capital, would remain in its infancy." It was therefore necessary, successively to develop the elements of public prosperity; only taking care to ascertain "within what limits the state ought to favour the different interests, and what order of preference it ought to accord to each. Before developing their foreign commerce by the exchange of products, agriculture must be ameliorated," and assisted with capital to carry on its works of drainage: and "industry must be freed from those internal burdens which placed it in an inferior position; * * * from all duties on articles primarily indispensable to industrial pursuits."—As 160,000,000f. (£6,400,000) of the war loan remained unexpended, the legislative body would be asked for authority to employ that sum in public works; and, also, to sanction the following measures:—"The suppression of duties upon wool and cottons; and their gradual reduction upon sugars and coffees: an improvement in the means of communication: a reduction of the duties on canals, and, as a consequence, a general lowering of the cost of transport: to advance loans to agriculture and manufactures: to undertake works of public utility: to suppress prohibitions: to conclude treaties of commerce with powerful foreign nations." These measures, it was anticipated, would multiply the means of exchange. "The successive reduction of duties on articles of great consumption would then be a necessity; as, also, the substitution of protective duties for the prohibitive system, which limited their commercial relations."

The appearance of this letter caused the greatest consternation among the French manufacturers—all of whom were the supporters, not of merely high protective, but of prohibitive duties on foreign goods. At Rouen, they threatened to discharge their workmen: and such was the outcry raised, that, on the 18th of January, it was announced, in one of the semi-official papers, that the prohibitions and prohibitive duties would not be abolished before July, 1861, when they would be replaced by protective duties of thirty or twenty-five per cent.; and that, before taking any definitive resolution,

the emperor would hear the opinion of the principal manufacturers. In many of the commercial towns, such as Bordeaux and Havre, the emperor's letter had a different effect. In those places, the announced departure from prohibition, and the expected improvement of commerce, gave rise to great rejoicings; and banners were displayed, as if a great victory had been gained.

The first practical attempt to carry out the principles developed in the letter of January 5th, was made in the conclusion of a commercial treaty with England, the terms of which were settled by the non-diplomatists, M. Chevalier and Mr. Cobden. It was signed on the 23rd of January, and was very favourable to France. Whilst England agreed, as soon as the ratifications were exchanged, to admit *all* French produce and manufactures free of duty, except wines and brandies, the duties on which were to be reduced; France continued her prohibitive duties till October, 1861—except on coal and iron, and raw materials; and then *ad valorem* imposts, not to exceed thirty per cent., were to be substituted. Coal and iron, so much wanted in France, were to be admitted immediately at reduced duties; and England bound herself not to prohibit the export of the former article. Raw materials were to be admitted, duty free, after July 1st, 1861. The treaty was unpopular in both countries; and there was great difficulty in settling the details, and apportioning the duties; which was done by MM. Rouher and Chevalier, on the part of France, and Mr. Cobden, on the part of England, assisted by committees of the various manufacturing interests. The treaty came into operation at the time specified; and, as far as can be judged from the experience of the few months that have elapsed, its operation is likely to be beneficial. It is to continue in force ten years.

In the *Moniteur* of the 20th of January, appeared reports from the ministers of the interior, finance, and commerce and public works—containing projects for various internal improvements, such as constructing and improving roads and canals, clearing and draining uncultivated land and marshes, and the erection of public works; towards all which advances were to be made by the state. In the report of the minister of public works, it was suggested, that 15,000,000f. should be applied to roads and bridges; 42,000,000f. to internal navigation; 35,000,000f. to harbours and lighthouses; and 8,000,000f. to purposes of agricultural improvements: total, 100,000,000f. (£4,000,000). One of the most important of the works projected, was the embankment of the Loire, from St. Nazaire to Nantes; for which 8,000,000f. (£320,000) were allotted.

The state of the relations between the emperor and the pope, was brought prominently before the public by an encyclical letter, which, on

the 19th of January, his holiness addressed to the "Roman catholic bishops throughout the world." In this missive, Pius IX. detailed, at some length, the correspondence he had had with the emperor, respecting the civil power and temporal possessions of the church, which his majesty wished him to relinquish. He reiterated his resolution to retain his authority and his territories, as he could not abandon them without sacrificing the rights of others; and said, he had "not omitted to remind the emperor, that his majesty addressed to him a letter of a very different kind before the war with Italy; a letter which brought him consolation, and not affliction." His holiness called upon the prelates for their prayers; and on the 28th, the archbishop of Paris (who, on the 18th, had withdrawn from the emperor's privy council) issued a circular to the priests of his diocese, commanding prayers to be said, daily till Easter, for the necessities of the church, and the maintenance of the power of the pope.—On the 29th, the *Univers* published the encyclical letter, with some violent remarks; and that paper was, for this breach of the law of France—which prohibits the unauthorised publication of such documents—suppressed. The decree of suppression appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 30th of January, and was regarded as a proof that the government was as determined in the course it had adopted, as the pope was in his. A report which preceded the decree, characterised the *Univers* as the organ of a party, which sought to undermine the basis on which the relations between the church and the state were founded. Its pretensions were not new; they had been resisted by former sovereigns of France; and the emperor "would be no less careful than his predecessors to make national tradition respected."

M. Thouvenel replied, at great length, to the encyclical letter, in a circular to the French ambassador. He contended, that it was wrong to excite a religious feeling, and to appeal to the clergy upon a question which was purely a temporal one, that ought to be discussed between governments; remarking, that history would, one day, record on whom the responsibility of events ought to rest; whether with the sovereign, whose efforts had constantly aimed at preventing them; or with those who, refusing all concessions and reforms, had allowed things to grow from bad to worse, until they had reached a point where the evil often became incurable. He entered into all the questions raised by the pope, and supplied the ambassador with means to refute the erroneous impression, which tended to represent an opinion expressed on a temporal question, as an attack on the imprescriptible and sacred prerogatives of the church.—A direct reply was also made, by the French foreign minister, on the 12th of February, to the pope himself. In that document,

which was addressed to the duke de Grammont, the French ambassador at Rome, M. Thouvenel recalled to the recollection of his holiness, the advice which the emperor had given him; and contended, that, if his majesty's advice had been followed, the recent events in the legations would not have occurred. Cardinal Antonelli, the pope's prime minister, made a very able reply to M. Thouvenel's despatch; in which he threw the blame of the revolt in the Romagna not upon the papal misgovernment, but on Piedmontese intrigues; contended, that the arrangements proposed would not tranquillise Italy; and declared, that, if the pope rejected the councils of his protector, it was from the influence of a higher principle than that of mere gratitude—a principle which imperiously dictated the course he took.

So earnest were the bishops and the clergy in supporting the pretensions and claims, and in asserting the authority, of the pope, that a very unfavourable effect was produced in many parts of France. This caused M. Rouland, the minister of public instruction, to address, on the 20th of February, a circular to the archbishops and bishops; pointing out, that although the laws and customs of the empire established the authority of the church over religious society, yet that the state was the head and the regulator of civil and political affairs. He reminded them, that the emperor had "accorded to the church great confidence and liberty; and had never made use of the prohibitions which special laws applied to it. He would not, however, permit, that the liberty which had been conceded in the interests of public welfare, should become an expedient for agitation. The disagreement between the emperor and the pope referred to temporal, not religious questions;" and the minister called on the clergy, who, "if they owed veneration to the pope, owed respect and fidelity to the emperor," to endeavour "to bring back to their gospel and to their duty, the men who had departed from it." On the 27th, the minister of the interior sent a circular to the prefects on the same subject. "The Roman question," he said, "had, for some time past, given a pretext for attempts at agitation, to which it was necessary to put an end." Pamphlets, accusing the government of persecution, were, "by hundreds of thousands, distributed gratuitously, in the temples, in schools, and in private houses." And, in the pulpit, a "zeal as unjust as it was unenlightened," had led to accusations against the emperor and the government. With respect to the first of these offences, the prefects were called upon to enforce the law of the 27th of July, 1849, by which the distribution of unauthorised pamphlets was subjected to an imprisonment of from one to six months, and to a fine of from 25f. to 500f. Offences of the second class—as the government did not think it opportune, at once, to bring into operation

the enactment which imposed upon them a correctional penalty—were to be reported to the council of state.

The session of the chambers did not open till the 1st of March.* The senators and deputies had been originally summoned for the 23rd of February; but the meeting was postponed to allow time for ascertaining how the commercial treaty was received by the British parliament. The senators and deputies met in the noble hall in the new Louvre. The weather was beautifully bright and fine; and there was a very large and brilliant assemblage, including the empress and her ladies; the members of the imperial family, and of the *corps diplomatique*; the councillors of state, and the ministers. The arrangements were similar to those of 1859; but the hall looked more finished, and was fitted up with draperies of crimson velvet, trimmed with gold, the principal seats being covered with the same rich material. Before twelve o'clock every seat was occupied; and, when the imperial family arrived, the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" "*Vive l'Impératrice!*" and "*Vive le Prince Imperial!*" were very general.

The emperor addressed a long speech to the assembled senators and deputies. Expressing an ardent desire for peace, his majesty said, "The complications in Europe were, he hoped, approaching an end; and Italy was upon the eve of freely regulating her own affairs." The steps taken by England, Prussia, and Russia, were noticed, as "clearly evincing the desire of the great powers to arrive at a conciliatory adjustment of all interests." For himself, he had not hesitated to declare to the king of Sardinia, that, although leaving to him an entire liberty of action, he could not follow him in a policy which, in the eyes of Europe, appeared to intend the absorption of all the states of Italy. He counselled him to reply favourably to the wishes of the provinces which offered themselves to him, but to maintain the autonomy of Tuscany, and to respect, in principle, the rights of the holy see. This arrangement would elevate Piedmont to a kingdom of more than 9,000,000 of souls. Having in view this transformation of Northern Italy, which gave to a powerful state all the passes of the Alps, it was his duty, for the safety of the French frontiers, to claim the French side of the mountains. In this reclamation of a territory of small extent there was nothing to alarm Europe, or to belie the disinterested policy which he had more than once proclaimed. France, however, would not acquire that aggrandisement by secret intrigues; but would frankly state the question to the great powers. He could not pass over in silence the emotion of a portion of the catholic world, which had suddenly yielded

to such unreflective impressions, and had thrown itself into such passionate alarms. Facts, however, had clearly spoken for themselves during the eleven years that he had maintained alone in Rome the power of the holy father, without for a moment ceasing to revere in his person the holy character of the chief of their religion. On the other side, the populations of the Romagna, suddenly abandoned to themselves, yielded to a natural attraction, and, during the war, endeavoured to make common cause with France. Ought he to forget them in peace, and abandon them afresh, for an unlimited time, to the risks of foreign occupation? His first efforts were to reconcile them to their sovereign; but not succeeding, he endeavoured at least to maintain in the revolted provinces the principle of the temporal power of the pope.—His majesty, having noticed the reduction of the army by 150,000 men, next alluded to the commercial changes. He said, his government would immediately submit to the chambers a summary of measures which proposed to facilitate production, to augment, by cheap living, the well-being of the working classes, and to increase their commercial relations. The slight inclination existing for a treaty of commerce with England, had induced him to take upon himself the responsibility of that great measure. A very simple reflection showed its advantage to both countries. In order that it might produce its best effects, he demanded the most energetic concurrence of the senators and deputies, for the adoption of the laws which would facilitate the putting it into practice. The resources of the treasury would find themselves sensibly diminished; nevertheless, the receipts and expenditure of the year 1861, would be balanced without the necessity of an appeal to the credit, or having recourse to new taxes.—In thus tracing a true picture of the political and commercial situations, his majesty said, he desired to inspire the senators and deputies with full confidence in the future, and so to associate them in the accomplishment of a work fruitful in grand results.

In this speech, the first official mention was made of the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France. That such a measure was on the *tapis*, had been frequently asserted. It had formed the subject of debate in the British parliament—of discussion in the British and continental press; and had been very generally reprobated. The annexation appears, from the first mention of that measure, to have been popular in some parts of Savoy; but in Chambéry, 3,000 citizens assembled, on the 22nd of January, to protest against it; subsequently the municipality of Nice took the same step; and the inhabitants of Northern Savoy, after the emperor's speech became public, sent addresses to Victor Emmanuel, the emperor of the French, and the federal council at Berne, desiring that, if they must be

* Marshal Reille, the senior marshal of France, who commanded a *corps d'armée* at Waterloo, and married a daughter of Massena, died at Paris on that day.

severed from Sardinia, they might be annexed to Switzerland.—Lord John Russell had mentioned the rumours on the subject to lord Cowley, who informed his lordship, that he had been assured, by count Walewski, before that statesman retired from the foreign office, that they were unfounded. The count himself says that he was misunderstood; as it was always intended, if Sardinia annexed Central Italy, to claim Savoy and Nice as necessary to the security of France. Other arrangements were made at Villafranca and Zurich; but it was found impossible to carry them into effect without the presence of a large foreign army. The inhabitants of the legations and of Central Italy refused to return to their old allegiance; and a note, addressed to the government at Turin by M. Thouvenel, requesting Victor Emmanuel to give up the project for the annexation of Tuscany, received an unfavourable response. This led to the announcement in the emperor's speech; which was followed by a despatch, addressed, on the 10th of March, by M. Thouvenel, in the name of the emperor, to count Cavour, containing a formal demand, that Savoy and Nice should be ceded by Victor Emmanuel to his august ally. The king of Sardinia, if he had not previously consented to the cession, was not in a position to refuse compliance; and the Piedmontese foreign minister, and the French ambassador at Turin, immediately employed themselves in preparing a treaty for carrying out the arrangement. Whilst that document was preparing, Tuscany and the Æmilian provinces, by the votes of their inhabitants, formally decided upon transferring their allegiance to Sardinia: on the 18th and 22nd of March, Victor Emmanuel signed decrees, annexing those states to Piedmont; and on the 24th, the treaty, transferring Savoy and Nice to France, was concluded. The territory ceded, included the provinces of Chablais, Faucigny, and the Genevois—which had been declared neutral by the treaty of Vienna, for the express protection of Switzerland. Lord John Russell, in the name of her Britannic majesty, protested against this arrangement, as a violation of that treaty; and the Swiss government memorialised all the great powers to set it aside, as far as the neutral districts were concerned. Those powers were unanimous in deprecating the annexation; but it was not considered advisable to place Europe again in a state of war, which appeared to be the only means of preventing it. The treaty of the 24th of March having been confirmed by the chambers at Turin, the Sardinian troops therefore left, and the French soldiers occupied, Savoy and Nice.

While the negotiations for this annexation were in progress, in many quarters rumours were spread, that it was not the only acquisition of territory which the emperor coveted; and

that the next step would be made towards Belgium, and the left bank of the Rhine. These rumours gradually acquired such a consistency, that it was felt necessary to disavow any such intention. On the 19th of March, M. Thouvenel, therefore, addressed a circular to the French diplomatic agents at the German courts; in which he stated, that the situation of France on the Alps and on the Rhine was very different. Certainly "the treaties of 1815 had constituted, in the north, a state of things not without resemblance and connection to that" which recent events had produced on "the side of the Alps." But Belgium had been formed, and its neutrality covered all that part of the French frontier which was the most exposed. France "had, therefore, no longer, on that side, any sort of guarantee to demand:"—"on the Rhine, the peril had disappeared, which circumstances had increased in the Alps." The combination just completed, with respect to the latter, "would efface the last trace of stipulations manifestly conceived in a spirit of distrust and aggressiveness against France; and, far from finding in that arrangement a source of disquietude, Germany would only have occasion to see in it a new condition of the stability and duration of peace."—On the 20th of March, a deputation of Savoyards had an interview with the emperor, to express the wish of the inhabitants to transfer their allegiance to his majesty; and to deprecate the transfer of Chablais and Faucigny to Switzerland. His majesty, in reply, intimated, that although his friendship for Switzerland disposed him to regard that transfer as possible—it could not be persisted in, when such a resistance was manifested in Savoy. But, he hoped, it would not be difficult to satisfy the political and commercial interests of Switzerland by other arrangements.—The deputation departed, contented with the result of their mission: and, on the 21st, M. Thouvenel addressed a circular despatch to the ambassadors at the courts of the great powers, justifying the annexation; which, if the stipulations of Villafranca and Zurich had been carried out, would not have been made, as they altogether excluded it.

On the 29th of March, the pope published a sentence of excommunication against those who had "promised to aid, or who had counselled, rebellion, invasion, or usurpation in the Romagna." These terms were understood to include both Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel, though no names were mentioned. A decree from the Vatican, however, which would have been once so formidable, had, in the 19th century, no terrors; and the operations in Italy were continued, utterly regardless of the pontifical denunciations. Victor Emmanuel pursued his measures for annexing the legations to his dominions; and the French troops entered Savoy before March closed, taking possession of Nice on the

1st of April. The emperor had declared, that the transfer of Savoy should not be considered as finally accomplished until the opinion of the people had been taken by a public vote. On the 27th of April, the Savoyards, of mature age, were called upon to say "aye" or "no" to the question, "Would they be annexed to France?" The votes were taken by ballot; and 131,744 were in favour of, and 233 opposed to, annexation. The official and formal transfer of this ancient inheritance of his family, to his "august ally," was made by Victor Emmanuel on the 14th of June; and, from that day, Savoy and Nice have constituted a part of the French empire. The former has been divided into two departments—Upper and Lower Savoy; the two containing, at the time, 543,098 inhabitants. Nice forms the department of the Maritime Alps; the population being estimated at 189,000.

The annexation of Savoy was followed by the withdrawal of the French troops from Lombardy—an act not to be considered, said one of the semi-official organs of the Tuileries, as "a sign of coolness between France and Sardinia;" but "France left Lombardy because the independence of Italy was irrevocably insured. Austria only intended to act in defence of the frontiers of Venetia. The loyalty of the French polity could not occasion her any embarrassment on this subject. The withdrawal of the army from Italy was, therefore, a sign of an approaching solution of the Italian question, and not a signal for complications, which the wisdom, as well as the interest of Piedmont, would know how to prevent." From that time, Victor Emmanuel was left to pursue his successes unopposed by force, though his ally, the emperor, for some time persisted in exerting his influence to induce him to carry out the Villafranca preliminaries; never hesitating to declare his own preference for a confederated, rather than a united, Italy. But, as he joined England in adopting the principle of non-interference by arms, no effect was produced by diplomatic remonstrances. An insurrection in Sicily—caused by the landing of Garibaldi, at the head of a body of volunteers shipped at Genoa—led to the subjugation of that island. That event was followed by a descent upon Calabria; the flight of Francis II. to Gaëta, and ultimately to Rome; and the annexation of the Two Sicilies to Central Italy, Lombardy, and Piedmont. Thus the kingdom of Italy was formed, with Victor Emmanuel for its sovereign. England and Switzerland were the first to recognise the new kingdom; but the refusal of the king of Sardinia to be guided by his advice, caused the emperor of France to withdraw his ambassador from Turin; and he did not recognise the king of Sardinia as king of Italy, till June 25th, 1861. Austria, Russia, and Spain still refuse to recognise him in that character. Venetia remains under Austrian

rule; and the pope, supported by the French troops, maintains his temporal power at Rome. Efforts have been made to induce both Pius IX. and Francis Joseph to give up the territory they still hold, but in vain: the probability is, that, ere long, force will be employed, where negotiation has failed—at all events against Venetia.

The proceedings of the senate and legislative body, in 1860, were not important. There were long debates on the Italian policy of the government, which the ultramontanes, in both chambers, vehemently condemned; but they led to no result. The budget was presented to the legislative body on the 1st of April. The minister estimated the total expenses at 1,844,188,685f. (£73,767,547); which showed an excess of 19,230,907f. (£769,236) over those of the budget for 1860. The receipts were estimated at 1,845,783,670f. (£73,831,346), being an increase of 19,879,291f. (£795,172) beyond the sum realised in the previous year, and leaving a surplus of 1,594,985f. (£63,799) over expenditure. The increase was expected to be the result of augmented consumption, under a reduced tariff. The budget of the previous year was found insufficient; and, soon after the session opened, a decree was published, ordering an extraordinary credit of 70,000f. for the restoration of the Bonapartean premises at St. Helena. A second decree announced a grant of 390,000f. for the encouragement of agriculture; and one of 600,000f. for promoting the deep-sea fisheries. A third ordered an extra credit of 9,114,000f. for the war ministry for the current year; 42,150,000f. for the extraordinary expenses of the army of Italy, and the expedition to China; and 39,299,200f. for the marine department of that expedition, and the winding-up the Italian war account. In all, 91,553,200f. (£3,662,128) were added to the sums voted in 1859.—In the course of the session, a project for reducing the army contingent of 1859, from 140,000 to 100,000 men, was—after an attempt to reduce the number to 80,000 had been defeated—carried by 238 votes to 6. Another project, proposing to appropriate 40,000,000f. (£1,600,000) in loans to manufacturers, to enable them to improve their machinery, was adopted; and 5,000,000f. (£200,000) were appropriated to the execution of forest roads, and for the making of departmental and local roads, for the purpose of conveying timber from the imperial forests. Wood was to be sold, to replace the 5,000,000f. in the exchequer. By an imperial decree, all navigation dues, levied in the rivers Seine, Charente, Sèvre, Niortaise, Loire, Rhone, Orne, Touques, Vilaine, Gironde, and the Canal de Brouage, were suppressed; but those paid by vessels proceeding from Rochefort to the sea, or returning to that port, were continued, till 400,000f. (£16,000), advanced for making a dock there, were repaid to the government.

On the 16th of June, the emperor visited Baden, where he had an interview with the prince-regent of Prussia, the grand-duke, and several other German princes. Various reports were raised as to the subjects discussed between the French and German potentates; for the German politicians could not imagine that they met merely for pleasure or friendship. His majesty had scarcely returned to France, when, on the 24th of June, his uncle, prince Jerome, died, at the age of seventy-six. The body of his imperial highness lay in state at the Palais Royal on the 29th; and was interred, on the 3rd of August, at the Invalides. It was a grand state funeral; and the number of spectators was so great, that several accidents occurred at the grave.

At this time there was continued activity in the French military and naval departments; and the French press, generally, assumed a very unfriendly tone towards England. This not unnaturally caused the doubts as to the emperor's sincerity, which had been nearly, if not entirely, dispersed, to be revived. It soon became evident that these doubts pervaded all classes of English society; and his majesty, on the 25th of August, addressed a letter to count Persigny, disclaiming any hostile feeling towards this country, with the view of calming the prevailing apprehensions.—On the 29th, the emperor and empress set out on a tour through the empire, and were received, at every place they visited, with the most cordial welcome. They went to Chambéry, Nice, and Algiers. Whilst their majesties were at the latter city, the empress received intelligence of the illness of her sister, the duchess d'Alba, which caused the imperial pair instantly to return to France. When they arrived, they found that the duchess was dead; and the unexpected event had a most depressing effect upon the spirits and health of the empress. To divert her mind, her majesty came to England, leaving Paris on the 14th of November. She paid a brief visit to the queen at Osborne, and, passing through London, travelled north as far as Edinburgh; returning to Paris early in December, greatly improved by the journey, during which she travelled *incognito*, and kept herself as private as she possibly could.

In the summer, a camp of infantry was established at St. Omer; a second, principally of cavalry, at Luneville; and a third, of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, at Chalons. The three camps formed one army, which was placed under the command of the duke of Magenta; and before they broke up, the services of a part of the troops was required in the East.

In the course of the month of June, the European public were struck with horror by the receipt of intelligence from Syria, of the massacre of thousands of christians by the bigoted

Mohammedans of the Lebanon.* The massacre began in June, and were continued through July. During their progress, Abd-el-Kader, the celebrated Arab chief, gave an asylum to the consuls, and other persons, and armed his Morabins to protect the christians as far as he possibly could. His intervention was the means of saving many lives; and as an acknowledgment of his services, the order of the legion of honour was conferred upon him by Napoleon.—Before the latter month closed, the representatives of the five great powers assembled at Paris; and, on the 3rd of August, two protocols were signed between those powers and Turkey—the former agreeing to send a military force to restore order in Syria; and the latter assenting to the intervention. It was, at first, arranged that all the powers were to contribute to the occupying force; but, ultimately, only 6,000 French troops were sent; and a French and English squadron took up their stations off the coast. The massacres had ceased before the French soldiers arrived. They employed themselves in re-establishing order; and their stay in Syria, which was to have ceased in March, 1861, was prolonged, by the consent of the other powers, till June, when they returned to France. Since that time, there has been no further attempt at outrage. As a new system of administration has been established in the Lebanon, we hope that it will exert authority with a firmer hand than that it succeeds; and not suffer religious intolerance to make such a lamentable waste of human life.

A conference was held at Warsaw, on the 25th of October, between the emperors of Austria and Russia, and the prince-regent of Prussia, at which the affairs of Italy were discussed. Austria was anxious to have a declaration from the other powers to support her with their arms, if Piedmont invaded Venetia. A policy of non-intervention was, however, determined upon, as that alone which was likely to maintain European peace. The emperor of France—who was very anxious to have been a party to this conference—sent a letter to the czar, stating that he would not support Piedmont in any aggressive movements.

On the 24th of November, the emperor made an important change in the functions of the legislative body. Hitherto that body was little more than an automaton, following the motions of the council of state and the senate. By a decree, issued on the above day, permission was granted to the deputies freely to discuss the address, in reply to the imperial speech delivered at the opening of the chambers; also the budget, and the domestic and foreign policy of the government. Permission was likewise given to publish the debates. Count de Persigny had the London Printing and Publishing Company, entitled, *Syria and the Holy Land Illustrated*.

* The history of these massacres, from the most authentic sources, will be found in a work, published by

returned to Paris a short time previous; and, on the 25th of November, the count de Flahault was nominated his successor as ambassador to the court of the United Kingdom. Count Walewski had, at an earlier period, been made minister of state; and M. Forcade de la Roquette was appointed minister of finance, in the place of M. Fould. Not long after the arrival of count Flahault in London, the emperor gave another proof of his desire to conciliate England, by issuing, on the 17th of December, an imperial decree, ordaining that, from the 1st of January, 1861, the subjects of her majesty, the queen of Great Britain and Ireland, coming to France, should be admitted to enter, and to travel, in the territory of the empire without passports.

The war with China was renewed this year, and certainly through the fault of the celestials themselves. By the treaty of Tien-tsin, signed on the 27th of June, 1858, it had been stipulated, that the French, as well as the English, should have liberty to travel, at all times, through all parts of the country; and that the treaties concluded with England and France, should be ratified at Peking, in presence of the ambassadors accredited to the emperor. A small squadron of French and English vessels, acting as a convoy to the ambassadors, proceeded, from Shanghai, in June, 1859, to the Peiho river, on their way to the Chinese capital. On arriving, on the 17th, off the island of Sha-lin-tien, in the gulf of Pechili, it was ascertained that the Taku forts had been repaired, additional guns mounted, and a strong Tartar force stationed there. When the allies attempted to proceed up the river, they found their advance obstructed by barriers placed across the stream. After spending several days in negotiations without effect, an attempt was made to force a passage; but there were only eleven small French and English vessels, with guns of light calibre; and, after fighting some time, they were obliged to withdraw, with the loss of upwards of 600 killed and wounded, and three gun-boats. The ambassadors and the expedition returned to Hong-Kong; and despatches were sent to the governments in Europe, by whom reinforcements were immediately dispatched, with orders to force the passage of the Peiho, and proceed to Peking. Baron le Gros and lord Elgin were deputed, as commissioners from France and England, to proceed to that city, and conclude there a fresh treaty, which was to include an indemnity for the additional expenses which the bad faith of the Chinese had thrown upon the allies. The commissioners embarked in the *Malabar*, which, when leaving the port of Galle, in the island of Ceylon, on the 22nd of May, 1860, was wrecked—the bullion on board, the baggage, with the commissioners' credentials and papers, being lost; but the crew, passengers, and part of the mails were saved. Their excellencies proceeded to Hong-Kong,

where they arrived on the 21st of June. It was then found that the French contingent was not so strong as that of England, by 2,000 men; and that a vessel, containing their harness, had been lost at Amoy. Baron le Gros, therefore, issued a protest against the expedition proceeding; but lord Elgin induced him to withdraw it. Shanghai had been again made the rendezvous of the fleets, where baron le Gros arrived on the 28th, and lord Elgin on the 29th of June. The expedition sailed on the 26th of July, and reached the Peiho on the 1st of August, when the commissioners established themselves at the village of Pehtang, where they found the northern and southern forts evacuated. The troops commenced their advance into the interior on the 12th; attacked and captured a strongly-fortified village, called Tanghoo, on the 14th, taking forty-five Chinese guns; and, on the 21st, they attacked the Taku forts, which they captured, with the loss of about 400 killed and wounded—after a determined resistance on the part of the Tartar garrison, under the command of prince San-ko-lin-sin. Count Montauban commanded the French, and Sir Hope Grant the English forces. The forts were attacked upon a plan proposed and carried out by the latter, against the protest of the former; who declared “that he would wash his hands of all responsibility, should the attack fail.” The count's staff, also, foresaw a failure, and exulted in the idea that they should, the next day, show their allies “*la grand chose* ;” * in which they were mistaken. However, they evinced no signs of disappointment, but exulted in the victory.

The allies lost no time after the capture of the forts. They advanced to Tien-tsin, where they were informed commissioners were waiting to negotiate with them, and reached that town at the end of August. Here the commissioners experienced more proofs of the Chinese insincerity. A draft of a convention was drawn up, which was to be signed on the 8th of September. When that day arrived, however, after considerable hesitation, the Chinese officials—who had been represented as having full powers—declared they could not affix their signatures till the draft had been submitted to the emperor. Lord Elgin and baron le Gros immediately broke off the negotiation, and ordered the commanders-in-chief to advance to Tang-chow, on the road to Peking. Prince San-ko-lin-sin had taken up a strong position on the route, with some of the best troops in the Chinese army. On the 18th of September, he was defeated, and seventy-five guns taken, near the village of Ho-ko-chuang. The enemy had 600 killed; while the loss of the allies was very trifling: but an event which

* See the *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860*; by Robert Swinhoe, staff interpreter during the campaign: and lieutenant-colonel G. J. Wolseley's *Narrative of the War with China, in 1860*.

occurred the same day, cast a great gloom over the army. Mr. Parkes, the British consul, was entrapped into a discussion with some Chinese officials, at Tang-chow; and though protected by a flag of truce, he and his companions were surrounded by a Tartar force, and carried off prisoners. Mr. Lock, lord Elgin's private secretary; captain L. B. Brabazon, R.A.; lieutenant R. B. Anderson, of Fane's horse; private S. Phibbs, 1st dragoon guards; M. de Norman, *attaché* to her majesty's legation; Mr. Bowlby, correspondent of the *Times*; the abbé de Luc; M. l'Escayrac de Lauture, who was engaged on a scientific mission; colonel Grandchamps; intendant Debut; and M. Aden; several French soldiers; and eight Sikhs, were the parties taken with Mr. Parkes; and they were all treated with a barbarity which brought many of them to their graves.*

On the 21st of September, the allies advanced in the direction of Pekin; and, at Jang-chan, encountered and defeated the Chinese, whose loss was estimated at 2,000 killed and wounded. The next day a flag of truce was sent in from Pekin, with proposals to reopen the negotiations; but the allied commissioners refused to treat, till the prisoners, so treacherously entrapped, were restored. After halting a short time to rest the troops—the word “forward” was again given; and on the 5th of October, the little army had approached so near Pekin, that the emperor, in great haste, quitted the capital.—On the 6th, the emperor's summer palace was taken possession of by the French, who despoiled it of all its splendid ornaments and furniture before the English came up. When the latter arrived, they burnt the palace. This was done as a punishment for the violation of the flag of truce.—On the 8th, another demand was made for the release of the prisoners; and Messrs. Parkes and Lock, a Sikh soldier, M. l'Escayrac de Lauture, and four French soldiers, were sent into the allied camp: on the 12th, five Sikhs and one French soldier were also allowed to return.—The allied army, with its siege-train, was now concentrated before Pekin; and the Chinese were informed, that unless the terms of the convention drawn up at Tien-tsin were agreed to, and the gates of Pekin thrown open, the capital would be bombarded the next day. On the

13th, just before the time allowed had expired, a chief mandarin, Hang-chu, announced that the demands of the allies were acceded to, and the gates of Pekin at their disposal. The outer and inner gates were immediately taken possession of; and a portion of the allied force was cantoned on the wall of Pekin.

Two more Sikh soldiers were given up by the Tartars on the 14th of October; but no more of the prisoners taken at Tang-chow were recovered alive. The others died of the tortures to which they were subjected; except captain Brabazon and the abbé de Luc, who were beheaded, by the order of one of the Chinese generals, in revenge for a wound he received. The bodies were all restored, except that of captain Brabazon; and, on the 17th, they were buried, with due solemnity, in the Russian cemetery, outside Pekin.—On the 24th of October peace was concluded; the plenipotentiaries being lord Elgin, for England; baron le Gros, for France; and prince Kung, brother to the emperor of China. The English treaty was signed that day; and that with France on the 25th.† The terms were a renewal of those agreed to at Tien-tsin, in 1858; with the addition of articles—stipulating the payment of an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and to the families of the men who had been betrayed and murdered; opening the port of Tien-tsin to the trade and commerce of British and French subjects; removing the interdict to the emigration of the Chinese to the colonies of the allies; and ceding Cowloon to the British crown, as a dependency on Hong-Kong.—The treaty signed and ratified, the allies left Pekin for Tien-tsin on the 5th of November—where the troops remained till the middle of 1861. There has, however, been no further dispute with the Chinese; and the allies, who have held Canton since its capture in 1858, are [December, 1861] preparing, it is stated in the latest news from the East, to evacuate that city. The *Moniteur*, on the 5th of December, 1861, announced, that the stipulated indemnity for the families of the victims of Chinese treachery had been received. It amounted to 1,539,919*l.* (£61,090 16*s.*), and was distributed among the relatives of the deceased; and to the survivors, all of whom suffered greatly from their imprisonment.

* Mr. Parkes published a narrative of his captivity—painful to read, but replete with the deepest interest. The craft and treachery of the Chinese are proved beyond all doubt; and their cruelty is shown to be on a par with their other vices. The prisoners, one and all, displayed

the greatest firmness and fortitude; and when liberty was offered to Mr. Parkes, he refused to share it alone.

† The duke Decazes—distinguished as a statesman and diplomatist, from 1815 to 1848 (before he obtained his title)—died on the 25th of October, 1860.

CHAPTER XIV.

STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION AT THE OPENING OF 1861; ANNEXATION OF MENTONE; OPENING OF THE CHAMBERS; EXPOSITION OF THE SITUATION OF THE EMPIRE; HOSTILITY OF THE CLERGY TO THE IMPERIAL POLICY; MEASURES OF THE SESSION; THE BONAPARTE AND MIRE'S TRIALS; PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE PRESS; SECRET SOCIETIES; THE SLAMESE AMBASSADORS; THE EMPEROR AT VICHY; VISIT OF THE KING OF SWEDEN; THE EMPEROR'S FETE; ITALIAN AFFAIRS; VISIT OF THE KINGS OF PRUSSIA AND HOLLAND, AND OF SIGNOR RATAZZI; STATE OF THE COUNTRY; M. FOULD'S REPORT; CHANGE IN THE FINANCE ADMINISTRATION; IMPROVEMENTS IN PARIS; GENERAL STATE OF THE EMPIRE; CONCLUSION.

THE events of the last two years, which had so seriously disarranged the *status* of Europe, as fixed by the treaty of Vienna, caused a general uneasiness to be felt as to the future. Winter had set in with more severity than had been experienced for many years; the interruption of industry which it occasioned, in the last month of 1860, and the first of 1861, diverted, for a time, attention from politics; but there was a general expectation that, with the spring, fresh complications would arise; and that Venetia, Hungary, and probably Poland, would be found in the field struggling for independence. It was also apprehended that the Syrian question might give rise to serious differences between England and France; as the French press, and several French statesmen, had declared against the withdrawal of the French troops from that country, at the period fixed by the convention of the 3rd of August of the previous year. The emperor's reception, on the 1st of January, passed off without anything especially to distinguish it. His majesty and the empress appeared to be in good spirits; and in his brief address to the diplomatic body, the former expressed confidence as to the future, rather than distrust. There were, at the time, a more than usual number of diplomatists at Paris; for several had come from Italy, of their own accord, to use their efforts for the purpose of inducing the emperor to declare in favour of Italian unity. At that time he had no ambassador at Turin; Francis II. was at Gaëta; and a French fleet hovered off that port, apparently for the purpose of affording protection to the fallen sovereign. But although, to the representations made to him in favour of an "Italy, one and indivisible," the emperor declared his own decided predilection for a confederation of states—he caused an official notice to be inserted in the *Moniteur*, of the 17th of January, to the effect, that the only "object in sending the French fleet to Gaëta was, to give a mark of sympathy to a prince cruelly tried by destiny. Faithful to his principle of non-intervention, the emperor never intended to take any active part in the conflicts

at that place; and as, were the demonstration prolonged, its character would be changed, and encouragement and material support would be given to the king, the fleet would leave Gaëta that day." This notice was favourably received by the greater part of the public; but there were many in France who wished that both Pius IX. and Francis II. should be kept on their thrones; and who would have rejoiced to find that the emperor was as determined to maintain Francis at Naples, as he appeared to be to protect the pope at Rome—though that pontiff was persistently acting in opposition to the advice which, both publicly and privately, he had received from his majesty.

The senate assembled on the 22nd of January, to adopt a *senatus consultum*, for carrying into effect the imperial decree of November 24th; which allowed their debates, and those of the legislative body, to be made public. This document provided, that summaries of the debates should be drawn up by reporters employed by the government, and sent to the editors of the various journals, who must publish the entire report, or none at all. The journalists did not receive this concession very favourably; but they were obliged to be content with it, as warning, and then suppression, would follow disobedience. The chambers were summoned to meet on the 4th of February. Two days previously, a treaty for the annexation of the districts of Mentone and Roquebrune, was signed at Paris, by M. Thouvenel, and the plenipotentiary of the prince of Monaco. Several forests were included in the sale, which will afford ample supplies of timber for the French navy. It was stipulated, that the prince should receive 4,000,000f. (£160,000), as a compensation for the territory thus surrendered.*

The senate and legislative body assembled, upon the day for which they were summoned, in the great hall of the Louvre—where the emperor proceeded in state. His majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which he told the senators and deputies, he had decided, that, "every year a general statement of the summer, at the magnificent château of Marchais, in the department of the Aisne, which he purchased from count Achille Delamarre, for 1,800,000f. (£72,000). The prince of Monaco married, previous to his father's death—when he was known as the duke of Valentinois—the princess Antoinette de Merode.

* The principality of Monaco is the smallest state in Europe. The reigning prince, called Charles III., was born in France in 1828, and was educated in that country. He succeeded his father in 1854; and has since resided in his palace at Monaco (a small town, thirteen miles E.N.E. of Nice) in the winter; and in

situation of the empire should be laid before them; and that the more important diplomatic despatches should be sent to their *bureaux*." Noticing the changes which would be introduced, in consequence of his letter of the 20th of November, he said—"They would, in their addresses, express their opinions on the facts of the day, not, as formerly, by a simple paraphrase of the speech from the throne, but by the free and loyal declaration of their own thoughts." Having shown how this alteration would give the country a more thorough knowledge of its own affairs, his majesty proceeded to contrast the state of the chambers under the Bourbons with their present position. Formerly, "the chamber of deputies, elected by a limited suffrage, possessed more extended privileges; but the large number of public functionaries who had seats, gave the government a direct power of action upon its resolutions. The chamber of peers formerly voted the laws; but its majority could, at any moment, be deposed by the addition of new members. Those laws were not always discussed upon their merits, but with a view to the effect their acceptance or rejection would have on the position of the ministry." Now, "the laws were prepared, with care and mature deliberation, by a council, composed of enlightened men, who gave their advice on all measures to be taken." The senate "examined those laws on the sole consideration of their constitutionality; and was a true court of political appeal, composed of a number of members that could not be exceeded. The legislative body did not interfere with the details of administration; the members were elected directly, by universal suffrage; and it did not count in its body any public functionary. It discussed the laws with the most complete freedom. If they were rejected, it was a warning of which the government took notice; but it did not shake the administration, arrest the progress of affairs, or oblige the sovereign to take for councillors the men who had not his confidence." Having pointed out these differences between the constitution which existed before, and that which succeeded, the revolution of 1848, the emperor called upon the senators and deputies, to "exhaust, during the discussion on the address, every point, according to the proportion of its importance, that they might have the power to devote themselves afterwards entirely to the affairs of the country." His majesty then referred briefly to what had been done, at home and abroad, since their last session; saying, that, "at home, all the measures which had been taken, tended to increase the agricultural, commercial, and industrial production of the country;" and abroad, "he had endeavoured to prove, in his relations with foreign countries, that France sincerely desired peace; that, without renouncing a legitimate influence, she did

not pretend to interfere anywhere, where her interests were not at stake; and that, if she entertained sympathies for all that was noble and grand, she did not hesitate to condemn everything tending to violate personal rights and justice." The annexation of Savoy and Nice, the Chinese campaign, and the occupation of Syria, "to protect christians against a blind fanaticism," were mentioned as cases where France interfered to assert its rights, or to maintain a just cause. His majesty had also thought it necessary to augment the garrison at Rome, as the security of the holy father was menaced; and he had dispatched his fleet to Gaëta, when it appeared to be the last refuge of the king of Naples; but he had now withdrawn it, as the presence of the ships infringed the principle of neutrality which the government had proclaimed, and gave rise to erroneous interpretations. "Such," he said, "was a rapid explanation of the state of the general affairs." And he asked, "Now that apprehensions were dissipated, and confidence consolidated—why should not commercial and industrial occupations renew their activity? His firm determination was, not to enter on any conflict where the cause of France was not based on right and justice: what, then, had they to fear?"

The speech was frequently interrupted by the "*Vivas*" of the hearers; and at the close, the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" resounded through the hall till his majesty retired.

The same day a quarto volume, of seventy pages, entitled, *Exposé de la Situation de l'Empire*, was laid on the table. It was very comprehensive; containing a statement of the condition of France with respect to the finances, agriculture, commerce, and public works; public instruction, and courts of justice; the army and navy; the colonies; and the foreign relations. The view which this document took of the above subjects was favourable and encouraging. In the financial department, the reduction of duties occasioned a loss to the revenue of 90,000,000*f.* (£3,600,000). This loss was made up by the application of a part of the reserves of the sinking-fund, additions to some taxes, and the augmentation in the receipts of others, by increased trade and consumption: the sum these items would realise was estimated at 99,298,507*f.* (£3,971,940). The floating debt was stated to have been reduced from 864,000,000*f.* (£34,560,000), on the 1st of January, 1860, to 750,000,000*f.* (£30,000,000), on the 1st of January, 1861; and the elements of the budget submitted to the legislative body, justified a hope that there would be a surplus of several millions. —Agriculture was represented as being in a sound and improving state; so was commerce. Great benefits were anticipated from the treaty concluded in the previous year with England; and it was announced, that negotiations for similar treaties with Belgium and Prussia were far

advanced; and overtures had been made for one with Holland.—The chapter devoted to public works, enumerated those undertakings on which the public money was employed; and went at some length into the facts connected with the railway system of the empire. That system is very much under the government control; and it was stated, the works had been spread over a great many points; and promised important results at an early date. The total length of railways then actually at work, not including those of Savoy, was 9,334 kilometres (about 5,800 miles).—Public instruction was progressing; and the prospects of literature were very promising. In the past year, 12,000 new works had been published in Paris; besides an immense number of periodicals and journals; and 11,260 in the departments. The spread of literature and information was described as the aim of the government, which wished to encourage serious discussion, and only to repress writings directed against the state or public security.—Very minute details were given in connection with the courts of justice, and expenses of public worship.—Of the army, it was stated, that the *personnel* had been reorganised. The arsenals were all in course of being furnished with the newly-improved artillery; the coast defences had been provided for; the fortresses of Lisle and Toulon enlarged; and soon, “there would be completed the finest field for manœuvres possessed by any European power—that of Chalons.” The marine was described as having “fulfilled its mission of protection in all points of the globe where French interests were engaged.” The work of transformation, from sailing vessels to steamers, was going on; and two ships of war, four screw frigates, and a cuirassed frigate (*La Gloire*), the first of its kind, had been added to the fleet in 1860. The government had resolved to adopt the cuirass (*i.e.*, iron-plated) system for ships of the line in future. At that time, the only war-ships worthy of the name being steamers, the real force of the navy was reduced to eighty-eight vessels, classed as follows:—

	New Ships.	Mixed.	Total.
Liners	12	23	35
Plated frigates . . .	1	—	1
Ordinary frigates . .	11	6	17
Corvettes	7	—	7
Avisos	28	—	28
	59	29	88

The condition of all the colonial possessions of France was represented as gratifying to the mother country; and the foreign relations of the empire were on a friendly footing with all nations. In this part of the document, the Italian question was gone into at great length. The recent events in Southern Italy, were characterised as “infringements of the rights of princes;” and it was stated, that “France once

more free from engagements, repudiated any responsibility in the encroachments of Piedmont. It was at its own risk and peril, that Piedmont entered into that series of undertakings which had extended its sovereignty to Naples and Palermo; and if, yielding to the passions which endeavoured to act upon it, that power, in spite of the advice of the whole of Europe, should take the initiative of an aggression against Austria, energetically disapproved of by France, it could not reckon on the support of the empire.” The conference at Warsaw was alluded to—to which the emperor had communicated, through the emperor of Russia, his determination with respect to Piedmont; and it was stated, that the result of that conference was, “that the powers appeared convinced, that the maintenance of the general peace depended upon the strict adherence to the principle of non-intervention.” France would originally have interposed for the purpose of securing an alliance between Naples and Sardinia, and of preventing the invasion of the former kingdom by strangers; but the British cabinet refused its concurrence: therefore the emperor could only show, by the presence of his fleet at Gaëta, his “sympathy with a young sovereign, who was the victim of a system which he would not consent to modify in time; but of which he was not the author.” With respect to the pope, it was observed, that the emperor would protect his holiness in his then position, though he did not feel charged with the duty of reconquering for Pius, the provinces he had lost by refusing to adopt his majesty’s councils.

It was some days after the imperial speech was delivered, before the committees in the two chambers had prepared the addresses to the emperor in reply, which were to be publicly discussed, according to the decree of November 24th. The debate in the senate commenced on the 28th of February, and closed on the 7th of March. Several good speeches were delivered. The ultra-montane peers vehemently condemned the policy pursued towards the pope; which was ably defended by prince Napoleon, who advocated the “unification” (a new term introduced about this time) of Italy. Rome, he contended, ought to be the capital of the new kingdom. But the pope should retain the Vatican, from whence he should exercise his spiritual authority—a liberal income being secured to him. His imperial highness, in defending the policy of the empire, attacked that of the Bourbons, and accused the members of that family of acting with treachery towards each other. In the course of his speech he defended the English alliance, which the marquis de Larochejaquelin had attacked; saying, “it was not an alliance with particular cabinets, but with the great English people; and was one with which they were able to defend the great principle of liberty and progress.” The address

(highly laudatory of the imperial policy)—several amendments being proposed and rejected—was adopted, at the close of the debate, by 120 votes to 3. On the 8th of March, the senate proceeded to the Tuileries, to present the address to the emperor; who, in his reply, after remarking upon the advantages which must result from “the new right of examining freely all acts of the government”—assured the senators that “his policy would always be firm, loyal, and without any after-thought. The address of the senators expressed approval of that policy in the past, and confidence in the future; for which he thanked them.”

In the legislative body, the debate commenced on the 11th of March. The address approved of the emperor's conduct in terms even more decided than those which had called forth his majesty's thanks to the senators. In the general discussion, and, also, when the separate paragraphs were considered, the ultramontane members followed the example of the senators, in censuring the Italian policy of the government; which, M. Pichon asserted, was forced upon the administration by England. M. Jules Favre, and some of the other liberal members, opposed the despotic and arbitrary acts of the ministry, which were, in reality, those of the emperor. In the course of the debate, some members strongly condemned the commercial treaty concluded with England in the previous year; and as strongly objected to one that was then negotiating with the Belgian government. The ministers defended their policy with considerable ability; and only five or six votes could be obtained for each of the various amendments that were moved, except one, which proposed to omit certain words blaming “the resistance of the Roman cabinet to the wise councils of the French government.” There were 90 ayes in favour of this amendment, to 160 noes. On the 22nd of March, the entire address was carried by 213 votes to 13. It was presented to the emperor, on the 23rd, by twenty members, chosen by ballot; and, in his reply, his majesty said, that “he did not at all regret to see the legislature approach questions of so difficult a nature as foreign policy. The country would, in many respects, derive advantage from it, as the discussions would enlighten, without disquieting the people.”

On the 3rd of April, the remains of Napoleon I. were removed from the chapel of the Invalides, where they had been deposited when brought from St. Helena in December, 1840, to a grand crypt, which had been built by the command of the emperor, for their final resting-place. His majesty, the empress, the imperial prince, and princes Lucien and Joachim Murat, were present at the ceremony, which was conducted with great pomp; all the principal ecclesiastics in Paris taking part in the ceremonies. This was not from any particular affection they

bore the emperor, whose Roman policy—his sanction of the annexation of the legations to Piedmont, and his earnest recommendations to the pope to resign his temporal power—had rendered him very unpopular with the clergy. The bishop of Poitiers, in a *mandement* issued to the priests in his diocese early in the year, compared his majesty to Pontius Pilate; for which offence he was, on the 20th of March, summoned before the council of state, and reprimanded. This had no effect in preventing the sacerdotal attacks on the imperial policy from being repeated: and they became so frequent and violent, that, on the 11th of April, M. de Langles, the minister of justice, issued a circular, warning the clergy not to interfere with politics; and cautioning them against criticising the emperor's policy in their pastoral addresses, lest they should become amenable to Articles 201 and 204 of the penal code, which punish offences of that class with imprisonment or banishment. At the same time count de Persigny sent a circular to the prefects of departments, directing them to co-operate cordially with the law authorities in repressing the clerical abuses. Another document, prepared about the same time by the count, met with general approval. Ever since the inauguration of the first empire, the tendency of the ministerial policy had been—alike under the Bourbons as under the Bonapartes—to centralise the administration of every department in Paris; and the evils which were thus introduced in the interior, particularly in those communes which were at a distance from the capital, were numerous and oppressive. The document alluded to was a report in favour of administrative decentralisation. It produced an imperial decree, ordering various departmental and commercial matters, which were in the hands of the different ministers—and caused many persons to travel themselves to Paris, or to keep agents in that city, at a considerable expense—to be transferred to the prefects and sub-prefects in the interior.

The session of the legislative body was continued to the end of June. There was much talking both in that chamber and the senate; but the debates, though some bold and eloquent speeches were delivered, were only of temporary interest; and the opposition made to many ministerial measures did not prevent their success. One of the first projects adopted by the legislative body, was a proposal for calling out 100,000 men of the class 1861. When this project came before the senate, on the 24th of May, several speakers contended, that the increase of the army was unjustifiable, as it was already more numerous than was required. The measure passed, however, by a large majority.—The legislative body also passed a project of law, abolishing the sliding-scale import duty, and the export duty on corn; which can now be exported free from France, and imported on

payment of 50c. per 100 kilogrammes, if brought in French ships, and one franc if in foreign vessels. The export duty on vegetables and fruits was also repealed; as was the stamp duty on newspaper supplements which contained the proceedings of the chambers.—The budget was the subject of several long and angry debates. The total amount of the estimates for the nine departments was, 1,969,769,031f. (£78,795,761). The expenditure and receipts were made to balance in the document presented to the chamber; but the committee to whom it was referred, detected a deficiency of 14,000,000f. (£560,000), and ascertained that 80,000 men were under arms beyond the number enumerated in the chapter of the budget devoted to the expenses of the war department. Notwithstanding the opposition they received, the ministerial propositions were carried in their integrity; and also supplementary credits, amounting to 150,000,000f. (£6,000,000); thus raising the total expenditure to nearly £85,000,000. One of the extra sums voted, was 1,200,000f. (£48,000), for the expenses of the French contributors to the Great Industrial Exhibition, announced to be held in London in 1862.—On the 28th of June, the chamber was prorogued; count de Morny, the president, closing the session with a speech, in which he congratulated the members on their having fully appreciated the new privileges granted to them, and realised the best advantages of a parliamentary government.

The public attention was divided, for several months, between the debates in the legislative body, and the legal proceedings in the case of the Bonaparte family and M. Mirès. In the former—which commenced on the 24th of January, before the civil tribunal of the Seine—the son of the late prince Jerome, by his first wife, Miss Paterson, attempted to establish his legitimacy, and his claim to be the prince's heir. The case was before the tribunal till the 16th of February; when the president delivered his judgment, to the effect, that the marriage of 1803, with Miss Paterson, was not valid; he, therefore, dismissed the suit, and decreed that the plaintiff should pay costs. The plaintiff appealed to the Court of Cassation with no better effect. On the 2nd of July, the president pronounced the judgment of the court against the appeal; and thus confirmed prince Napoleon in possession of the title and property of his father.—M. Mirès was arrested about the time the first proceedings in the Paterson-Bonaparte case closed. This speculator first began to make himself notorious in Paris in 1853;* and since that period, he had been engaged in most extensive transactions of various kinds; especially the Caisse des Chemins-de-Fer; the deposits in which, to a great amount, were nearly all lost. He was arrested—when at dinner with the prince

and princess Polignac, the latter being his daughter—in consequence of great defalcations; and charges of fraud were freely made, with which the names of several members of the imperial family were connected. His arrest had a depressing effect on the Bourse, as the railway bank, of which he was the head, was closed; and bills drawn upon him, from Constantinople, to the amount of 7,000,000f. (£280,000), were protested. Mirès was kept in prison, and no one, not even his lawyer, at one time, allowed to see him, till the 27th of June, when he was brought to trial, on a charge of "swindling," in selling shares and securities, and not accounting for the proceeds. During the proceedings, many most nefarious transactions were exposed. The prisoner had embarked in speculations of greater magnitude than any of those which have found their way to the English Stock Exchange. Several witnesses, who were examined to show the nature and extent of these gigantic schemes, deposed to having been reduced from affluence to beggary by the confidence they placed in him. According to Mirès' own statement, he was friendly with the pope, Antonelli, and the cardinals; and he gave the latter (so he stated) 8,000,000f. (£320,000), to obtain the concession of the Italian railroads. Shares and securities deposited with him, were sold when he wanted money; and the sums that passed through his hands were astounding. His counsel contended, that his object had been to endow his country with great institutions; and that posterity would be surprised to learn, that the man with the mind to conceive such wonderful projects, had been treated as a vulgar swindler. He was found guilty. M. Solar, who had been his partner, and had absconded, was tried with him, *par contumace*, and the same verdict returned. They were each sentenced to pay a fine of 5,000f. (£320), and to be imprisoned five years. Count Simeon, a director of the Caisse des Chemins-de-Fer, was adjudged to be civilly responsible for the losses of the depositors; of which all his property was not equal to the 100th part. The parties all appealed to the Court of Cassation, which, on the 28th of December, ordered a new trial in the cases of M. Mirès and count Simeon.

These trials were the most important legal events of the year; but there were several other proceedings in the courts, which excited considerable interest at the time.—The speech made by prince Napoleon in the senate, when the address was under discussion, in which he went out of his way to attack the Bourbons, called forth a spirited pamphlet from the pen of the duke d'Aumale. The Bonapartes and the imperial policy were so freely handled in this work, that it was at once suppressed. The printer, M. Beau, and the publisher, M. Dumineray, were prosecuted; found guilty of publishing a

* See *ante*, p. 742.



Engraved by T. Turner

Drawn by J. Allen

THRONE-ROOM, FONTAINEBLEAU.

brochure tending to bring the government into contempt; and sentenced each to a fine of 5,000f. (£200)—the printer being also subjected to six months', and the publisher to one year's imprisonment.—This publication and trial, caused the minister of the interior, on the 17th of May, to address a circular to the prefects of police; in which, after recapitulating the above facts, he requested the officials "to carefully watch over any attempt at publication which might be made in the name of persons banished or exiled from the French territory." Of whatever nature those publications might be—under whatever form they appeared, whether as books, journals, or pamphlets—the prefects were ordered to make a seizure of them; to send immediate information to the minister, and await his instructions.

Secret societies still exist in France, though their evil operation is greatly counteracted by the vigilance of the police. In May, information was obtained of the proceedings of one of these bodies in Paris, which led to the arrest of Blanqui (whose name the reader will recollect, as connected with several Parisian *émeutes*, and who had only recently returned to France from exile), madame Julienne Tremaux, a staymaker; A. Senequie, a sculptor; Louis Henri Chaumette, and F. Florian, journeymen printers; and F. J. Vesigion, a shoemaker. They were arrested on the 4th of June,* and tried on the 13th—Blanqui for organising secret societies, of one of which he was the head; and the others for aiding and assisting him. All were found guilty. Blanqui was sentenced to be fined 500f. (£20), imprisoned four years, and at the expiration of that term, to be deprived of his civil rights for five years. The others were subjected to less severe punishments: but all were to be imprisoned, and deprived of their civil rights for terms exceeding that of imprisonment.

The health of the emperor was not in a satisfactory state during the summer of 1861. In May, he left the Tuileries for Fontainebleau; and whilst he was residing at that palace, early in June, three ambassadors, from the kings of Siam, arrived in Paris. They brought the Siamese order of the White Elephant—the insignia a star, studded with diamonds—with a crown of massive gold, covered with diamonds; a gold waist-belt, richly gilt, and the plate ornamented with the same precious stones; several gold dishes, richly enamelled, and of great weight; with other articles—the whole being of immense value—as presents to the emperor. Their reception took place at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of June.† At Paris, their excellencies lodged in the Rue Lord Byron. They were taken from

thence, in carriages, to the railway station; and on their arrival at Fontainebleau, five open *calèches* were employed to conduct them to the palace, which they entered by the Cour d'Honneur. The empress was present at the ceremony, as were all the officers of the household, the ladies in attendance upon her majesty, the minister for foreign affairs, and other members of the court. The ambassadors had to pass to the throne-room through the gallery Henri II.; and they made their way along that gallery, and to the front of the throne, on their knees—that being the style in which they approach their own sovereign. The first ambassador had to carry a large vase, of gold, containing the emperor's letters; whilst he balanced, on his head, a hat with a high crown, shaped like a sugar-loaf—a task of no little difficulty. At times, the effect was so ludicrous, that the empress could scarcely refrain from laughing. On reaching the foot of the throne, the ambassador set the vase on the floor, placed his joined hands above his head, and prostrated himself three times; after which he took from the vase a document, which he read in the Siamese language; and which the Rev. Father Renaudié, missionary and interpreter to the embassy, afterwards rendered into French. It was to the effect, that the ambassadors laid at the imperial feet, the presents and letters as a sincere mark of the respect felt by the two kings of Siam for the emperor; and begged to assure his majesty, that the Siamese sovereigns were sensible, that the mutual friendship established between the empire and the kingdom of Siam, had been consolidated by the kindness of his gracious majesty, and had become a source of happiness and comfort for the subjects of the two nations.—After the address was read, the presents were laid before the emperor, and the ambassadors retired. They did not remain long in Paris; but, during their stay, they were found to be easily accessible; and are described as conducting themselves like sensible men.

Previous to the reception of the Siamese, the emperor had removed to Vichy, a town on the right bank of the Allier, celebrated for its mineral springs and baths; and only went to Fontainebleau or Paris on state occasions. His confidential ministers, and several of the French ambassadors to foreign courts, who were then at home on their *congés*, accompanied him to Vichy; and the *Moniteur* announced—the visit to that watering-place being solely for the benefit of his health—that he would receive neither deputations nor visitors. His majesty occasionally went to Paris and held a council; and on

* On the 6th of June, count Cavour, the Sardinian minister, died at Turin; it is thought through the incapacity of his physicians, who bled him profusely, under an idea that he had an attack of apoplexy; when it was typhoid fever, the result of a cold.

† Abdul Medjid, sultan of Turkey, died on the 25th of June, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was succeeded by his brother, Aziz Effendi; who has introduced various reforms—especially reducing the enormous expenditure in which the late sultan indulged.

returning to Vichy from one of these councils, in the first week in July, he addressed a letter to the minister of marine, prohibiting the purchase of labourers on the east coast of Africa—a practice which was still continued, notwithstanding his former prohibition; and announced, that he had concluded a treaty with the queen of England, by which Frenchmen were to be permitted to engage coolies in India, as labourers for the French colonies, upon the same terms as the subjects of her majesty. The treaty was dated the 1st of July; and the minister of marine was ordered to take measures for preventing the introduction of negroes into the French colonies, after July 1st, 1862, when it will come into operation.—During the emperor's residence at Vichy, it was determined to construct a military harbour on the coast opposite Alderney, the British having strongly fortified that island; and to form an intrenched camp in the neighbourhood, capable of holding 40,000 men; so as to connect the new harbour with Brest and Cherbourg.*

His majesty returned to Fontainebleau, from Vichy, on the 31st of July, having received great benefit from the baths. Shortly after, he was visited by the king of Sweden, who was accompanied by his brother, prince Oscar, and arrived at Paris on the 8th of August; the king and his brother went with his majesty to the camp, which had again been formed, during the summer, at Chalons. On this occasion, a new series of manœuvres was introduced, the men being trained to act in detached bodies, as chasseurs and sharpshooters, instead of in masses. The announcement that this change was to be made, excited great interest. The king of Sardinia sent one of his general officers to be present at the parades; and lord Clyde visited the camp from England, for the same purpose. The new system has been very favourably reported of; and will, most probably, be introduced, to a certain extent, into all armies.—The king of Sweden's visit only extended over a few days; and, on leaving France, he proceeded to Osborne.

The emperor's *fête* was celebrated on the 15th of August, when all Paris, though the weather was intensely hot, appeared to be out of doors. There were a great number of Englishmen and Englishwomen on the Boulevards; and, in a rowing-match on the Seine, an English boat's crew carried off the prize, astonishing the Parisians by their "skill and dexterity" in handling the oar. During the day, the *cafés* and wine-shops were crowded; so were the theatres, which were opened gratuitously to the *ouvriers*.

Early in August a pamphlet appeared, entitled *The Emperor, Rome, and the King of Italy*; following close upon a circular which baron

* The Polish patriot, prince Adam Czartoryski, who took an active part in Kosciusko's attempt to liberate

Ricasoli (Cavour's successor in the ministry at Turin) had addressed to the European courts, upon the Roman question. Both the minister and pamphleteer advocated the same principles, and asserted the same facts. "It is from Rome," said Ricasoli, "that the brigand bands emanate who devastate the southern provinces of Italy." "True," said the pamphleteer: and whilst the minister stated, in his circular, the terms offered to Pius IX. to induce him to give up his temporal sovereignty, the author of the pamphlet contended, that French troops could not be maintained at Rome, without making France answerable, before the world, for a state of things which all good men must reprobate and deplore. This pamphlet was supposed to have had its origin in the Tuileries; and to have been put forward with a view to see how far public opinion would support the emperor, if he were to withdraw his troops from Rome. Such is still the extent of priestly influence in France, that the *brochure* produced a very unfavourable effect; and the government found it necessary to publish, in the *Moniteur*, a formal disavowal of any connection with it. There had been, simultaneously with the appearance of this pamphlet, a report prevalent, that an arrangement had been made between the emperor and Victor Emmanuel; by which, on the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, the island of Sardinia was to be ceded to France. The report went the round of the German, Belgian, and English press; and Mr. Roebuck, one of the representatives of Sheffield, in the British parliament, asserted, at a meeting of his constituents, that he *knew* a treaty to the above effect was concluded. To this assertion, in the *Moniteur* of the 26th of August, a positive denial was given. "Not only does such a convention not exist," said the official journal; "but even the thought of entering into negotiations with the cabinet of Turin, on the subject, has never occurred to the emperor's government."

After the departure of the king of Sweden for England, the emperor, with the empress and imperial prince, proceeded to Biarritz, where they appear fully to have enjoyed a country life. The elegant residence which has been built for them is called the Villa Eugénie. When there, like queen Victoria at Balmoral, they are quite domesticated—walking out, without followers, to the public promenades, and examining the shops and bazaars with eager curiosity. In the first week in September, the countess of Montijo, and the duchess of Berwick, with the children of the duchess d'Alba, joined the emperor and empress; forming quite a family party. On the 1st of October the emperor returned to St. Cloud; and, on the 4th, he went to Compiègne, where the king of Prussia arrived on the evening of the 6th.

his country from Russian domination, died at Paris, on the 15th of July, aged ninety-one.

The visit of his majesty had been repeatedly announced, and as often contradicted. It was very unpopular in Germany, where neither the sovereigns nor people appear to place any confidence in the emperor's pacific and friendly professions. His majesty remained till the 8th; and, during his short stay, it is remarked, that "amusement appears to have been the order of the day; and very little time was left for politics," which the Germans supposed was the sole object of the visit. The king left France, it is said, "highly impressed with the friendly and cordial courtesy with which he had been received;" and his majesty, in consequence, appears to have bestowed on the duke of Magenta—the ambassador extraordinary, sent from France to attend his coronation, which took place soon after his return to Berlin—peculiar marks of distinction.—The visit of the king of Prussia to Compiègne was succeeded by that of the king of Holland, who arrived on the 12th of October, and remained till the close of the following week. Every day was devoted to some fresh pursuit; and, if business had any share of the time of the emperor and his visitor, it was only a very few hours that could be devoted to it.—After the departure of the king of Holland, signor Ratazzi, the president of the Piedmontese parliament, arrived in Paris. His arrival was the signal for a revival of the rumours relative to the cession of Sardinia; and it was said, that the object of the visit was, to secure the influence of the emperor, in Ratazzi's intrigues against Ricasoli, whom the former wished to supplant, and who had declared that he would never cede a foot of Italian ground. There appears to have been no foundation for these reports, which formed a prominent feature in most publications, and in general society, out of France.

In October France was again visited with extensive inundations, which, in the department of the Tarn especially, did great damage; carrying away a spinning manufactory and mills—houses and bridges—and depriving many persons, for the time, of a home. The most terrible storm passed over the department of the Gard, on the 12th of October, inundating great part of that territory. The Lalle mine was flooded; and the number of workmen missing on the call of the roll, the next day, was 140. Of these, thirty-five were recovered alive; 105 perished, leaving forty widows, and upwards of one hundred children.

As the year progressed, the monetary, commercial, and industrial position of France assumed a very unfavourable aspect. The deficient harvests of the previous two or three years rendered large imports of corn necessary, which caused repeated drains of gold, that told heavily on the markets. The pressure for money was so great, that the Bank of France, after raising its rate of interest, was obliged to resort to

England for assistance; and the Bank of England agreed to discount bills, to the amount of 50,000,000*f.* (£2,000,000), for the Parisian establishment. For several months, trade also had been dull. The commercial treaty with England, though it caused increased exportations of wines, *bijouteries*, and some other articles, was alleged to interfere with the industrial pursuits of those engaged in the textile and mineral manufactures; which also suffered from a civil war, that had broken out in the United States of America, caused by the secession of the southern states from the Union. From these causes the demand for labour declined; and, to increase the evil, the price of bread became so high in Paris, as to bring, according to a resident in that city, "distress and starvation upon nine-tenths of the working classes." These things caused popular demonstrations in the faubourgs, which led to the streets being patrolled by large bodies of troops; but no collisions between them and the people took place.

Whilst much public disquiet was caused by these circumstances, a circular, addressed by count de Persigny to the prefects, gave rise, in many quarters, to serious discontent. Whether correctly or not, an idea was imbibed, by the administration, that the charitable religious societies—especially that of St. Vincent de Paul, with its 200,000 members—were secret clubs, which had "interspersed the empire with lodges of sedition, intended to accomplish one of two things; either to compel Napoleon III. to abjure the system of Italian policy which he had inaugurated, and resume the support of the pope's temporal power; or, in case of his refusal, to originate a revolutionary movement, and hurl him from the throne." This idea, as to the objects of these societies, was the cause of the circular being sent by the minister of the interior to the prefects, instructing them to bring all charitable societies, established without the formal sanction of the government, under the operation of the law which prohibited clubs and associations being held without such sanction. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul, as well as some others, had branches in the departments, and a central committee of government sitting at Paris. All these central committees were at once to be dissolved. The prefects were, for the future, to organise charitable societies according to legal forms; and if they wished to have a central committee in Paris, that wish was to be communicated to the minister of the interior, who would determine whether it should be complied with; and if he thought fit to grant the required permission, he would, at the same time, lay down the bases and principles upon which such committee should be constituted. As the interference of the police with these establishments stopped the relief they afforded to the indigent, the pressure of distress was increased, and, of course, the public

discontent. The presidents and directors of the various societies, led by that of St. Vincent de Paul, attempted to maintain their ground in vain. The prefects have acted up to the directions of the circular; but it has been too short a time in operation to allow us to say what will be its ultimate effect. Public attention in France has, however, been drawn from that subject—for the time at least—by an important change in the financial administration.

The pressure upon the bank, the state of the money market generally, and the unfavourable aspect of financial affairs, appear to be, not so much the result of the bad seasons, or of commercial and industrial stagnation, as of the extravagance of the government. It will have been remarked, no doubt, by the reader, that the amount of the budgets regularly increased; but the sums voted, every year, by the legislature, are far from showing the entire amount of the public expenditure. The minister at the head of a department, if he found the sum voted for his department in the budget was insufficient, applied to the emperor, who issued a decree for a "supplementary" or "extraordinary" credit to be opened for that branch of the public service, utterly regardless of the source whence the money was to be obtained. Loans, treasury notes, and the funds of several institutions, entrusted to the government, were successively resorted to. In the summer of 1861, it was found that even these sources were exhausted; and, whilst the expenditure of the court and the ministers continued unchecked, thoughtful men began to wonder where all this reckless waste would end, and to anticipate national ruin. M. Fould, the late minister of finance, devoted his attention to the subject, and drew up a report connected with it, which he presented to the emperor on the 29th of September: it was long, and went into the whole financial question; maintaining the truth of an assertion made by M. Dupin—that "all the budgets were presented and voted with an excess of receipts, and all were closed with a deficit." The equilibrium was not maintained under the monarchy. From 1840 to 1847, "the supplementary and extraordinary credits amounted to nearly 1,200,000,000f. (£48,000,000), or about 150,000,000f. (£6,000,000) per annum." During the empire, from 1851 to 1858, the same credits had amounted to 2,400,000,000f., double the excess under the monarchy; but as 1,348,000,000f. (£53,920,000) were called for, by the war in the East, the ordinary excess remained much the same. The sum of 400,000,000f. (£16,000,000) for the years 1859—'61, had to be added to the deficit; to meet which, said M. Fould, "recourse had been had to every form of credit. The loans negotiated in 1854, 1855, and 1859, amounted to 2,000,000,000f. (£80,000,000): when the bank privilege was renewed, the treasury absorbed the hundred millions of additional

capital imposed on that establishment. The army dotation fund, which had received 135 millions, saw all its assets absorbed by the treasury, which gave inscriptions of *rentes* for them. Lastly, recourse had been had to a new mode of loan—the trentenary obligations—of which 132 millions had been issued in 1861." The deficit, at the end of that year, was estimated at 1,000,000,000f. (£40,000,000); and "the senate and legislative body had already expressed disquietude upon the subject. The same sentiment had spread among the class of business men, who predicted and announced a crisis—all the graver from the circumstance, that, following the example of the state, and with an object of amelioration and progress—perhaps too precipitate—departments, towns, and companies had launched into very considerable expenses." As a remedy, the minister called upon the emperor "to renounce the power of disposing, without a previous vote of the legislative body, of the resources of the state." By taking that step, and by "restoring to the legislative body its most incontestable attributes, his majesty," he said, "would solidarise himself with his government: he would obtain, as the price of that concession, a budget, in which the grants would be much more in ratio with the real wants, and would realise, in the most certain manner, the idea, full of foresight, which inspired the decree of the 24th of November."

This report was, no doubt, made the subject of consideration by the emperor, and of discussion with his ministers; but no decision was come to upon it till November the 12th. On that day, a privy council was held at the Tuileries. The emperor came from Compiègne to preside over its deliberations; and on the 14th, the *Moniteur* contained two imperial decrees—one nominating M. Fould minister of finance; the other appointing M. Forcade de la Roquette, his predecessor, a senator. The decrees were followed by a letter from the emperor to M. Fould; in which his majesty expressed his approbation of the report; said he had "decided upon completely adopting the ideas it developed;" and declared that he did so "the more willingly, from the fact, that, for a long time, he had sought, as the minister knew, the means of solidly establishing the credit of the state, by confining the ministers within the regulated budget." The official paper contained another letter from the emperor, addressed to M. Walewski, minister of state; in which his majesty repeated his approval of M. Fould's report; his wish to confine the budget within stated limits; and said, "the only effectual means of attaining the end in view," he "resolutely abandoned the faculty which belonged to him of opening new credits in the absence of the chambers." To carry out the plan, the senate was summoned to meet on the 2nd of December, when the draft of a *senatus consultum*,

"intended to modify Articles 4 and 12 of the *senatus consultum* of December 25th, 1852," was laid before that body. It provides, that "the budget of expenses shall be presented to the legislative body, in sections, chapters, and articles. That the budget of each ministry shall be voted in sections, in conformity with a list annexed. That the division, by chapters, of the sums voted for each department, shall be settled by an imperial decree, issued in the council of state. That special decrees may transfer sums from one chapter to another, in each ministerial budget. And, that no extraordinary or supplementary credits can be granted except in virtue of a law." The senators have been engaged in discussing this measure, and in perfecting the arrangements—preparatory to the meeting of the legislative body in January, 1862. Since they assembled, the emperor gave a still further proof of his determination to arrest the career of extravagance, by issuing the following decree, which appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 12th of December:—"Considering that it imports essentially to the order of the finances, that the charges on the budget should not be augmented without the minister of finance having been enabled to inquire, and to acquaint us whether there may be sufficient resources to meet such additional changes—we decree that, for the future, no decree authorising or ordering any works or measures whatever, which may add to the charges on the budget, shall be submitted to us for our signature, unless accompanied by an opinion from the minister of finance."

These changes were not effected without great opposition from the other ministers, to whom the last decree was peculiarly obnoxious, as subjecting them all, more or less, to the control of M. Fould. That minister, however, refused to retain office if he were deprived of this supervision of the finances; and it is expected, that a system of retrenchment will now be inaugurated; the first symptoms of which were shown in orders given the day before the last decree was issued, to suspend the building of an iron-cased frigate at Cherbourg; and two floating batteries at L'Orient, the keels of which had been just laid down. The army, also, might be largely reduced, as there is not the slightest probability of any European power making an aggressive movement against France. War is, as already stated, unhappily, raging across the Atlantic. In that war France has declared itself neutral. An officer of the northern states, on the 7th of November, stopped an English mail packet, and took out four gentlemen—two of them commissioners from the southern states to England and France, and the other two their secretaries—and conveyed them prisoners to America. This insult to the British flag may lead to war between the northern states and England: but the em-

peror will remain neutral. He has been understood to express a decided opinion, that the act of the American captain has been an insult to the English flag. The fact, that the count de Paris and the duke de Chartres are now serving in the army, and the son of prince Joinville in the navy, of the northern states, will not tend to excite sympathy for their cause in the mind of the emperor; but there is no ground for war, on the side of France. A few years' peace, if accompanied with suitable retrenchments, will enable M. Fould to restore the finances to a state of prosperity; and to develop the commercial and industrial resources of the empire to a much greater extent than they have yet reached.

Nor is it necessary that the improvement of the country, whether in its natural or artificial features, should be neglected. Since his accession, the emperor has chiefly devoted himself to the embellishment of Paris; but he appears to intend, for the future, not to confine his attention to the capital. The sum of 25,000,000*f.* (£1,000,000) will be applied for, in the ensuing session of the legislature, for the purpose of completing, within eight years, the roads needed in the interior. "The rural communes," said the emperor, "so long neglected, ought to have a large share of the subsidies of the state; for the amelioration of the country is still more useful than the transformation of the towns." This is true; though his majesty hitherto has devoted himself to the latter, rather than the former. Immense sums have been devoted especially to Paris; which, in many parts, has been completely transformed since the revolution of February, 1848; and it is no doubt now, in its architectural features, as a recent visitor describes it, "the most admirable city in the world." Amongst the works undertaken and carried out, under the auspices of the emperor, the following may be mentioned.

The Boulevard St. Antoine—formerly a dark, narrow road, lined with gardens, which were the resort of the most desperate characters, who rendered it a dangerous locality to traverse after dark—is now a wide airy street, handsome shops having replaced the gardens; and although the people met with there are of a very different class and appearance from those encountered on the Boulevard des Italiens, the stranger may walk in the Boulevard St. Antoine now, as safely as in any part of Paris.—The Boulevard de Sebastopol, commenced in 1854, was inaugurated on the 5th of April, 1858. It runs from the Quai de Gènes on the south, to the Boulevard St. Denis, on the north; having the Rue de St. Denis on the west, and the Rue de St. Martin on the east. Forty streets and passages of old Paris were cut through, to complete this boulevard, and a great many houses were destroyed. The houses erected upon it are handsome, regular edifices; and they have pavements in front, on

each side, ten yards wide; the carriage-road between is thirty yards wide—the entire breadth of the boulevard being fifty yards; its length one mile and a-half.—Another boulevard has been recently constructed by the demolition of a vast number of magnificent mansions in the vicinity of the Madeleine; by cutting through a great hill further on, and by laying out a road across corn-fields, which formed what is called the Plaine de Monceaux. It passes through the once famous Park de Monceaux (part of the late king Louis-Philippe's confiscated property); and the park, now laid out like a nobleman's pleasure-ground, is open to the public. This boulevard, called the Boulevard Malesherbes, was inaugurated on the 13th of August, 1861, by the emperor; who, in his reply to an address presented to him by the prefect of the Seine, observed, that the embellishments of the capital, exciting general admiration when completed, during their execution gave rise to criticisms and complaints. "Nevertheless it was the duty of the administration to manage them without swerving from the route to be followed. That route was—to imprint activity on labour, and fresh life on the trades and commerce of Paris, by freeing them from the fetters which cramped their development; to protect the less-favoured classes; and to fight against the increasing dearth of the most necessary commodities."—A third boulevard—the Boulevard de l'Empereur—connecting the handsome entrance into the Bois de Boulogne, at Muette, with the Place de Frocadero—is (December, 1861) on the point of completion. It sweeps, in a bold curve, between those two points, across the heights of Passy and of Chaillot, which have been cut down to make way for it. In the centre of this avenue runs a wide *allée*, for horsemen, shaded on both sides with chestnut trees. To the left is a handsome road, bordered by a shady footpath, for vehicles returning to town; and on the right is another, for those going to the Bois, or to Auteuil. Villas, in the greatest variety of architecture, and stately mansions, with pleasure-grounds and gardens, tastefully laid out, are built and being built, in great numbers, on all sides of this boulevard.

The palaces of the Tuileries and the Louvre have been greatly improved, under the emperor. The buildings on the north side of the Tuileries, joining the Louvre, have been completed; so has the new court of the Louvre, which completes the great square contained within the Carrousel, the *façade* of the old Louvre, and the new buildings. The apartments of the empress at the Tuileries are magnificently fitted up; yet splendour does not outvie taste and elegance, nor exclude comfort. By the express desire of Eugénie, her rooms have been decorated after those of Marie Antoinette; and we see revived there, "the graceful arabesques, the rounded

tapering volutes, the exquisite garlands, and the fine carvings of the latter part of the 18th century;" which present to us "decidedly one of the masterpieces of decorative art in our days." The decorations of the new Louvre are not less admirable. The same artist, M. Lefeul, has superintended both; employing under him, 754 statuarys, a host of ornamental sculptors, and 3,600 workmen, for five years.

The municipality of the Seine has gone hand-in-hand with the emperor in improving Paris; pursuing the same plan—removing old and mean dwellings, erecting lofty houses in their stead, and replacing narrow thoroughfares by noble wide streets. The result is, that "wherever the eye is turned in the finished quarters of Paris, it meets the same magnificence of view, the same vastness of proportion. Strangers may well be bewildered by the interminable lines of splendid streets, with their six-floored white stone houses, showing twelve or fifteen windows in a row. At every large opening there is a fountain, or a bed of many-coloured flowers, replaced as fast as they fade. The clear sky brings out the house-tops as if they were cut in cardboard, and shows up the distant green hills, with no smoke or mist to damp their outline. The senses yield to the pleasing influence of so much brightness, and grandeur, and colour."* The municipal authorities of Paris have established squares in every place where there is easy access for the people; and the fountains impart that salutary freshness to the air, so necessary for the workman, after he has been cooped-up, all day, in the heavy atmosphere of the workshop. These squares are open to the public, who eagerly avail themselves of the privilege.

There are drawbacks to these improvements, which prevent them from being received as an unmixed good. They have increased rents, from 150 to 200 per cent.—apartments for which 200*f.* were paid, now letting for 500*f.* and 600*f.* The drainage, and other sanitary matters, have not been attended to: the consequent effect upon health is deleterious; and, to the poor man, often ruinous; for a doctor's bill, for a brief attendance, will exhaust his means of bare existence for three months. The population of Paris has increased, from 1,174,346, in 1856, to 1,696,000, in 1861; and, in the department of the Seine, from 1,727,419 to 1,953,000. This increase of population, according to some authorities, has produced the evil. And it will "disappear," we are told, "when the number of buildings shall have been placed on an equality with the new requirements—a result that cannot long be delayed."† The revenue of the municipality has also been effected by the destruction of property. The various sources of income produced,

* *Bentley's Miscellany*, for December, 1861.

† *Constitutionnel*.

in 1861, 204,405,749f. (£8,176,230); and are estimated at only 125,027,657f. (£5,001,106) for 1862. The abolition, at the recommendation of the emperor, of what is called "the personal tax" upon the occupiers of rooms under 250f. (£10) rent, has contributed to the diminution of the municipal revenue. One source of that revenue is derived from the supply of gas. The company which supplies gas to the French metropolis, from January 1st, 1861, to January 1st, 1872, is to pay 200,000f. (£8,000) per annum for the privilege of conveying gas by the highway; after that date, till 1911, the sum is to be 250,000f. (£10,000) each year.

But, notwithstanding the temporary increase of rents, and the decrease in the municipal revenue, there is no doubt, that the condition of Paris, as a whole, has improved under the emperor; and so has that of the empire at large. If the expenditure has increased, the revenue would have kept pace with it, if only moderate prudence had been observed; and commercial transactions were on a much more extended scale, till they became somewhat checked by the civil war in America;* which has depressed industry, by stopping the supply of a raw material, cotton; and by lessening the demand, in the contending states, for French manufactures and *bijouterie*. Agriculture, in nearly all the departments of France, has been considerably improved, and rendered more profitable. The value of the land in the empire, which, in 1851, was estimated at 83,744,000,000f. (£3,349,760,000), had, including that of the annexed territories, increased, in 1861, to 100,000,000,000f. (£4,000,000,000). France is extending her colonial empire in some degree; having, within the last few years, planted a colony in New Caledonia, in the Pacific; and on the coast of Cochin China, in the east. For the last two years, a hostile force has been employed against the sovereign of the latter country. The accounts of its operations are brief and confused; but there is no doubt that the French have maintained their ground. Segon, on the coast, is becoming a place of considerable importance; and there France will concentrate her efforts. Turon, also occupied by the French, is to be converted into a military position, maintained to keep Hué, the capital of

* A *History of the War in America* is publishing by the London Printing and Publishing Company.

the empire, in check; and all the resources of colonisation are to be directed to Cambodia, where it is anticipated, by Frenchmen, that they will possess one of the finest colonial establishments in Asia. In New Caledonia, the cultivation of cotton, for which the soil is very favourable, is an object of particular attention.

In Algeria, in 1861, the colonists were very little disturbed by the natives. A Moorish chief, Cherif Mohammed-ven-Abdallah, committed considerable depredations, at the head of a body composed of two tribes—the Mekhadmas and Chaambas; but he was expelled from the French territory, and many of the cattle and sheep which he had carried off, recovered. A superior council has been established in Algeria, for legislative purposes; and the government and administration are centralised at Algiers. Marshal the duke of Malakoff is the present governor; and, in opening the first session of the superior council, in October, 1861, he directed drafts of decrees to be laid before the members, for imposing duties on the alienation and inheriting of real estates, and substituting a land-tax for the taxes then existing; and for constructing a railway from Algiers to Constantine. An Algerian cotton company is also forming, with a capital of 25,000,000f. (£1,000,000). The government has made this company a grant of a large extent of valuable land; and, as labour there is not only free, but abundant; the soil suitable to the culture of cotton; the climate salubrious; the freight only half what it is from America, and the time of passage shorter—great expectations are formed as to the success of this undertaking.

Thus we close our history, when France, at peace with the world—for the occurrences in Cochin China, and the expedition now on its way to Mexico, to obtain, in conjunction with England and Spain, redress for injuries inflicted by the authorities of that state on consuls and other persons, can scarcely be termed war—appears to be progressing in material prosperity. Should the events connected with France in the next few years, be of sufficient importance to render a narrative of them interesting to the English people, we shall hope to renew the connection with our kind readers; to whom, for the present, we say—FAREWELL.

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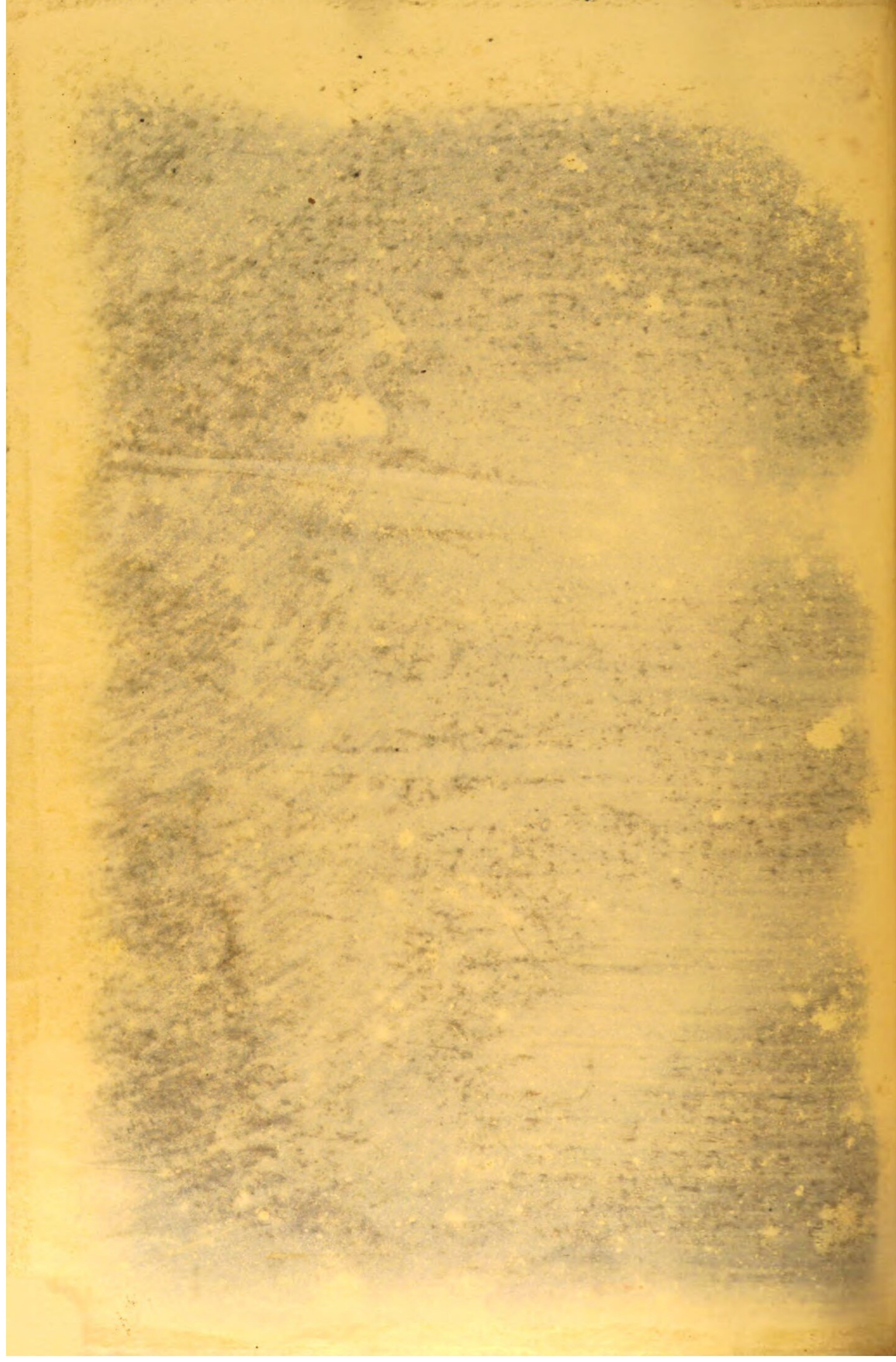
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the French is to be converted into a military
position maintained to keep that the capital of
the French empire in the East is pushing by
the French empire and the French empire.

the empire in shock; and all the resources
collected are to be directed to the
which is anticipated by the French, that
they will possess one of the most colonial
establishments in Asia. In New Guinea,
the cultivation of cotton, for which the soil
is very favourable, is an object of particular
attention.

In Algeria, in 1851, the empire was very
little helped by the empire. A French colon
General Mounier, who had been a member of
the legislative department at the head of a body
composed of two tribes—the *Algerians* and
the *Arabs*; but he was expelled from the French
territory, and many of the tribes and sheep
which he had carried off recovered. A superior
council has been established in Algeria, for legis-
lative purposes; and the government and admin-
istration are centralized at Algiers. Marshal
the Duke of Malakoff is the present governor;
and in 1861, the first session of the superior
council in October 1861, he directed the
of France to be held before the minister, for
imposing duties on the minerals and industries
of real estate, and substituting a land-tax for
the taxes then existing; and for constituting a
railway from Algiers to Constantine. In 1862
the cotton company is also running, with a
capital of 25,000,000 (2,500,000) francs. The gov-
ernment has made this company a grant of a
large extent of valuable land; and the labor
there is not only free, but abundant; the soil
suitable to the culture of cotton, the climate
salubrious; the freight only half what it is from
America; and the time of production shorter—great
expectations are formed as to the success of this
undertaking.

Thus we close our history, when France, at
peace with the world—for the occasion in
Cochin China, and the expedition now on its
way to Mexico to obtain in negotiation with
England and Spain, restoration of rights in the
the authorities of that state on several and other
persons are severely to be treated and exposed
to be progressing in national prosperity. France
the events connected with France in the next
few years, be of sufficient importance to render
a narrative of them interesting to the English
people, we shall hope to renew the education
with our kind readers; to whom, for the present,
we say—*Adieu*.

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Wright, Thomas

The history of France from the earliest period fo the present time

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